
THE
MODERN PART
OF AN
Universal History,

FROM THE
Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

VOL. VII.

THE
MODERN PART
OF AN
Universal History,

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Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from
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By the AUTHORS of the ANTIEN PART.

VOL. VII.



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M DCC LIX.

Modern History :

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

Universal History.

BOOK XI.

*Description of the Countries contained in
the farther Peninsula of India.*

CHAP. I.

*General Description and History of this
Peninsula.*

THE farther peninsula of *India*, properly speaking, is bounded northward by a line, drawn from about the eastern mouth of *Ganges*, to the bay of *Tong-king*, in twenty degrees of latitude. But as some of the principal kingdoms belonging to it lie partly without those limits, and uniformity requires that we should give the description of each country intire, and in one place, without dividing it; we shall therefore consider this peninsula in a more extended sense, so as to comprize the whole of those dominions with its limits. In this large acceptation it will be bounded on the north by part of *Tibet*, and *China*; on the east by *Tong-king*, and the gulf of *Kochin-china*; on the south by the gulf of *Siam*, and straits of the *Sund*; and on the west

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by the bay of *Bengál*, and the river called the *Great Bramaputren*; which, according to our ideas, rises in the mountain bounding *Tibet*, and, running southward, separates the countries included in this peninsula from *Hindustán*, and the territories of certain *Rájahs*.

Extent and Situation. THE bounds and dimensions of this peninsula are pretty well ascertained on all sides but this to the west: for, on the north, they are determined in consequence of the situation given those of *Tibet* and *China*, which have been, of late years, accurately surveyed by the Jesuit missionaries; and the sea-coasts by the draughts and observations of skilful navigators. Its situation likewise, with respect to the heavens, is no less accurately fixed, by the astronomical observations made at *Siam* and *Malakka*, as well as those in its neighbourhood, at *Kanton* in *China*, and in *Bengál*. So that although the interior parts of it are not so well known as those of the hither peninsula, yet its coasts and borders may be said to be more exactly settled than those of most countries of *Asia*, excepting *China*.

THESE things being premised, we may, on good grounds, advance, that this peninsula lies between the first and twenty-seventh degrees of latitude, and the 107th and 127th degrees of longitude (†): so that it is about 1000 miles long, from south to north, and 900 in breadth, from west to east, where broadest; but in some parts, especially the peninsula of *Malakka*, very narrow, not exceeding 150, 100, or even 50 miles, in one or two places.

Soil in general. THIS vast region is, in general, a very plentiful country, for fruits, silks, elephants, metals, drugs, corn, rice, pepper, and oil. Besides this, it is rich in gold and precious stones, such as diamonds, rubies, topazes, amethysts, and other kinds, with which a great trade is driven there. *Tongking*, it is true, has neither corn nor wine of its own: but, to make amends, it enjoys a very good and temperate air; while most of the other countries suffer under the excessive heats.

Countries contained in it. THIS peninsula, according to some early travellers, was formerly divided into a great number of kingdoms, some of a vast extent, governed by mighty emperors. But either they were imposed on by the informations of the *Indians*; or imagining the country extended northward from the coasts of *Ben* *Pegu*, *Tartary* they formed imaginary dominions there, to fill up the vacant space. The truth seems

(†) Reckoning always from the isle of *Ferre*, about 20° west of *Paris*, and 17° 35' west of *London*.

to be, as will appear in the course of our history, that this north part of the peninsula was divided among a great number of petty kings, or *Rajahs*; who, at length, going to war, the weaker were subdued by the stronger. So that, at present, the dominions comprised within this third part of India may be reduced to the following nine; viz. those of *Affam*, *Tipra*, *Arrakan*, *Pegu*, *Ava*, *Laos*, *Siam*, *Kamboja*, and *Kochin-china*; to which we may add *Tong-king* (by some included within the peninsula), in order to give it a place in our history.

THE inland countries, which are *Azem*, *Tipra*, *Ava*, and but little the *Laos*, as well as the inland parts of the rest, are very little known to us at present. The best memoirs relating to them being those left us by the early travellers; who, invited by the flourishing state of them, particularly *Pegu*, went thither for sake of commerce, in the sixteenth century; of which number were *Edoardo Barboza*, *Cesar Frederick*, *Gaspard Balbi*, and our *Ralf Fitch*. We must, however, except *Siam*, whose interior parts the *French*, by their embassies and relations, brought us acquainted with, towards the end of the last century. However, all this information does not amount to much; nor are the maritime parts of those countries better known to us: for although they have been visited by merchants, as well as missionaries, yet their relations respect chiefly the inhabitants, and give very little light into either the geography or history of those countries. The truth is, that, after trying the dispositions of the people, both in a religious and mercantile way, there hath been found but little encouragement either for conversions or commerce; and therefore those coasts are not much frequented at present, by either merchants or divines. Hence it is, that, although revolutions happen very often in those countries, we are yet almost intire strangers to them: and that we find more materials for political history in the ancient voyagers than in the modern. The best, if not only good ones among the latter, relating to the parts in question, being those of *Dampier*, and captain *Hamilton*, who, in his *new account of the East-Indies*, has given us the present state of all the countries and islands, lying between the *Cape of good hope* and *Japan*.

The cause thereof.

AFTER what has been said, our readers cannot reasonably expect any-thing like a complete history of the countries within this farther peninsula: but if they consider the great imperfections of our materials, and the difficulty of connecting the scattered and discording scraps, when brought together, in order to form something of a consistent history, they will, we presume, be very well pleased to find it is no worse.

Imperfections and

errors of
authors,

THE same may be alleged in behalf of the geography; which, however defective, may yet be said to be the only thing tolerable of the kind that hath hitherto appeared. The early geographers, not excepting the *Sanfons*, have exhibited the countries in question very erroneously, and in great confusion: they have extended them northward, vastly beyond their bounds; introduced imaginary kingdoms; and, relying on imposing authors, such as *Mendez Pinto* and *Le Blanc*, have derived all the great rivers from an imaginary lake, called *Chiamay*, *Singapamor*, and *Kunebetee* by the first of these authors. Mr. *Del'isle*, it is true, in his maps, published the beginning of the present century, corrected those errors, by the help of later informations; but fell into others, for want of farther assistances. In particular, by relying too much on *Louberé's* map of *Siam*, he has placed the northern borders of that kingdom four degrees, as we conceive, too high: in consequence of which, by making it almost contiguous to *China*, he has left no room for exhibiting the spacious countries which lie between; and has likewise over-much contracted the dominions of *Ava* and the *Laos*, especially the latter. He has likewise been at a loss as to the parts where the great rivers rise, which pass through this peninsula, from north to south; and the places where they entered the several countries which they water. But these mistakes we have been able to rectify, chiefly by means of the above-mentioned surveys of the Jesuits; which not only exhibit the course of all the rivers of any note, which pass out of *China* and *Tibet* into this peninsula, according to their due situations and distances; but also mark the places where the frontiers of the countries, contiguous to *China*, which are *Tong-king*, *Laos*, *Pegu*, and *Ava*, begin and end: so that we are able, with more certainty, to assign those kingdoms their proper limits, as well as judge to what southern rivers the northern belong.

who treat
of them.

The inhabitants,

THUS much we judged necessary; in our own defence, to be premised to the following collections. But before we enter upon a particular description of the countries within this peninsula, it will be proper to mention something in general with regard to the inhabitants. According to the histories of *China*, this empire, among the other kingdoms and states included within its wide dominion, numbered those, at present found in the farther peninsula of *India*, as *Tong-king*, *Kochinchina*, *Siam*, &c. (A). Nor is this authority to be suspected, since

(A) The *Chineſes* say, that before *Chriſt*, ſent out his fleets, *ſhi wang-ti*, about the year 236 which conquered the maritime countries,

since travellers discover very evident proofs of the footing which the *Chineses* have had in all those countries. *Methold* observes, that the inhabitants of *Arrakan*, *Pegu*, *Tenasserri*, and *Siam*, resemble the *Chineses* in features, as well as agree with them in customs and religion^a. *De Faria* says the same, with regard to the people of *Lao* (B), *Lanjang*, *Jangoma*, *Bimir*, *Ava*, and *Kambeja*^b.

HOWEVER, this conformity does not extend so far as to exclude certain variations, which almost inevitably arise from accidents and other causes. Thus, with regard to religion, though at bottom the same through the whole peninsula, yet one nation differs from another in their ceremonies, in their images, their saints, and even the founders of their respective laws; which are to be considered as so many different sects of the same faith. Nor are our readers, on account of the great agreement which appears in the external form and objects of worship, used by the inhabitants of the farther peninsula of the *Indies*, compared with those found among the people of the hither peninsula, to suppose that the religion is the same in both regions: for the idolatry of the *Malabars*, &c. consists in tritheism, or the adoration of three inferior gods, directed by the supreme being to make and govern the universe. Whereas that of the *Peguers*, *Siameses*, &c. comes originally from *Tibet*; and has for its founder, as well as prime object of worship, a person, who, about one thousand years before the Christian æra, broached his false religion in that country.

IN forming his plan, he seems to have had a view not only to establish a new religion, but also to contrive one fraught with such high characters, as should give it the superiority of all others, especially that of the *Indians*, which was then perhaps in highest reputation. Thus, whereas the *Bramman* theology proposed three gods for the prime objects of worship, subordinate to, and created by, the supreme being; this impostor declared himself to be the supreme being, who had assumed a human nature. Secondly, whereas the *Indian* deities were invisible to their worshippers, he proposed to reside corporally among his votaries, and receive their adorations in person. Lastly, to give his followers a more con-

^a MATH. ap. Purch. pilgr. vol. v. p. 1005. ^b DE FARIA, Port. Asia, vol. ii. p. 12.

countries, as far as *Bengál*; and, at the same time, marched an army by land, which reduced all *India*, as far as *Kambaya*. See *Martini* hist. Sinic. p. 223.

(B) *Kæmpfer* confirms this of the *Laos*, with respect to persons. Hist. *Japan*, vol. i. p. 26.

vincing proof of the transformations of their god, as well the doctrine of the metempsychosis, than the *Indians* had, gave out that he would, from time to time, ascend to heaven and return again in a different body.

Fast extent of it.

ACCORDINGLY, if you will believe the people of *Tibet* he hath resided among them ever since, excepting in the intervals when he thought fit to disappear. This sect, for a long time, had gotten footing in the hither peninsula of the *Indie*. but the *Brammans* never rested till they had excited the *Râja* against them, who rooted them out with fire and sword. . . may likewise be presumed, that, to take down the high pretensions of this *Tibetian* deity, and make him inferior to their own gods, in point of origin as well as antiquity, they have invented the ninth transformation, or incarnation, of *Wishnu* in the form of *Budda*, or *Budha*; which is the name given by the western *Indians* to this pretended deity, who, in other parts, has different appellations. In *China* he is called *Fo* and *She-kyä*; in *Japan*, *Shakka*; in *Tong-king*, *Thikka*; and in *Tibet*, *La*. We shall only add, that the idolatry of *Tibet* is six times more extended than that of the *Brammans*; being spread over *Great Tartary*, from west to east, *China*, *Japan*, and the oriental islands, besides the country contained in the farther peninsula of the *Indies*.

C H A P. II.

Account of the Kingdoms of Assam and Tipra.

S E C T. I.

The Kingdom of Assam.

Assam Kingdom.

OF these two countries we have a knowledge but little more than their names. The first lies so much out of the way of travellers, that, if it had not been for the expedition of the famous *Amir Jemla*, made into that *Indian* state about the middle of the last century, in order to annex it to the crown of *Hindostan*, it is possible that we might never have heard of it. As an account has been already given of that expedition^a, and almost all the geography, as well as history, we have relating to *Assam*, is comprised therein; we shall only here say a few things touching the situation, the country, and the two or three places whose names we meet with in that account.

^a See before, vol. vi.

ASSAM, called also *Asbam*, and *Azem*, has on the north the mountains of *Tibet*, in that part called *Lassia*, or *Baran-* *Name and limits.*
tola; on the south *Tipra* and *Arrakan*. It is uncertain whether it be bounded on the east with the great *Tjanfu*, which passes through *Arrakan*, or a river more to the west; and its western limit seems to be the great *Bramaputren* before-mentioned. This river is called *Barrenporter* in a survey made of the mouths of the *Ganges* (A), by order of the *English East-India* company; and this, in all probability, is the river up which the Amir conveyed his army in boats: for it enters the *Ganges* by one of its branches, six leagues to the east of *Dakka*, capital of *Bengál*, agreeably to the above-mentioned account of the expedition ^b. But that account says nothing with respect either to its spring or course, farther than that the army shaped their course north-eastward, as far as the fortress of *Azo*, 100 leagues from *Dakka*. The above-mentioned survey exhibits its course for near 80 leagues above the place where it enters *Ganges*, to be almost due north and south; and from thence, a few leagues farther, where the survey begins about north-west and south-east. Which ever of the two is right, it may be presumed, that it hath its source in the mountains of *Tibet*, to the north or north-east of *Azo*; but at what distance is uncertain, unless we knew more precisely the situation of that fortress.

AZO, or *Azoo*, we are told, belonged properly to *Bengál*, *Azo city* from which country it had been dismembered by the *Rajah*, and fort-
 or king, of *Asbam*. This is all *Bernier* says concerning it; ^{ref.} excepting that it was retaken in fourteen days by Amir *Jemla*. But *Tavernier* relates something more remarkable about it. According to him, the tombs of the kings of *Assem*, or *Asbam*, and all the royal family, were in this city. He adds, that, for many ages past, the kings had built chapels in the great pagod for their sepulture; and laid up in vaults, made there for the purpose, great quantities of gold and silver, with other rich effects. It was customary also to bury, with the deceased prince, whatever thing of value he most esteemed in his life-time, that it might be of service to him in the other world; and this, he says, was the reason why Amir *Jemla* found so much wealth in *Azoo* ^c. But if this was a city newly conquered from *Bengál*, how could the tombs of the ancient kings of *Assem* be found there?

^b BERN. hist. Mogol. part ii. p. 111. TAVERN. trav. part ii. p. 187. ^c TAVERN. ubi supra.

(A) To be found in *Thorn-* of latitude seems not to be well
ton's English pilot; but the scale adjusted to it.

Chamdara city. THE first place in the kingdom of *Assam*, according to *Bernier*, was *Chamdara* (B), twenty-six days journey from *Azo*; whence it may be inferred, that the country between the two cities was conquered lands. Four days journey (C) from

Guerguon the capital. *Chamdara* is *Guerguon*, the metropolis of *Assam*, which *Jemla* pillaged; the *Rajah* having abandoned it on that general's approach, and fled to the mountains, doubtless of *Tibet*: from whence he sent down people to carry away all the provisions in the country^d, which shews that city was not far distant.

Kemmeroof city. *TAVERNIER* mentions neither *Chamdara* nor *Guerguon*; but says, *Kenneroof*, or *Kemmeroof*, is the capital city, where the king of *Assam* keeps his court. He adds, that it is twenty-five or thirty days journey from the ancient capital (D), which bore the name of the kingdom^e.

THIS imperfect, and in some measure contradictory, account is all we have from authors concerning the geography of *Assam*; which yet they represent to be of so great extent. But we must observe, that this extent is to be understood only with regard to its length, from west to east; for its breadth, from the mountains of *Tibet* southward, cannot be more than two or three days journey

Soil and produce. WITH regard to the soil and inhabitants of *Assam*, *Tavernier* has communicated several particulars. According to this author, it is one of the best countries in *Asia*, producing all the necessaries of life; and, instead of wanting a supply from other countries, is able to furnish them with several metals: for here are mines of gold, silver, steel, iron, and lead; besides great store of silk, but coarse. There is one kind spun by animals, like our silk-worms, but rounder, which live all the year under trees. The silks made of it have a fine gloss, but fret presently. They wash them in a lie, made of the ashes of the leaves of *Adam's fig-tree*, which makes them white as

^d *BERNIER*, ubi supra.

^e *TAVERNIER*, ubi supr.

(B) So *Bernier* writes it: but whether according to the *Portuguese* or *French* idiom, that is, whether it is to be *Chamdara* in *English*, or *Shamdara*, we cannot determine.

(C) It is said, in the translation, to be only four hours distant: but as it is related that *Jemla*, pursuing the *Rajah* closely from *Chamdara*, arrived before *Guerguon* in five days, we

conclude the four hours is a mistake for four days.

(D) This we judge to be the city called *Asseram*, in *Sheldon's* account of *Arrakan*; where all that is said relating to it is, that it lay on the north part of that kingdom, and was the capital of another kingdom subject thereto. See *Ovington's* voy. to *Surat*, p. 564.

snow. Here is also store of gum lack, of two sorts. One sort grows under the trees, and is of a red colour, with whose expressed juice they paint their linen: the remaining substance serves to varnish cabinets, and make wax; for which uses it is the best in all the east. As for their gold, they neither send it abroad, nor coin it into money; but make it all into ingots, which pass in trade among the inhabitants. However, the silver is coined by the king into small pieces, to the value of ten sous each¹.

THE king requires no taxes of his people; but reserves to himself all the mines in his kingdom; in which, to ease his subjects, none but slaves are employed to work.

THE inhabitants are generally well complexioned: only *The inhabitants* they who live southerly are more swarthy than the rest; neither are they so well featured: and the women are somewhat flat-nosed. However, to make amends, they are not so subject to wens, or swellings in their throats, as those who dwell more to the north, occasioned by the bad water. These southern people go quite naked, only they cover their privities, and wear on their heads a blue cap or bonnet, hung about with boars teeth. They pierce holes in their ears, which are an inch wide, and hang in them pieces of gold and silver. They are very fond of bracelets, made of coral and amber for the rich, while the meaner sort take up with those of tortoise, and other large shells, sawed into rings.

As the inhabitants of *Assam* pay no taxes, they live at their *Polygamy* ease, with each his house, and commonly an elephant to carry his wives: for they marry four; and assign to every one her peculiar office or business in the family. Although provisions are so very plenty with them, yet they prefer dog-flesh to all others. They have plenty of excellent vines, but dry the grapes to make brandy instead of wine. They have no salt but what is artificial, made from two sorts of ashes: the first are those of the green stuff that swims on stagnant waters, and is the food of ducks and frogs. This they dry and burn; and the ashes, being boiled in a cloth, become very good salt. The other kind of ashes are those of the leaves of *Adam's fig-tree*; but the salt of them is so extremely tart, that, to render it fit for the mouth, they take the following method: they put the ashes in water; and having stirred them for ten or twelve hours together, strain out the substance through linen; then they boil it till all the moisture evaporates; and what remains at the bottom of the vessel proves a very good and white salt.

¹ TAVERN. ubi supr. p. 181, & seq.

Burials.

WHEN any man is buried in this country, all his friends and relations must appear at his funeral; and, in laying the body in the ground, they all take off their bracelets and throw them into the grave: for they are taught to believe, that they who are bad livers here want all things in the other life, while the good have plenty; and that therefore it is necessary to bury with them wherewithal to supply their occasions.

Invention of cannon,

It is thought that the people of *Assam* were long ago the inventors of cannon and gun-powder; that from them the use of those instruments of destruction passed to the inhabitants of *Pegu*, and from thence to the *Chinese*; to whom that invention has been commonly ascribed. This however, we are told, is certain, that *Amir Jemla* brought from *Assam* several pieces of artillery, all of iron, and store of excellent powder; both made in the same country. The powder is round and small, like ours, and very strong^c. The inhabitants being so well provided with arms, it may seem strange that they should have continued in peace, as it is said, for above 500 years, when the *Amir* invaded them^b: for that advantage, at the same time it secured their own dominions, must, one would think, have prompted them to invade those of their neighbours.

and gun-powder.

S E C T. II.

*The Kingdom of Tipra.**Its bounds.*

THIS kingdom, whose name is written also *Tippora* and *Tippera* (A), lies on the north of *Arrakan*, and, as it should seem, on the south of *Assam*. Its eastern boundary may be the river passing through *Arrakan*, or one which falls into it; and its western, either that of *Arrakan*, or the river *Bramaputren* before-mentioned: for it has varied its bounds from time to time. *Tavernier* says, it had, in his time, *Arrakan* on the west and south, with part of *Pegu* to the south-west; and that, to travel from thence to *Dakka*, the merchants were obliged to pass through *Arrakan*^a. About the year 1586, it extended as far as the *Bramaputren* and *Ganges*, since the city of *Chatigan*, we are told, belonged to

^a TAVERN. p. 187, & seq.
part 2. p. 18

^b Vide *ibid.*

^c *Ibid.*

(A) *Fitch* calls it *Tippora*. or *Porto Grande*; perhaps from *Portugueses* called *Porto Grande*. See *Purchas's pilgrim.* vol. ii. p. 1736.

it^b; and, in the survey of the *Ganges*, often before quoted, it is placed to the east of the first of those two great rivers^c. As to its extent, we are told that it is fifteen days journey to cross it: but all the dimensions given by travellers of these countries seem to be greatly exaggerated.

THIS kingdom was formely of no inconsiderable strength, *Subject to* when *Chatigan* aforesaid belonged to it. But, as it was infe- *Arrakan*.rior in forces to *Arrakan*, then growing in power, that city often changed masters with the latter, which at length subdued the whole country of *Tipra*, with its capital city of the same name. However, about the middle of the last century, it seems to have been independent, for *Tavernier* says nothing to the contrary^d; but not long after we find it in subjection to *Arrakan*^e, in which state it probably has continued ever since.

THE country of *Tipra* has nothing fit to invite foreign *Commodi-*merchants. There is indeed a gold mine, but the metal is *ties*.very coarse; likewise a sort of very coarse silk: both of these commodities are sent to *China*, from whence, in return, is brought silver.

THE inhabitants of *Tipra* are no less subject to wens in *The inha-*their throats than those of *Assam* and *Boutan*, or *Tibet*: the *bitants*.women have them commonly so long that they hang down to the middle of their breasts. *Tavernier* saw two or three *Tipra* merchants in *Bengal*, who were men of very few words, but so fond of strong liquors, that they never refused any; and sighed for more when they had drank what was given them. They cast accounts with small stones like agate; and their scales for weighing were like a stilliard.

THE common carriage of the country were horses and *Money*.oxen; the king, and men of quality, rode in *pallekis*, and on their elephants of war. His whole revenue arose out of the silk and gold found in his dominions; which, being exchanged in *China* for silver, this latter was coined into pieces, the value of ten sous each. There are likewise current thin pieces of gold, like the aspers of *Turkey*, of which there are two sorts; four of one sort make a crown, and twelve of the other^f. This, in effect, is all we know concerning *Tipra*.

^b FITCH ap. Purch. pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1736. ^c See Engl. pilot, p. 48.

^d TAVERN. ibid.

^e See OVING. p. 564.

^f TAVERN. ubi supra

C H A P. III.

Kingdom of Arrakan, or Rakan.

S E C T. I.

Geographical Description.

The name. **T**HIS country is variously denominated by authors; some call it *Arakan*, or *Arrakan*; others, *Orrakan*; and some, as *Bernier*, *Rakan*. Some terminate it with an *m* instead of an *n*, according to the *Portuguese* orthography. *Fitch* calls it the kingdom of *Rakam* and *Rame*^a, as if two monarchies had been united in one. *Bernier* likewise styles it *Rakan*, or *May*^b; which last, probably, is an abbreviation of *Rame*. *Tossi* sometimes names it the empire of *Mogo*, or *Moghi*, which was a title then newly assumed by the king, on account, as that author supposes, of his conquests over the emperor of *Pegu*, to whom he had before been tributary^c. But this must be a mistake, for *Fitch*, who was at *Pegu* in 1586, says, the people were named *Mogores* (A), or *Moghen*^d; so that this title was taken from his subjects, and not his conquest, or rather seizure, of *Pegu*, which did not happen till the year 1600.

Site and extent. *ARRAKAN* is situate to the south of *Tipra*; and has on the east the kingdom of *Ava* and *Pegu*; on the west it is bounded by *Bengál*, from which it is separated by the river of *Chatigan* and gulf of *Bengál*. It extends from 16 degrees 30 minutes to 24 degrees of latitude; that is about 510 geographical, or 586 *English* miles, whereof 380 are sea-coast, reaching from cape *Negrals* in the south, to *Chatigan* in the north. Its breadth northwards is about 210 miles: but, from *Chatigan* southward, it decreases gradually to cape *Negrals*; where a very few miles measure it from west to east. Formerly the bounds of *Arrakan* were more extensive, as having comprised not only the kingdoms of *Alla-*

^a *FITCH* apud *Purch.* pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1736. p. 245.
^c See *OVING.* voy. p. 553, & 582.
ubi supra.

^b *Tom.* i.
^d *FITCH*,

(A) *Fitch* seems to confound the *Mogores*, or *Mogols*, with the *Mogor* in *Hindustan*.
Moghen, from the similitude of

ram (B), *Tipra*, and *Chakomas*^e (C) on the north; but also that of *Pegu* on the south.

THE sea-coast, though of great extent, is inhabited but in a few places, where they are able to defend the products of the ground from the ravages of wild elephants, or buffaloes; and their cattle from the claws of numerous tigers, who would soon lay all waste, should the people attempt to settle in that part. However, the islands being out of their reach, some of them are inhabited by poor miserable fishers; who lead a wretched life, though with liberty. There are abundance of islands on the *Arrakan* coast, which all lie close to the shore, excepting the *Buffalo* isles: these lie about four leagues off, and have good navigable chanel between. There are two islands of the name of *Negrais*, the greater and lesser; this last, which makes the point called the cape, is small and low, barren and rocky: it is often named *Diamond Isle* (D), because its shape is a rhombus. Both of them are environed with dangerous rocks; and three leagues to the south of *Diamond Isle* is a reef of sunken rocks, called the *Legarti*, or *Lizards*, a league long, but discoverable by the breaking of the sea. The tides along this coast are remarkably strong and high^f. They rise twelve or fifteen feet in the rivers, and to eighteen or twenty during the spring-tides: at which time, by the rapidity of the currents in the ebb and flow, ships perform great voyages in a short time; and both go and return in the same day^g.

THE air of *Arrakan* is very good; the inhabitants are not troubled with pestilential diseases. The country abounds with meadows and pasture-lands, well watered with rivers and brooks: the plains are exceedingly fertile; and the mountains green. The number of orchards and pleasure-gardens is infinite: they are also green and pleasant all the year round; although, during the winter, which holds from *August* to *October*, you have almost continually moist and rainy weather, accompanied with storms. To make amends, the summer which succeeds is charming; and then they gather in their harvest.

^e OVIINGT. p. 564.
vol. ii. p. 29, et seq.
Holl. tom. vi. p. 242.

^f HAMILT. new acc. East Ind.
^g SCHOUTEN ap. Recueil. voy.

(B) By *Affaram*, probably, is to be understood *Affam*, or *Affem*.

(C) By *Chakomas*, is, probably, to be understood *Jangoma*, which

Floris calls *Jagomay*, or *Jagoman*.

(D) This seems to be a mistake: for *Diamond Island* is another, about seven leagues south of *Little Negrais*.

They

They have all the vegetable necessities of life in abundance, excepting wheat and rye. Instead of bread they boil rice, till the water disappears, and it becomes a solid mass. As to the air; though the country lies in so warm a latitude, yet it sometimes freezes to such a degree when the north-east wind blows, as it did in *January 1661*, that they were forced to cut all sorts of oils with a knife^b.

Animals.

ALTHOUGH there are variety of tame as well as wild beasts in *Arrakan*, yet horses are so scarce, that *Schouten* saw but one all the while he was in the country: instead of them they make use of buffalos for ploughing, and other services. These animals are very large and strong, with desperate horns, wherewith they presently gore to death those whom they attack: as they do strangers, who pass along the roads, near which they commonly feed; especially if they wear any thing which is red, a colour that enrages them. They are so subtle as to let a man pass them quietly, and then, running at him full-drive, toss him with their horns. For all this, they are tamely obedient to the blacks who keep them; and, at the sound of a horn, assemble about them; let them get on their backs; and, at their command, will carry them safely over the most rapid river, or rugged ways; the rest following one the other. Among other animals there are infinite numbers of goats, and a great quantity of game. There is likewise plenty of geese, ducks, and fowl, together with excellent fishⁱ.

Provinces.

THE kingdom of *Arrakan*, or empire of *Mogo*, is said to comprise twelve lesser kingdoms, which are always governed by crowned heads (or those who have the title of kings), and twenty-four provinces (E): but of these we find not the names in authors^k. This too must be understood of *Arrakan*, when in its most powerful state, under its conquering sovereigns. The cities, towns, and villages, of this country are very numerous and populous. But scarce any of them are known to *Europeans*, excepting such as lie near the coasts.

Arrakan city.

THE capital of *Arrakan* gives name to the kingdom. It is nearly of the same bigness with *Amsterdam*: but much more populous. It is surrounded with suburbs, which extend some leagues in length^l. This is *Schouten's* account, who

^b SCHOUTEN, p. 223, 223, 230.ⁱ Ibid. p. 240, &seqq. ^k Oving. voy. Surat, p. 560, 568.^l SCHOUT.

ubi supra, p. 229, & seq.

^o (E) *Edcardo Barbosa*, who had twelve palaces, one in each wrote about 1515, says the king province.

was there in 1661. By others we are farther informed, that it stands in a valley, and contains no less than fifteen miles in compass; being quite environed with a ridge of steep and craggy hills, which serve it instead of walls: and appear as such to one who is in the city, being artificially cut to resemble a strong fortification. The outlets, which serve for gates, are hewn through the rocks, and, being defended by bulwarks, render the place impregnable. Besides these out-works, it is defended by a castle, of such incredible strength, that the king of *Brama*, with an army of three hundred thousand men and forty thousand elephants, was forced to raise the siege with disgrace.

THROUGH the valley runs a large river (F), which, dividing *The river*, into several rivulets or streams, conveys merchandizes and provisions to all the streets of *Arrakan*. Having past thro' the city, which is forty-five or fifty miles distant from the sea, they unite again, above half-way down, in two channels; one of which falls northward into the gulf of *Bengal* at *Orietan*, the other southward, at *Dobazi*, or *Duabakam*: both which places are much frequented by merchants; only the ebbings and flowings of the sea are so violent, especially about the time of the full moon, that ships can hardly ride safe in the ports^m. This is a noble spacious river, its mouth both wide and deep, having no less than six fathoms water at the entrance, and above twenty in some places farther in; where it makes an harbour large enough to hold all the ships in *Europe*ⁿ.

THIS river we take to be the river, which, in the Jesuits *Rise and* map of *Tibet*, is named the *Great Tsanpu*. It rises in the *course*, west parts of that vast country, near the springs of the *Ganges*, and runs quite through it eastward, passing near *Lassa*, the residence of the *Great Lama*: till, drawing near the frontiers of *China*, it takes a vast sweep to the southward, and turns south-west, along the borders of *Assam* and *Tipra*, into *Arrakan*; which it passes through on the eastern side of it, from north to south, and at length falls into the gulf of *Bengal*, as before set forth. As travellers have not communicated the name given to this river in the country, it is called by our geographers the river of *Arrakan*.

SCHOUTEN never saw a city where the buildings were *The houses*, so thick, or the streets so crowded with people (G): but most of

^m OVINGT, ubi supra, p. 554, & seqq. ⁿ HAMILT. ubi supra, p. 28, & seq. See also D'Anville's map of *India*, for the country, 1752.

(F) Called *Khaboris*, by *Ma*. (G) Yet the inhabitants were

of the houses are so low that they look more like huts, and do not answer to the vanity of the nation; for the same author never observed them higher than four, five, or six feet at most. They stand at a distance from the ground on pillars; because, almost every night, there rises a fog which covers the surface of the earth, and continues till dissipated by the morning sun. The houses are built with the branches of palm-trees, bambû canes, and Koko-leaves; they have many little windows, and are very airy. Those of the better and middling sort have handsome apartments, which communicate one with another, and are very well contrived. They have neither garrets, cellars, nor fire-places; and the kitchens are without-doors, commonly under little penthouses near the entrance, where the women dress their meat in earthen pots. They sleep on carpets and mats, covering themselves with pieces of lincn or cotton to keep them warm°. But although the buildings are for the general mean, yet one meets with several spacious piazzas, where trade is carried on. The princes and nobility employ a different kind of timber in their houses, and are profuse in adorning their apartments with exquisite carving and gildings; nor are the inferior sort destitute of embellishments. They reckon no fewer than six hundred pagods in this metropolis.

*The king's
palace.*

THE king's palace is vastly large; but not so beautiful for its structure: it is supported by large and tall pillars, made of whole trees, and covered over with gold. The apartments above are built with red and white *sandal*, a sort of eagle-wood, and other odoriferous timber. In the middle of the palace is a great hall, called the *golden house*, because the inside is entirely overlaid with gold; and over a raised place is fixed a canopy, hung round with above a hundred *kombalenghe*, or large wedges of the same metal, in the shape of sugar-loaves, each weighing above forty pounds. Here likewise are to be seen seven idols, each the height of a man, cast in gold two inches thick; and adorned with rubies, emeralds, sapphires, and diamonds of an extraordinary size, on their foreheads, breasts, arms, and about their middles. In the center of this hall stands a square stool, of three hands-breadth, supporting a cabinet, both of pure gold, and studded with precious stones; wherein are kept the two *kanekas*, or famous pendants, made, in the form of pyramids, of two rubies,

*Great
wealth.*

° SCHOUT. ubi supra, p. 229, & seq.

and sixty thousand, excepting gers. *Ovington*, p. 559.
tiff merchants, and (other) stran-

each

each of the length of a man's little finger, and broad at the base as an hen's egg. These jewels have been the source of most bloody wars among the neighbouring potentates; not so much on account of their value, as that the prince who possesses them is supposed to have a right of dominion over the rest. This king, however, never wears them but on the day of his coronation P.

IN another apartment of the palace stands the statue of *Fine* ~~the~~ king of *Barma* (commonly called *Brama*), murdered by ~~his~~ *tue*. his subjects; which is made with so great skill as to raise admiration in the beholders, who are very numerous; because that prince was reckoned a great saint (H), and famed for curing diseases, especially the bloody-flux; on which account they resort to his statue.

NOT far from the palace is a great lake, full of little isles, *Great* inhabited by their priests, with boats plying on it. But it has *lake*. no communication with the city, being hindered by a bank; so contrived, that, in case the place was forced by an enemy, they might be all drowned, by cutting a passage for the water through the bank.

THE most northern maritime city (I) is *Orietan*, to which, *Orietan*. from the capital, there is a delightful passage by water: the banks of the river being set with tall trees, whose inclining heads make a continued shade to defend the traveller from the sun; who is diverted with the apes and peacocks which frequent them. The city is much resorted by merchants from all parts of *India*, and even *China* and *Japan*. It is the capital of one of the twelve provinces, whose governor receives a crown from the king at his coronation, and always enjoys the same title. Not far from the city stands the mountain *Mawm*, with a lake of the same name at the foot of it. ~~Farther~~ are banished state offenders: and although the mountain is so craggy, and infested with wild beasts, that it is almost impassable; yet the king not only causes those exiles to be strictly guarded, but farther, to prevent their flight, cuts off their heels^a.

FROM the mountain *Mawm*, you cross the gulf to *Peroem*, *Peroem* another city; which, being near the sea, with a good har- *city*.

OVINGT. ubi supra, p. 556, & seqq.

^a Ibid. p. 588,

& seqq.

(H) What king this was is hard to say; there were but three *Barma* kings of *Pegu*: the first and last were butchered; but far from being saints, un-

less their being cruel and tyrannical made them so.

(I) In the time of *Edoardo Barbosa*, about 1515. *Arrakan* had no sea-ports.

bour, is a place of great trade. The governor exercises absolute authority within his jurisdiction, and keeps a court answerable to the majesty of a king.

Ramu
city.

SOME days journey distant is *Ramu*, a considerable city like the preceding: but the way between them is very dangerous, whether you go by land or water, the sea being subject to sudden storms; and the road by land, lying across the mountains of *Pre*, which separate *Arrakan* from *Pegu*, is infested with wild beasts. There is in this part of the country a mountain called *Pora*, that is, God; from an idol on the top of it sitting cross-legged, and much resorted to by the devout *Indians*. By this place (K) runs a large river, from which some engineers would have persuaded the king to cut a canal as far as *Arrakan*: but he rejected that project, for fear of exposing his capital to the incursions of the *Mogols*, who might easily convey their forces down such a passage.

Dianga
city.

THE next place of note on this tempestuous coast is *Dianga*, or *Diango*, which some assign to *Bengal*; but in *Schouten's* time it was a frontier city of *Arrakan*. Indeed this city, as well as *Chatigan* (which was undoubtedly once an empory of this kingdom, and commonly governed by the king's second son), has frequently shared the fate of frontier towns, in changing its masters. The greater part of its inhabitants are *Portuguese* fugitives (or the descendants of them); who enjoy great privileges by grant of the king (L), and have a church here belonging to the *Augustin* friars.

Sundiva
island.

THERE are other places along this coast subject to the king of *Arrakan*, as *Koromoria*, *Sedoa*, *Zara*, and port of *Magdeni*: to which may be added the island of *Sundiva*, already mentioned, abounding with salt; about 100 miles in compass, and 20 from the coast of *Bengal*, to which it properly belongs. The *Portuguese*, looking on it as a fit place for a retreat, being naturally well fortified, in 1602 took it from the *Mogols*, who sometime before had forced it out of the hands of its own prince: this latter gave up to them likewise all his right and title thereto. But the king of *Arrakan*, fearing the growth of their power, compelled them (M) the next year to retire from thence to *Bakala*, and other places of *Bengal*.

* OVIINGT. p. 561, & seqq.

{K} It is not said whether they were here about the year 1607.
the mountain *Pora*, or city See the following history.

Ramu.

(M) See the subsequent history.

(L) There was a massacre of

DESCEND-

DESCENDING the southern stream of the river from the Dobazi city of Arrakan, you come to Dobazi (or Duabakem), a city and port of great traffic. From thence, following the coast, you arrive at Chudabe, which, having a commodious port, is likewise much frequented by foreign merchants. Not far hence lies cape *Negrais*; and near it, according to *Tessi*, the island *Munay* (N), famous for its many temples, and being the residence of the chief *Raulin*, or pope of Arrakan. At this cape Arrakan ends, although *Tessi* extends it along the south coast as far as *Sirian*, which properly belongs to Pegu; and others make cape *Negrais*, with all the coast northwards to beyond 18 degrees of latitude, to belong to Ava.

S E C T. II.

Account of the Inhabitants.

THE people of Arrakan esteem a broad flat forehead; which they give their children, by binding hard on that part a plate of lead as soon as they are born, letting it lie on till the effect be produced. Their nostrils are large and open; their eyes small but quick; their ears reach down to their shoulders, like those of the *Malabars*; and they are very fond of a dark purple colour.

THE *Sikkas* (O), counsellors of state, nobility, and all people of condition, wear a vest, or shirt, of fine white calico, which sits close to the body and arms. Over it they have a long gown of the same kind, which buttons round the arms, and tied close upon the breast with ribbands. Besides this they have an apron, which covers the belly and thighs before, with another piece of white calico like a bag, which, gathered in many folds, covers the parts behind, and is tied round the waist, from whence it hangs; so that they look as if they carried a large bundle of cloth about them. They let their hair grow long, tying it in tresses behind the head, like the women in *Holland*, and adorn it with fine cloth, made up in knots: the women are tolerably fair.

* OVIINGT. p. 565, & seq.

Ibid. p. 569.

(N) But *Mendez Pinto*, p. 252, places the island *Mounay*, where the chief *Raulin* resides, one league and a half from the city of *Martavan*: there is a cape of the same name, turning into the river, or port, of *Martavan*,

on the south side thereof.

(O) The *Sikkas* are the prime men of the kingdom, or chief ministers, who compose the king's council, according to *Scheuten*, p. 156.

*Of the
women.*

THE women wear a kind of flowered gauze, which is transparent, and, covering the bosom, passes over the shoulders. They likewise fasten about their waist an apron of fine calico, which goes three or four times round them, and reaches to their feet. They who are rich wear a silk scarf over one of their arms. Their hair is not tied, but done into buckles, in an agreeable manner. They stretch their ears by boring them when very young, and putting in the holes rolls of parchment, or the like, which they enlarge from time to time: they wear in them rings of glass, silver, or other materials, which make a gingling against the neck as they go along. Sometimes they have bracelets all the way up their arms to the elbows, and from the ankles to the calves of their legs. But the genteeler sort content themselves with a few japanned ones.

THE people, in general, are very ostentatious, and usually make an appearance beyond their ability; it being common for a person to be attended by several servants, who is not able to maintain above one or two^a.

*Their diet
loathsome.*

IN their entertainments they have plenty of provisions: but then they are such as are neither pleasing to the eye nor taste. They mix with their choicest dishes the flesh of rats, mice, serpents, and other loathsome animals. They never eat fish till it is in a state of corruption, thinking it has the best relish when it stinks the most. They take of this putrid fish, after it has been dried in the sun, and, beating it into a consistency, make a kind of mustard of it, which they call *sidol*; and this they strew over all their victuals. The better sort make use of the flesh of crabs, mixt with other ingredients; which, not being so rotten as the other fish, is somewhat less intolerable. They serve up their meat in small dishes, one hundred or two at a time, that every body may meet with what he likes. Instead of bread, they use rice, both parched and bruised, or otherwise ordered in the flour^b. Their usual drink is water, or a liquor called *auze*, which is the juice of a tree much like the palm; and taken from it by incision, in the same manner as in the other peninsula of India^c.

Their marriage.

THE people of *Arrakan* have an aversion to getting a woman's maidenhead, which they look on as a low kind of drudgery; and therefore hire the *Dutch* sailors, or any strangers, to ease them of that trouble. The virgins who have been thus deflowered are in most reputation; and the men who are

^a SCHOUTEN, ubi supr. p. 233.
p. 569.

^b SCHOUTEN, p. 231.

^c OVINGT. ubi supr.

inclined to marry, that they may not be deceived, chuse to take those to wife who are big with child. The courtship begins by little presents and interviews; and when matters are concluded, the parties confirm their engagements before the idol, in presence of their parents; the *Talipoin* (or priest), of whose sect they are, performing certain ceremonies besides. On these occasions there are presents made of precious stones to the bride: fire-works are plaid off, and feasts prepared, accompanied with music and dancing. The men are allowed several wives; they may likewise keep concubines, and make use of the public dancers*.

WHEN any fall sick, the physician is sent for; but the *Sick, how*
Raulin, or priest, is the person on whom they most depend *treated.*
 for a cure. They first blow their breath on them, repeating certain prayers; and if this does not do, they tell the patient that he must offer a sacrifice to *Chao Baos*, that is the god of the four winds, who, they say, is the author of all distempers. This sacrifice, called *Kalouko*, consists of fowls, hogs, and other animals; and must be repeated four times, to every wind distinctly, in case he does not recover time enough to prevent the expence. On these sacrifices the priests feast themselves. But if, after this, the distemper proves obstinate, then the wife, or nearest relation, must make a vow to perform another piece of priestcraft, called a *Talagno*. To this purpose a chamber must be hanged with rich tapestry, and an idol placed upon an altar raised at one end of it: when all things are made ready, on the day appointed, the priests, with the sick person's relations, repair thither, and are feasted for eight days together.

To complete the farce, the person who makes the vow is *Dancing*
 obliged to dance as long as he is able to stand; and when his *physick.*
 legs will support him no longer, he must take hold of a piece of cloth fastened to a beam, and continue dancing till he has quite exhausted his spirits, and drops down on the spot. Then the music is redoubled, and the spectators, who are as great fools as the vow-maker, envy his happiness; supposing him all the while he lies in this condition to converse with the idol. This exercise he is obliged to repeat every day as long as the feasting lasts; but if he has not strength to go through it, some near relation is to dance in his place. In case, after the *Talagno* is completed, the patient happens to recover, he is carried to the pagods, where he is anointed with perfumed oils from head to foot: but if, on the contrary, he dies, the priest tells his relations, that the sacrifices were

* SCHOUTEN, p. 336, & seq.

well accepted by the gods; and that the reason why they did not grant him a longer life was, because they designed him a greater favour, by taking him to themselves.

Their funerals:

THEIR funerals are no less superstitious, and, consequently ridiculous: for the corpse being brought into the middle of the house, the *Raulin* walks round it, and says over it certain prayers, whilst others perfume the place with incense; and the family beat upon a broad piece of brass, keeping strict watch at the same time, lest a *black cat* should pass over him: for in that case he would be constrained to return to life again with ignominy, and be deprived of bliss. Before the body is carried out of the house, they invite to a banquet a sort of people called *Graii*, whose refusal causes dreadful lamentation among his relations; as taking it for an infallible sign that his soul is condemned to *the house of smoke*, so they call hell. The coffin is adorned according to the ability of the people: and, as they hold the *metempsychosis*, they paint on it the figures of horses, elephants, eagles, cows, lions, and the like noble animals, as it were to direct the departed soul to the best lodging; unless, out of humility, the deceased had ordered rats, frogs, and the most contemptible creatures, to be drawn in their stead, as more suitable receptacles for his polluted soul. After this, the body is carried into the field, and burnt to ashes. The *Raulin* kindles the fire, which the relations attend, clad in white; which is their mourning colour, only they wear a black band round their head.

The sick exposed.

AT their funerals they have always hired mourners, who attend sometimes all night as well as day, and pretend much sorrow. They who cannot afford wood to burn the corpse, for it is very dear in this country, carry it to the river at low water, and leave it for the next tide to carry it off: but as the dead carcases often remain in the river, either sunk or floating, it gives an ill taste to the water. This also fills the country with ravens, kites, and other birds of prey, which not only feed on these corpses, but attack the buffaloes, and other horned cattle; fixing on their backs, and tearing off the flesh to the very bones, in spite of all their efforts to shake them off. The natives not only carry the dead bodies to rivers, but also expose the living in the same manner, when afflicted with grievous diseases, which they judge to be incurable; so that if the water does not carry them clear away, they are sure to be drowned. This they call humanity, charity, and compassion for the sick person; who, by this means, they

^a QVINGT. ubi suprà, p. 570, & seqq.

say, is delivered from a most miserable state here, and sent to enjoy great happiness in heaven^b.

THE people of *Arrakan* trade very little by sea. All their *No foreign* navigation extends no farther than *Bengal* and *Pegu*; whi- commerce. ther, upon occasion, they send their *Jeliyaffes* of war. For they neither covet subduing the possessions of other nations, nor of sending colonies into other parts; much less do they delight in foreign commerce. What trade they have is brought home to them by the merchants of distant countries^c. As the country produces timber for building, some lead, tin, stick-lack, and elephants teeth, there are some of the *Great Mogol's* subjects who trade hither: and sometimes they meet with bargains of diamonds, rubies, other precious stones, and gold *Rupis*; which, says our author, are to be supposed some of *Soltan Sujah's* treasure, pilfered by the avaritious priests^d: of which more will be spoken hereafter.

WHATEVER foreign commerce there is in *Arrakan*, it is *Moham-* carried on by the *Mohammedans*, who are settled here in great medans. numbers; particularly at *Bandel*. Some trade in elephants, which they send to *Orisba* (or *Orixa*), the coast of *Choromandal*, *Golkonda*, and *Persia*: in return for which, and other goods, they carry back calicoes, silks, spices, and the like. Very few are natives of *Arrakan*; but come from other parts of *India* to settle there, and dress as they do elsewhere.

THE inhabitants of *Arrakan* are idolaters: on which ac- *Religion of* count, says *Schouten*, they are called *Moges* (Q); worship- *Arrakan* ing devoutly their images, made of clay, baked in the sun^e. They are very superstitious, and look on the barking of a dog, or the like, as the presage of some remarkable event. On every such frivolous occasion the priests are sent for; who know how to make their advantage of the people's folly. The idols in their temples are so numerous, that one of them is reported to contain no fewer than 20,000. They are built in the form of pyramids or spires. Besides the temple-idols, they have their domestic ones. To both sorts they offer victuals every day; and both are clothed by them in winter, that they might not catch cold. They wear the mark of their household god branded on their arms, sides, or shoulders. On their anniversary festival, in commemora- *like the* *Indian*

^b SCHOUT. ubi supr. p. 337.
MILT. ubi supr. p. 29.

^c Ibid. p. 228.

^d HAM-
^e SCHOUT. p. 239. 235.

(Q) Or *Moghes*. If this be so, we then learn what *Ovington* tells us, p. 582, he could

never find, whence the king derives the appellation of *Mogbi*, which he assumes.

tion of the dead, they carry in procession one of their idols, *Quiay Poragray* (R); which is carried in a heavy chariot, with ninety of the priests, clothed in yellow sattin. Many throw themselves under the wheels, others hang themselves on hooks, fastened for the purpose, and sprinkle him with their blood. These martyrs to folly are in such veneration with the people, that he thinks himself happy on whom one drop of their blood happens to light. Nay, the hooks are taken down by the priests, as sacred relics, and carefully preserved in their temples. From these instances our readers may perceive, that the religion of *Arrakan* tallies with that of the *Hindús*, in the hither parts of *India*; and their priests impose upon them no less by subtil artifices.

Their hierarchy.

THEIR priests, called *Raulin*, or *Raulini*, are divided into three orders, distinguished by the names *Pungrini*, *Panjani*, and *Shosbom*; something resembling the orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, in the Christian hierarchy. The chief of their priests is called *Shosbom Pungr*; which title imports as much among them as that of *Pope* does at *Rome*. On him depend all ecclesiastical causes, and he is had in so great veneration even by the king, that his majesty places him on his right hand, and never speaks to him without a profound reverence. The place of his residence, or see, is in the island of *Munay*, as hath been already mentioned. All the priesthood are clothed in yellow (S), and have their heads shaven. All go uncovered, excepting the *Pungrini*, or those of the first order, who wear a yellow mitre, with the point turned and falling backward. They are obliged by vow to live single; and, in case of disobedience, are degraded: by which means they are reduced to the condition of laics, and are taxed as such^f.

Monks and hermits.

THEY live partly in houses of their own, and on their estates; partly in cloisters, which are founded by their king, or great men (T), and generally very sumptuous: but they

^f Ovingt. p. 575, & seqq.

(R) He is their supreme deity. See p. 580 of *Ovington*. — Captain *Hamilton* says, 335.

the name of the titular god of the kingdom is *Dagon*. Vol. ii, p. 28.

(S) *Sebautin* says, they wear black, which is the colour of modesty, as well as mourning,

(T) *Schoutin*, p. 335, says, their houses are either near the pagods, on rocks, or on little hills; where they live like hermits, sequestered from the world. Although their air and gate is modest, yet one may discover pride in it.

are

are all subject to one spiritual head, as before-mentioned. By them the children, both of the nobility and gentry, are educated in the knowledge of their religion and laws : and they are said to be exceeding hospitable to strangers. They have among them many hermits, like the *Joghies*, of the western parts of *India* ; who are distinguished into three kinds or orders, named *Grepi*, *Manigrepi*, and *Taligrepi* (U). These inflict on themselves very rigorous penances ; for which they are held in great esteem among the people^s.

THE government of *Arrakan* is chiefly in the hands of the twelve princes before-mentioned ; who are honoured with the title of kings, residing in the principal cities, in twelve royal palaces, with each a great seraglio, as well for their women, as those they educate for the king of all the rest, who keeps his court in the city of *Arrakan*. Govern-
ment.

THIS monarch affects as lofty titles as any of his neighbours ; styling himself *Emperor of Arrakan, possessor of the titles, white elephant (X), with the two Kenekas, and, by virtue of them, rightful heir of Pegu and Brama. Lord of the twelve Boyoni of Bengal ; and of the twelve kings (meaning those in Arrakan) who lay the highest hair of their heads under the soles of his feet.* His usual residence is in the city of *Arrakan* : but it is customary with him in summer to spend two months in a kind of progress by water to *Orietan*. In which he is attended by his nobility, in boats so artfully contrived and disposed that they appear rather like a floating palace or city than what they are. In this progress he does not omit to administer justice ; but hears causes as regularly as when at land. One pretence for this maritime journey is to visit the pagod of *Quiay Poragray*, their supreme deity ; to whom he daily sends a sumptuous dinner. King his
titles,
and places
of resi-
dence.

THIS, among many instances, shews, the kings of *Arrakan* to be very superstitious ; and this superstition frequently leads them into acts of the greatest barbarity. *Tosi* relates of one of them, that, being told he could not long survive his coronation, which is performed with the greatest pomp, he put it off, although the high-priest was already setting the crown on his head ; nor would admit that ceremony for Supersti-
tion and
cruelty.

* OVINGT. p. 577, & seq.

(U) These names seem to be taken from *Mendez Pinto*. Other authors call them in general *Talipoi*, or *Talipois*.

(X) This famous white elephant was wrested from the

king of *Siam*, by him of *Pegu*, in 1567. It was taken by the king of *Tangu*, at the surrender of *Pegu* city, in 1599, and delivered to the king of *Arrakan* soon after.

the space of twelve years : but, being pressed to it by his lords, and not able to defer it any longer, he consulted a *Mohammedan*, to know whether there was any way to avert the omen. The *Musulman*, with an intent, it is said, to destroy those whom he reckoned enemies of his religion, told the king, that an electuary made of hearts, wherein were to be 6000 belonging to his subjects, 4000 of white cows, and 2000 of white doves, would protect him from the threatened danger. The king, relying upon this false information, built a house, the foundations whereof, to render it still more auspicious, were laid upon women great with child : and, on that occasion, sacrificed no fewer than 18,000 innocent persons, with a view to preserve his own life ^b.

Marry
their
sisters.

WE meet with no account of the descent of the kings of *Arrakan* ; but we learn from authors, that, to preserve the blood unmixed, they are obliged to marry their eldest sisters ¹. This monarch scarce ever goes out of his palace, above once in five years (+), when he does it with great solemnity ; but passes his life there with his queen, and a great number of concubines. Every year the *Sikkas* (Y), who are his favourites, cause twelve of the loveliest maidens to be sought for through the realm, and dressed in fine white linen. After this, they are exposed for six hours to the most violent heat of the sun, that they may sweat as much as possible. This done, other habits are brought them to put on, and their sweaty ones examined by persons appointed, who make their report ; and the young ladies, whose sweat has no disagreeable smell, are presented to the king, and placed among his concubines. The rest are disposed of, with portions, to his courtiers. All the females are taught music and dancing, with whatever else may help to render them agreeable, in hopes of arriving to that dignity. It is said, that they who have obtained it, form themselves also to the exercise of arms ; after which they are distributed into the principal apartments of the king, and serve him for guards ^k.

Concu-
bines how
chosen.

^b Ovingt. p. 579, & seq. ¹ Tosi ap. Ovingt. p. 582.
METHOLD ap. Purch. Pilgr. vol. 5. p. 1005. ^k SCHOUT.
ubi supr. p. 233.

(+) Except we suppose in his progress, as aforesaid.

(Y) According to *Ovington*, p. 579, the twelve governors, styled kings, are obliged to pick out twelve girls every year, within their provinces, and edu-

cate them, at the king's charge, in their seraglios, till they are twelve years old ; at which age they are carried to court, and chosen by the smell of their sweaty garments. *Edoardo Barbosa* relates to the same purpose.

THE kings of *Arrakan* were formerly almost continually at war with the great *Mogol*; but never came to a set battle: for they do not care to hazard their troops much¹. These monarchs, however, for the vastness of their treasure and military strength, are as considerable as most eastern princes. About 150 years ago they became famous by their wars, and much enlarged their dominions by the conquests they made both in *Bengál* and *Pegu*. However, it is observed, that they were generally unsuccessful in their wars against the *Portugueses*; who, in 1605, defeated the king's fleet, consisting of no fewer than 540 sail (or barks); and, not long after, he was forced three times to retire from before *Siriam* (now belonging to *Pegu*), though he attacked it with a fleet of 1200 sail, and an army of 30,000 men, accompanied with 3500 great and small cannon^m. However, the king of *Rakan* (or *Arrakan*) by degrees humbled them, as will be related hereafter.

A. D.
1569.The king's
power.

S E C T. III.

The History of Arrakan.

THE first account we meet with of the affairs of *Arrakan* *Kingdom of* is about the year 1569; at which time the king of *Pegu* (of the *Barma* or *Brama* race), growing very powerful, fought, by all manner of ways, to subdue that kingdom. But he was not able to compass his design: for, first, he had no fleet to transport an army by sea; whereas the king of *Arrakan* could arm 200 gallies in his defence: and, in case he should invade that country by land; the inhabitants were ready, by means of sluices, to lay the same all under water, and either drown their enemies, or impede their march. However, at that time, the *Portugueses* of *Chatigan* having slain the governor of that city, which belonged to *Bengál*; and it being made an article of the accommodation which soon after took effect, that the chief commander of the *Portugueses*, who had then eighteen ships in the port, should depart the place with his vessel; the king of *Arrakan*, to strengthen himself against his neighbours, invited the captain to come into his dominions^a. By this means the *Portugueses* first found an introduction into *Arrakan*; where, by degrees, they gained a considerable footing: which they lost again, at length, by their insolence and crimes.

¹ SCHOUT. ubi. supr. p. 228. ^m JARRIC. ap. Ovingt. p. 578. ^a CÆSAR FREDERIC ap. Purch. pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1720.

A. D.
1581.

invaded
from Pegu.

THESE *Portugueses*, however, proved of great service to the king of *Arrakan*; for, in 1581, the king of *Pegu*, having at length procured a fleet of 1300 sail, resolved to conquer that country. With this view he sent that numerous armament, under the command of the prince his son, towards the *Arrakan* coast. The prince being informed, in his passage, that two *Portuguese* galliots had taken a ship of *Pegu*, richly laden, he detached sixteen of his best sailors to attack them. The galliots received them bravely, and disabled several of them: till seeing the whole fleet coming down upon them, they made the best of their way into the bay of *Arrakan*^b, which prevented the prince from making a descent.

Shilini
Shâh be-
comes

AFTER this, *Arrakan* seems to have been freed from any attempts on the side of *Pegu*, whose arms were turned against other neighbouring nations. Nor did the king of *Arrakan* take that opportunity to attack his most dangerous enemy, for fear of drawing back his resentment upon him. But at length the power of *Pegu* having been greatly exhausted by long wars, particularly with *Siam*, several of the bordering kings, taking advantage of *Branjinoka*'s distress, entered into a league against him. Among the rest *Shilimi Shih* (A), king of *Arrakan*, was one. This prince, in the year 1598, laid siege to the city of *Pegu*, and was joined soon after by the king of *Tangu*. But being called away for a while about some other affairs, he left the continuance of the siege to the king of *Tangu*: who made so good use of his time, that, before the king returned, he had gotten *Branjinoko*, with all the royal family, into his hands, and carried off almost the whole treasure of the captive prince, amounting to an immense value; leaving behind above three millions in silver, and other metals, which he thought not worth while to take with him.

master of
Pegu.

SHILIMI Shâh, coming back to *Pegu*, took the kingdom into his possession, with the silver which the king of *Tangu* had left for him: but not brooking to be so tricked by his good ally, who had agreed to divide the spoil, he sent to demand a farther share, with the white elephant, and the captive king's daughter; he likewise required that the king himself should either be sent to him, or slain; threatening otherwise to invade *Tangu*. To avoid this visit, his demands were complied with; the king's brother, and two of his sons, sent also; and the dethroned tyrant was put to death.

* *DE FARIA* Portug. Asia, vol. ii. p. 369, & seq.

(A) Called, afterwards, *Shilimika*, which seems the more natural name of the two.

How long the king of *Arrakan* kept possession thereof, or whether he abandoned it of his own accord, or was forced to quit it by the king of *Ava*, does not appear from travellers. We meet with no account of what he did in *Pegu*, excepting so far as relates to the affair of *Sirian* ^{A. D. 1598.}

As the king of *Arrakan* was not acknowledged by the *Portuguese*, who had hidden themselves, or abandoned the country, to avoid the miseries which the late king brought upon it; he delivered to *Philip de Brito*, and *Nicote*, the port of *Sirian*, in order to receive under his protection such fugitives as should be minded to return: he likewise designed thereby to reward the military services of *De Brito*, for whom he had a great esteem. But this upstart, who had acquired prodigious wealth, requited that prince's favours with the utmost ingratitude ^{The Portuguesees favoured.}. He fortified *Sirian* against the donor; and, in the end, set up for emperor of *Pegu* himself, as will be set forth in the history of that country, to which we shall refer our readers, and return to matters which more immediately concern the kingdom of *Arrakan*: where we shall meet with another *Portuguese*, no less remarkable for his sudden rise and treachery to that prince, than *De Brito* himself.

THIS last, elated with his new dignity, aiming to extend his power, thought it would be for his advantage to be possessed of *Dianga*, a port of *Arrakan*; and although he knew how ill that potentate bore his retaining *Sirian*, though in another dominion, yet he had the presumption to think he would bestow *Dianga* upon him. With this hope, in the beginning of the year 1607, he fitted out some vessels, and sent in them his son, as ambassador, to beg that port of the king. But some *Portuguese*s having persuaded his majesty of *Arrakan* that *De Brito's* design, by that request, was to deprive him of his kingdom; he ordered the son, with his officers, to be assassinated in his court, and the men to be served in the same manner on board the vessels. Not content with this, he, at the same time, sent a private mandate to slay all the *Portuguese*s who were settled at *Dianga*. On which occasion, above 600 of them, living quietly as good subjects, under his protection, and suspecting no danger, lost their lives. Some few escaped into the woods; and nine or ten vessels got out to sea ^{Massacred at Dianga.}.

WHETHER the king who gave these sanguine orders was *Rise of Shimili Sháh*, or his successor, we cannot determine; our au- ^{Tibao.}

* FERNANDEZ ap. Purch. pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1744. * Ibid.
 • DE FARIA, ubi supr. vol. iii. p. 154.

A. D.
1607.

thor *De Faria* having neglected to inform us (B). However that be, much about this time, we find a new king in *Arrakan*, and soon after a revolution in that country, as will appear from what we are going to relate. Among the few who escaped by sea from the above-mentioned massacre at *Dianga*, was one *Sebastian Gonçales Tibao*, who had just then entered the harbour, with a vessel laden with salt. He was a man of obscure extraction, born in the village of *St. Anthony del Tojal*, near *Lisbon*: in 1605 he embarked for *India*; and lifting himself a soldier in *Bengál*, fell to dealing in salt, which is a great merchandize there. By this trade he soon gained as much as purchased a *Jaleu*, a sort of small vessel; and by this purchase was enabled to carry his salt to foreign markets. This man was one of the greatest prodigies of the *Portuguese* fortune that *Asia* had produced: three years she was big with this monster, from 1605 to 1608. The reader will see in him another *Philip de Brito* and *Nicote* (C), famous for their incredible rise and insolence.

Another.

EMANUEL de Mattos, commander of the *Bandel* (or port) of *Dianga*, who died not long before the massacre there, had been lord of *Sundiva*, an island seventy leagues in compass, belonging to *Bengál*, and not far from the coast of *Arrakan*. *Fateh Khán*, a resolute *Moor* (D), whom he had trusted with that island in his absence, hearing of *De Mattos's* death, usurped the command; and, the better to secure himself, murdered not only all the *Portugueses* who were settled there, with their wives and children, but likewise such

(B) The successor of *Shilimi Sháh*, according to *De Faria's* history, was *Anaparam*, who was dethroned by his brother, whose name is omitted; and, by a passage, p. 160, it must have been this usurper who then reigned: for it is there said, that *Tibao's* treachery was to revenge the *Portugueses* slain by him at *Dianga*. But this author is very incorrect, often confounding one prince with another. He likewise, by frequently omitting the names of the princes, and exact dates of actions, has rendered his history very confused and imperfect, as well as by dividing his relation of the same matters into so ma-

ny parts, and mixing matters of so many different kinds together, in order to digest them by way of annals. It is still worse, when giving the history of a person together, contrary to his plan, he omits the date of actions, and so causes the reader to imagine that they all belong to the particular year or years under which they are related. This is the case with the affairs of *Arrakan* and *Pegu*.

(C) *James Suarez de Melo* was another of these monstrous births. See *De Faria, Portug. Asia*, vol. ii. p. 135, & seqq.

(D) By *Moor* is to be understood a *Mohammedan*.

of the natives as had embraced popery. This done, gathering *Moors* and *Patans* (E) to his assistance, he fitted out a fleet of forty sail, which charges he supported with the revenue of the island, which is very considerable. *Sebastian Gonzales*, and his companions, with the other vessels which had escaped from *Dianga*, being left without a head to govern them, lived by robbing in the country of *Arrakan*, and carried their plunder to the king of *Bakala's* (F) ports, who was a friend to the *Portugueses*. *Fateh Khân*, understanding that these rovers plied thereabouts, went out to seek them, with such assurance of success, that he carried this inscription on his colours: *Fateh Khân, by the grace of God, lord of Sundiva, shedder of Christian blood, and destroyer of the Portuguese nation* ^f.

ONE evening he thought to surprise them; and had certainly effected it: but quarrelling about the division of some spoil, in a river of the island *Shavashur*, *Tibao* left them; and happening to meet *Fateh Khân's* fleet, gave his companions notice of it. By this means they had time to put themselves in a posture of defence, before the arrival of the enemy, who immediately fell on them. The pirates fought so desperately all night, that the morning discovered eighty *Portugueses* victorious over 600 *Moors*, joined with *Patans*; and ten vessels over forty. Not one sail of them got away, nor a man escaped being taken or killed; among which latter was *Fateh Khân*. Had they been under a commander who knew how to improve a victory, the island must then have been their own. This obliged them to chuse a head; and they pitched on *Stephen Palmyro*, a man of years and experience. But as he absolutely refused to command such wicked people, they desired him to appoint one; and he named *Sebastian Gonzales Tibao*, whom they promised punctually to obey. As soon as this point was settled, they resolved to attack *Sundiva*; and having gathered a number of *Portugueses* from *Bengál* and the

^f DE FARIA, *ibid.* p. 154, & seq.

(E) The *Patans* are those of the province of *Patan*, in *Hindustán*, who had the dominion in that country before the *Mogols* conquered it. By some the *Afyáns*.

(F) There are two or three large islands to the west of *Sundiva*, which bear the name of *Bakkala*. They are made by

the streams into which the *Ganges* is divided, towards the sea or gulf *Bengál*. There is another island called *Bakala*, with a town of the same name in it, on the coast of *Arrakan*, midway between *Sundiva* and the river of *Arrakan*: but this is not so likely to be the *Bakk* in question, as the former.

neighbouring

A. D. 1609. *neighbouring ports, Tibao applied to the king of Bakkala, agreeing by articles, "to give him half the revenue of the island when recovered, provided he assisted him to conquer it."* The king, consenting, sent him some ships, and 200 horse: so that, in March 1609, *Tibao* had a fleet of forty ships, and 400 *Portugueses*, besides his auxiliaries. On the other hand, *Sundiva*, having had time to provide for its defence, was full of resolute men. A great number of *Moors*, commanded by *Fateh Khân's* brother, received them at landing, but were forced to retire into a fort, which the *Portugueses* immediately besieged. As the place was vigorously defended, they not only lay long before it, without making any great progress, but were at last in danger of perishing; not being able to come at either the ammunition or provision which were aboard their vessels. From this distress they were luckily delivered, by *Gaspar de Pina*, a *Spaniard*, who coming to that port, at their request, landed fifty men, whom he commanded; and marching by night with many lights, and much noise, made the enemy believe that he brought a considerable succour. As soon as he arrived in the camp, the fort was assaulted; and, being taken, above 1000 *Moors* put to the sword. The natives of the island, who before had been subject to the *Portugueses*, presently submitted; and were received to mercy, on condition that they should deliver up to him all the strangers who were in the island. On this occasion they brought him above 1000 *Moors* more; and, as they came, he cut off their heads. Thus *Tibao* became master of *Sundiva*, and was obeyed as an absolute lord, independent of any other prince.

His power and arrogance. To recompence the principal *Portugueses*, who had served him on this occasion, he gave them lands in the island: and then, repenting, took them away again. Instead of yielding to the king of *Bakkala* half the revenue of the island, as had been agreed by him, he made war upon that prince; growing insolent and ungrateful, as he grew in authority. He had now at his command 1000 *Portugueses*, 2000 natives, well armed, 200 horse, and above 80 sail of vessels, with good artillery. As many merchants traded thither, he erected a custom-house; and the neighbouring princes, surpris'd at his prodigious success, courted his friendship. From the king of *Bakkala* he wrested the islands of *Shavapur* (or *Shavastpur*), and *Patchabanga*; besides what he took from others: so that, of a sudden, he was possessed of vast riches, equal with

many princes: but, like a meteor, he as suddenly disappeared.

A. D.
1609.

SUCH was the fortune of *Sebastian Gonzales* in *Sundiva*, when there happened a difference between the prince of *Arrakan* and king *Anaparam*. The prince, finding that he could not prevail on his brother, either by intreaty or threats, to give him an elephant, to which all other elephants were said to allow a kind of superiority, raises a great army, and deprives him both of his kingdom, and that so much coveted animal. *Anaparam* flies for succour to *Sebastian Gonzales*, who demands his sister as an hostage; and, having received her, sets out along with him to fight the conqueror. But what could his small force do against an army of 80,000 men, and 700 elephants. The dethroned king returned with *Tibao* to *Sundiva*, carrying over his wife and family, with his treasure and elephants. Thus he remained as a subject to this upstart lord; who baptizing the king's sister, married here; and, though so vile a wretch, pretended he did that prince a signal honour. Soon after, *Anaparam* dies, not without strong suspicion of poison; for *Gonzales* seized on all his treasure, his elephants, and effects, without any consideration of his wife and son. To stop the mouths of the people, he would have married the queen to his brother *Antony Tibao*, admiral of his fleet, but could not compass it; for she never could be prevailed on to be of a religion professed by such monsters in wickedness^h.

Revolu-
tion in Ar-
rakan.

AFTER this, *Sebastian* waged war against the king of *Arrakan*, and met with good success; for his brother *Antony*, *Tibao's* treachery, with only five sail, took 100 of that monarch's ships. This moved him to conclude a peace; by which he recovered his sister-in-law and brother's widow, whom he married to the king of *Chatigan* (G). At this time the *Great Mogol* undertook to conquer the kingdom of *Bahia* (H), which lying opposite to *Sundiva*, alarmed *Tibao*, who therefore entered into a league with the king of *Arrakan* for its defence. The king hereupon takes the field with 80,000 men, most of them musketeers, 10,000 natives of *Pegu*, who fought with sword and buckler, besides 700 elephants, loaded with castles, and armed men. He likewise put to sea above 200

^h DE FARIA, p. 157. & seq.

(G) The cities in these parts are kingdoms one day, and in subjection the next.

(H) Perhaps the great island in the mouth of the *Ganges*, directly north of *Sundiva*; or else a country on the continent, eastward, beyond the eastern stream of that great river, which seems most likely.

A. D.
1609.

fail, carrying 4000 soldiers, who were to join *Sebastian Gonzales*, and to be under his command. The agreement was, that *Tibao* should hinder the *Mogols* from passing to the kingdom of *Balua*, till the king of *Arrakan* could march thither with his forces; and that the enemy being repulsed, *Tibao* should have half the kingdom delivered to him. The king was likewise to have hostages for his fleet: on which occasion *Sebastian* sent to him a nephew of his own, and the sons of certain *Portugueses* inhabitants of *Sundiva*.

and infamous action.

THE king of *Arrakan*, being arrived with his army, was surprised to find the *Mogols* already entered the kingdom of *Balua*: however, marching into it with his troops, he, in a short time, expelled the enemy. It was thought that *Tibao*, corrupted with bribes, had given them a free passage into that country; which, by agreement with the king of *Arrakan*, he was obliged to obstruct. Others say, he did it to revenge the death of the *Portugueses*, slain by that prince at *Dianga*. However that be, he was guilty of execrable treachery; for, leaving the mouth of the river (I) *Dangatiar* open, he gave them free entrance. His villainy did not stop there; for, running with his fleet into a creek of the island *Deserta*, and calling all the king of *Arrakan*'s captains aboard his ship, he murdered them; then falling on the vessels, deprived of their commanders, killed or made slaves of all the men. After he had committed this infamous action, and also taken possession of the injured king's fleet, he returned to *Sundiva*. Mean time the *Mogols* came down again, with a greater power; and entering the kingdom of *Balua*, made a great slaughter of the *Arrakan* army; and reduced that king to such distress, that, with much difficulty, he escaped upon an elephant, and came almost alone to the fort of *Chatigan*¹.

Ravages the coast.

TIBAO, being informed of all which had happened, sets out with his fleet, and ravages all the coast of *Arrakan*, plundering and destroying all the forts which lie along it; and which, confiding in the peace, were then unprovided. He had the impudence to advance up to the very city of *Arrakan*, where he burnt many merchant-ships of several nations: among the rest was one which the king kept in that port to take his pleasure in, and whose loss he repented most of all. It was a vessel of vast bigness, and surprising workmanship, with several apartments, like a palace, all covered with gold

¹ DE FARIA, p. 159, & seq.

(I) Possibly one of those, fifteen or twenty leagues to the north of *Chatigan*.

and ivory; and yet the art far surpassed the cost. The king, provoked at the insolence and treachery of *Gonsales*, who seemed to have forgotten that his nephew was in hostage, resolved to put him in mind; and causing a stake to be driven through his body, had it set up on an eminence, below the port of *Arrakan*, that his uncle, as he went out, might see him. But he, who had no honour, valued not at whose cost he advanced his own interest. Nevertheless, the guilt of so many villainies began to touch his conscience; and he returned to *Sundiva*, with an apprehension that some heavy punishment would soon fall upon him for his crimes ^k.

A. D.
1615.His nephew im-
paled.

THIS base upstart, who, in his prosperity, never regarded the viceroy, now seeing the danger of falling, applies to him for succour; proposing, in that case, like an absolute prince, to become tributary to *Portugal*, with the acknowledgement of a galleon, loaden with rice, to be delivered yearly, either at *Goa*, or *Malakka*. He pretended, that what he had done was solely to revenge the murder of the *Portugueses* at *Dianga*: and, to allure the viceroy, concluded with a hint, that it would be no difficult matter to seize the vast treasure of the *Arrakan* king. This bait had the desired effect; so that the viceroy, instead of abhorring, saith our author, the villainies of that wretch, resolved to assist him, contrary to all laws both human and divine. For this expedition were fitted out fourteen of the largest galliots, one fly-boat, and a pink, under the command of *Don Francisco de Menezes Rexo*, who had been governor of *Seylan*, or *Ceylon*. As his instructions were that he should enter the kingdom of *Arrakan*, without waiting for *Tibao*, he only sent him notice of his coming, when he arrived on that coast; and proceeded directly for the city of *Arrakan*, which is the chief port, as well as residence, of the king.

Sends for
succours;

HE arrived thither the third of *October*; and, in the morning of the 15th, discovered a very numerous fleet coming down the river, with a *Dutch* pink at the head of them. Other vessels were likewise commanded, and reinforced with *Hollanders*. On the other hand, *Don Francisco* had now with him no more than twelve small ships: for the pink was sent in pursuit of a vessel which had fled; one galliot was gone to fetch back the pink, and another, to *Sundiva*, to carry the advice. For all this, the *Portugueses* advanced, without any dread of that formidable armament. The *Dutch* pink fired the first gun, and then began a furious fight. Four galliots, which got before the rest, had their captains and many sol-

which are
defeated;
A. D.
1615.^k DE FARIA. p. 161.

diers killed, before the remaining eight came up ; which fell on so desperately, that the enemy overset many of their vessels, through haste to fly from them. In the evening they drew off, on sight of the galliot which went to seek the pink ; supposing that some relief was coming to the *Portugueses* ; who, among the slain, lost twenty-five men of note¹.

and him-
self re-
duced,

DON Francisco, now resolving to wait for *Tibao*, fell down to the mouth of the river ; whither, at length, the other arrived, with fifty sail, well manned and equipped. When he heard what had been done, he railed at the viceroy for giving such orders, and against *Don Francis* for obeying them. Then dividing the ships into two equal squadrons, they sailed up the river, and fell upon the enemy on both sides, firing upon the vessels in reach, none of which advanced. All the while the king, from the shore, encouraged his people ; and caused the heads of some who fled to be cut off. Soon after, a great part of that vast fleet bore down upon the *Portugueses*, divided into three squadrons. *Tibao* put to flight those who attacked him ; and the pink did as much with the *Hollanders* : while *Don Francisco* acted bravely also on his side. In short, the advantage was visibly in favour of the invaders till sun-set, when that admiral was killed by two musket-balls, shot one in the forehead, the other in the left

to his for-
mer con-
dition.

A. D.
1616.

eye. *Tibao*, discouraged by the signal made of this misfortune, ceased to follow his good fortune ; and the tide beginning to ebb, the fleets parted. One galliot was taken by the enemy, and all the men slain ; besides 200 more, whose bodies were buried in the sea, at the mouth of the river. When they returned to *Sundiva*, the vice-admiral, *Don Lewis de Azevedo*, who succeeded *Don Francisco* in the command, set sail for *Goa* ; notwithstanding *Tibao*, for his own security, laboured all he could to keep him there. In fine, being thus left in a defenceless state, the king of *Arrakan*, not long after, attacked the island, took it, and reduced him to his former miserable condition. Thus ended the sovereignty or that profligate upstart ; which yet was too small a punishment for the crimes he had committed during his short reign.

The Portu-
gueses

THE *Portugueses*, thus sufficiently humbled, applied to the king for grace, who, notwithstanding the many provocations received from them, was inclined to hearken to their petition ; knowing that it would be in their power to do him more mischief than ever, in case they should go over to some of the neighbouring powers. To prevent this, therefore, and at the same time secure his frontiers against the *Great Mogol*,

¹ DE FARIA, p. 225, & seqq.

his most formidable enemy, who was now become his next neighbour, by the conquest of *Balua*, he settled them in the port of *Chatigan* (then in his hands), giving them lands, and liberty to live as they pleased; which was on robbery and piracy^m. On this occasion, we are told, that the first time the king of *Arrakan* went to the city of *Chatigan*, after the *Portugueses* were settled there, they presented him abough, thick set with figs. This bough that prince offered to his white elephant to eat, which the animal refused, although his majesty intreated him to take it for sake of the king of *Ava*, the *Great Mogol*, and his own: but scarce was he desired to eat it for the king of *Portugal*, when he snatched it eagerly with his trunk. The king, hereupon, in a passion, caused the elephant to be stript of all his golden ornaments; which so grieved the beast, that he would not eat at all: so that the king, for fear his beloved animal should die (for this was the famous white elephant so much coveted by all the eastern princes), was obliged to restore its furniture. We relate this story, to shew that the *Portugueses* have their political, as well as religious, legends (K). But to proceed.

THEY continued in the course of life above-mentioned, plundering and mal-treating all who came in their way, till about the year 1667; when, having murdered one of the king of *Arrakan*'s chief officers; and fearing to be punished for that, as well as other crimes, they were struck one day with such a panic, that they shipped themselves all at once, in forty or fifty of their galleasses, and waisted over to *Shâh Heft Khân*; who was then in *Bengal*, and had invited them to join him against the king of *Arrakan*, whose dominions he had orders to attack. By their assistance he took *Sundiva* from that *Indian* potentate: and having thus rendered them irreconcilable to their former master, treated them with contemptⁿ, as will hereafter be related^o.

THE design of *Shâh Heft Khân*'s invading *Arrakan* was, to State of revenge the blood of *Soltân Sujâh*, and his family, who had *Arrakan* been destroyed by the king, in order to feize his riches^p; which, in the end, proved the ruin of the kingdom of *Arra-*

^m DE FARIA, p. 227. & seq. BERNIER, ubi supr. p. 120.

ⁿ BERNIER, p. 136. DE FARIA, vol. iii. p. 296. ^o See vol. vii. hist. Mogol.

^p Ibid. Aurengzib.

(K) This fable seems to be coined, in imitation of another famous one of the ape, who, on an experiment made by the *Great Mogol*, pulled out the name of *Christ* several times, from among those of *Mohammed*, *Bramma*, and others. See vol. vii. in the reign of *Jehân Ghîr*.

A. D. 1690. *kan.* The king thought that all belonged to him : those who fought for it claimed a share ; and the princes of the blood wanted some large diamonds for their wives : but the artful priests found a way to make up the difference, by persuading the king, and the other pretenders, to dedicate the whole treasure to the god *Dagun*. This measure being agreed to, the jewels were deposited in the temple of that deity (L), where they continued till the year 1690 : at what time the king of *Arrakan* dying without issue, two princes of the blood quarrelled together about the succession. They both took arms, and both had an eye upon Soltán *Sujáh's* treasure ; which so frightened the clergy, that they removed it to another place, known only to themselves. Mean time the two princes pursued their pretensions so furiously, that, in one year's space, both themselves and families were intirely cut off ; and the kingdom has continued in anarchy ever since^r.

*in great
confusion.*

C H A P. IV.

The Kingdom of Pegu,

S E C T. I.

Geographical Description.

Pegu proper.

THE kingdom of *Pegu* is to be considered in three different capacities : 1. *Pegu*, properly so called : 2. *Pegu*, with its acquisitions : 3. *Pegu*, incorporated with the kingdom of *Ava*.

Bounds

and extent.

THE kingdom of *Pegu*, properly so called, is bounded on the north with those of *Arrakan* and *Ava* (A), on the east with the upper and lower *Siam*, on the south with part of *Siam* and the sea, and on the west with the sea and part of *Arrakan* ; lying between the 110th and 116th degrees of longitude, and between the 14th and 19th degrees of north latitude : so that it is about 350 *English* miles in length, from

^r HAMILT. new account of East Ind. vol. ii. p. 28.

(L) We hear of no temple of his but at the city *Dagun*, in *Pegu* ; where it is not probable that the money was deposited, as it was not then in the king of *Arrakan's* possession.

• (A) *Shelden's* memoirs, in *Ovington*, written about the

year 1688, gives *Pegu*, for its northern bounds, the empires of *Siamon* and *Kalaminban* ; which shews that author had dealt with *Mendez Pinto*, who places these two imaginary empires to the north of *Pegu*.

fouth

south to north, and nearly the same in breadth, from west *Bounds* to east. If we may venture to quote *Mendez Pinto*, a writer *and extent.* whose relation is a mixture of truth and falsehood, *Pegu*, as it was in his time, about the year 1550, was not above 140 leagues in compass; and was surrounded with a great chain of mountains, named *Pangasirau* (B), which were inhabited by the *Brāmas* (or rather *Barmas*), who are at present masters of that and the neighbouring countries.

PEGU, considered in a larger sense, as augmented by the *Pegu* at conquests of its *Barma* kings, extended northward as far as *large.* the borders of the province of *Tun-nan*, in *China* (C), comprising the countries of *Arrakan*, *Ava*, *Jangoma*, the *Lao*s, and even *Siam*: so that its bounds and extent were nearly equal with those of the farther peninsula of *India* in general. As to *Pegu*, in its third, that is, its present, state, in which it stands incorporated with *Ava*, we shall refer the consideration of it till we come to treat of *Ava*; only observing here in general, that its bounds and extent are nearly the same with those which it had in conjunction with its acquisitions: or, what is all one, they are both the same dominion, only it has changed its name from *Pegu* to *Ava*, on account of the royal seat being removed from one city to the other. And here it must be observed, with regard to the name (D) of this country, that, we are told, it is not properly *Pegu*, but *Bagou*.*

PEGU seems to be a flat country for the general, with- *Mountains* out any considerable mountains, excepting those before-men- *and rivers.* tioned; which surround it, and serve for a frontier towards the land: but it is liable to be invaded, not only by sea, but also by land, by means of the rivers which make their passage through those mountains. Among these, two are most

* See DE FARIA, Portug. Asia, vol. iii. p. 117. 127.

(B) Those on the west side are called *Pre* by *Pinto*. borders of *Arrakan* and *Pegu*, and take up all the space between them and *China*. See

(C) This appears from the Jesuits map of that province, in which the places are marked where the frontiers of *Pegu* begin and end. This is likewise agreeable to the account of the *Indians*. But *Tavernier* pretends to have discovered the contrary, from the report of some merchants of *Tipra*, which country he supposed to cover the north

Tavern. part ii. cap. 16. p. 186.
(D) The *Chingfes*, we are told, call it *Mien*: or *Mien* might be the name of the country bordering on *China*, which *Chau-migem*, the second *Barma* king, added to his empire. *Loubere* speaks of *Meens*, in the king of *Siam*'s army. *Relat. Siam*, part. ii. c. 11. p. 97.

Rivers.

remarkable; the first, the river of *Pegu*; the second, the river of *Ava*, so called from those capitals, which are situate on their banks. The river *Ava* we shall speak of when we come to treat of *Ava*, and therefore shall only consider that of *Pegu* here. This river (E), which is very large, and carries a strong current to the sea, seems to have its rise in the mountains, which divide *China*, on the west side of *Yun-nan*, from the countries included by us in the farther peninsula of *India*. From thence it shapes its course south, inclining to the west, through countries whose names are unknown to us, but once included within the empire of *Pegu*, as they at present belong to that of *Ava*. At length, having washed the borders of *Jangoma*, which lies to the north of *Siam*, it enters the kingdom of *Pegu*; and, having passed to the west of the capital city, falls into the sea, with a very large mouth, about thirty miles (F) below it.

*River of Pegu,**annually overflows*

THIS river, by its annual overflowings, brings such advantage to the country, that it is not unfitly termed, by *Maffi*^b, the *Indian Nile*. These inundations are almost incredible, extending above thirty leagues beyond its chanel. By the mud or slime which is left behind, the soil is so enriched, and their crops of rice increased to such a degree, that an hundred ship-loads thereof have been exported in one year, without being missed^c.

River of Négrais.

THERE are two ways by which goods may be conveyed from the port of *Négrais* to the river of *Pegu*: one is by long sea; the other by the intervention of rivers from the bar of *Négrais*. The distance either way from that bar is fifty or fifty-five leagues: but, by reason of the shoalings along the coast, the first way is usually taken. This passage is formed by several large islands, which lie near one another, and leave a chanel between them and the main land, like that of a great river, into which several rivers out of *Pegu* discharge their waters; while the sea flowing in by the opening between the islands, a sufficient quantity of water is always found in the aforesaid chanel, to carry large barks, for conveying passengers and goods from the bar of *Négrais* to the city of *Pegu*.

^a *MAFF*, hist. l. xvi. c. 5.^b *OVINGT*. p. 585. *Barbosa*.

(E) *Le Blanc* names it *Kay-pamo*: and *Pinto* mentions a river of the same name, which some maps make to fall into the river of *Ava*, about twenty miles

south-west of the city of that name.

(F) *Barbosa* says, between twenty-five and thirty miles.

ALONG this chanel are a considerable number of cities, *Soil and towns, and villages, as well on the land-side, as that of the produce.* islands. Among the rest are the cities of *Kofmi* (or *Kofmin*), *Koylan*, *Tavagnedun* (or *Medun*), *Leungon*, *Silvanjedi*, *Mojja*, *Dala* (or *Dolla*), *China-Bakkar*, *Dogun* (or *Dagon*), and *Sirian*^d. *Cities upon it.* This chanel, which may be called the river of *Negraïs* (G), has three mouths or openings between the islands to the sea, viz. at *Dolla*, *China Bakkar*, and *Sirian*, which by that means are so many ports.

THE coast from *Negraïs*, running eastward to the true river of *Pegu*, and thence southward toward *Tenasserin*, forms a great bay, where the sea runs with incredible violence and swiftness into the mouth of that river: for, on the return of the tide, a body of waters, whose front is above twelve feet high, comes rolling in, and bears down whatever stands in its way; so that no ship can withstand its force, but in a moment is overturned. This furious tide, which the natives call *Makkrea* (H), advances with so great a roaring, that the noise may be heard ten miles off^e. We are told, that the tide in the gulf of *Kambaya* is nothing, compared with this; and that the latter runs as swift as an arrow out of a bow^f. *Surprising tide.*

THE air of *Pegu* is very healthy, and presently recovers sick *Soil and strangers.* The soil of *Pegu* is very rich and fertile, in corn, *produce.* fruit, and roots. It likewise produces good timber of several kinds. The country abounds with elephants, buffaloes, goats, hogs, and other animals. There is abundance of wild game: and deer is so plenty in *September* and *October*, that our author, captain *Hamilton*, has bought one for three or four pence: they are very fleshy, but have no fat. Poultry is good and plenty: the cocks are vastly large, and hens very beautiful. As for fish, there are many good sorts^g.

THERE are, in *Pegu*, mines not only of iron, tin, and *ganfa*, or lead (I), which passes for money, but also of ru-

^d See BALBI & FITCH. ^e HAMILT. ubi sup. p. 32.

^f CÆSAR FREDERIC ap. Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 232. ^g TAVERN. trav. part ii. p. 144. HAMILT. p. 38, 40, 59. Balbi.

(G) It is indeed commonly called *Pegu* river: but we think improperly, as it is no part of the river *Pegu*.

(H) Or *Makkrea*, as Balbi and Cæsar Frederic, our authors, call it; also the great *Bore*, and

Boer, which is doubtless a corruption of the *Arabie Bâbr*, that is, *the sea*; the term used, we presume, by those whom the Europeans call *Moors*.

(I) Rather a kind of copper, or mixture of copper and lead.

Provinces, cities. bies, diamonds, and sapphires. The rubies are the best in the world: but the diamonds are small, and only found in the craws of poultry and pheasants. Besides, only one family has the privilege of selling them, and none dare open the ground to dig for them ^b.

Provin PEGU is doubtless divided into provinces like other countries; but travellers have mentioned none. However, we may consider, as such, the several petty kingdoms or states which had been conquered by the kings of Pegu; such as those of *Tava*, *Tangu*, and *Kablan* (or *Kapelan*). This last, we are told, was one of the twelve conquered by the second *Barma* king, *Chaumigrem*, who began his reign about the year 1549^c. It is reputed the most barren part of all Pegu. The chief city is of the same name. Here the true rubies, for which Pegu is famous, are found in a mountain not far from it, standing between the city of Pegu, and port of *Sirian* (K) ^k.

Tangu kingdom. THE kingdom of *Tangu* is frequently mentioned by the authors who have written about the affairs of Pegu: but none of them says any thing precisely concerning its situation, excepting *Mendez Pinto*; who informs us, that it lies 160 leagues from the city Pegu, in the heart of the country^l. With this agree the few hints we have from other writers (L), only the distance seems abundantly too great. Hence we conceive it to be situated on the east side of the river Pegu, between the kingdoms of *Jangama* on the north, and *Siam* on the south.

^b OVINGT. p. 585. See his history below.
ap. Purch. vol. ii. p. 1741. OVINGT. p. 583.

^k FITCH
^l PINTO'S
trav. p. 288.

(K) *Fitch* says, *Kaplan* is six days journey from *Ava*. *Pimenta*, besides *Kavelan* (which must be this *Kapelan*), whence the sapphires and rubies come, places two kingdoms, by the name of *Kablan*, among the twelve conquered by the *Brama* king mentioned in the text; which he says are near *Ava*, towards *China*, and abound with gems. Perhaps, instead of one of these two places, so much alike in name, we should read *Kamelan*, whose king, *Maßingo*, we are told, *De Brito* slew in battle.

(L) We are told that the kings of *Jangama* and *Siam* joined, in 1599, to invade the king of *Tangu*; that he of *Siam*, in his way thither, entered and subdued the kingdom of *Mariavan*; and that the king of *Tangu*, in 1598, was ordered by the king of Pegu, his sovereign prince, to bring the inhabitants of *Tangu* in ships to his capital city: which shews *Tangu* must be washed by the river of Pegu. See *Pimenta & Bowes*, ap. *Hais epist. Ind.* p. & 848.

HOWEVER that be, *Tangu* was formerly a very remarkable place. It is said by some, that the first *Barma* king of *Pegu* was governor of it; and that the second was born there: his successors made kings, or viceroys of *Tangu*. As this country was upon the frontiers towards *Siam* and *Jan-goma*, its dependent kings were ready always to revolt, or give disturbance to the *Pegu* monarch. At length we find one of them, in the year 1598, joined in confederacy with him of *Arrakan*, to conquer that country; which they effected. The king of *Tangu*, after putting to death his sovereign, who had surrendered to him, carried off all the treasure of *Pegu*, and left the ruined kingdom to the king of *Arrakan*: but his independency did not continue long, for he was overcome and rendered tributary about 1612, by the king of *Ava*; or, perhaps, rather the king of *Pegu*, who had transferred the regal seat to *Ava*^m.

THE city of *Pegu* (M), before the completion of its ruin *City* of in the year 1600 above-mentioned, was one of the most *Pegu*. splendid, large, and populous, in all *Asia*. According to *Cæsar Frederic, Balbi, and Fitch*, who saw this city in its greatest splendor (N), it was very spacious, fair, and strong, surrounded with stone walls, and very wide ditches. It was divided into two cities, the old and new: in the old, which was very big, and augmented by several suburbs, lived the merchants and strangers, for there trade was carried on; and as the houses were only built with wood, or bambù canes, covered with tiles, each had a warehouse of brick arched, to secure the goods from fires, which were very frequent there. The new city, which was inhabited by the king, the nobility, and people of fashion, was very great and populous: its figure square; and in each side of the wall were five gates of stone, with many gilded towers along it for posting centries. It was encompassed with broad ditches, in which were bred crocodiles, to deter people from wading over them. The streets the fairest that ever *Fitch* saw, running in a line from gate to gate; and so wide, that twelve men might go a-breast. Each house had a palm-tree growing at the door, which made an ornament as well as shade for passengers.

^m See the ensuing history of *Pegu*.

(M) It has been observed before, that the true name of the city, as well as country, is *Bagou*; but *Floris* calls it *Uncha*, or *Pegu*. See his voyage.

New collect. voy. and travels, 4to. vol. i. p. 539.

(N) The first, in 1566; and the two latter in 1683.

City of
Pegu.

King's pa-
lace.

Huge sta-
tues.

Elephant
hunting.

The city
destroyed.

THE king's palace stood in the midst of this new city, built like a fortress with walls and ditches. The houses and apartments within were of wood, all over gilded, and adorned with battlements covered with plates of gold. By the gate you entered into a spacious court, where were lodgings on the sides for the king's choicest elephants; among which were four white ones. This was a great rarity, those animals being very scarce; but that prince would suffer none to have any but himself. It was on this account only that he made war on the king of *Siam* in 1567, from whom he took the famous white elephant; and afterwards assumed the title of *king of the white elephant* (O). Near the palace was a large court surrounded with stone walls; and its two gates were always open, as if no account was made of the immense treasure within. This was lodged in four gilded houses, covered with lead: in the first was a vast gold statue of a man, with a crown of gold beset with rubies and sapphires, and about him four children of gold. In the second house was a silver statue, sitting on heaps of treasure: yet his head reached as high as any house; and his foot was as long as *Frederic*, who measured it, was tall. The third house had in it a statue of brass, of the same bigness; and the fourth contained another of the same size, made of *gunsa*, which is a mixture of copper and lead: these three statues had crowns on like the first.

WITHIN a mile of the city was a beautiful palace all gilded, with a large court before it: containing an infinite number of places for people to stand and see the hunting of elephants in the neighbouring forest, of vast extent; which, being driven out of the wood by the hunters, were decoyed by tame elephants into an inclosure made for the purpose, where they were taken and tamedⁿ.

THE new city, with the palace, and all its ornaments, were the work of the second *Barma* king of *Pegu*, the greatest of all its monarchs. It was finished about the year 1567.

ⁿ CÆS. FREDER. apud HAKL. vol. ii. p. 231. BALBI, p. 100, & seqq.

(O) The white elephant is not esteemed in these parts on account of the scarcity of those animals, but because the mother of *Shékya* (as the *Chingese* call him), founder of the idolatry of *Tibet*, whence that throughout the *Indies* is derived, dreamed

that a white elephant, entering her mouth, passed down her throat, and came out of her side. See *Marini* hist. de *Touquin* and *Lao*: also *New Collect. of voy.* and travels in quarto, vol. iv. p. 207.

Whether it received any improvements from his successor, does *City of* not appear; but this we know, that in his reign it was stripped *Pegu.* of all its lustre, and reduced to a miserable condition. For the third and last king of that race in *Pegu* having, by his excessive tyranny and continual wars, exhausted his dominions of people, the neighbouring princes invaded his territories. In 1596 the king of *Siam* besieged him in his capital for three months; but for this time he was relieved by the assistance of certain *Turks*, in conjunction with some *Portugueses*. However, most of those whom war had spared, famine destroyed: for, out of 150,000 men numbered in the city before the siege, only 30,000 were left, with 3000 cannon (1000 of them brass) for its defence. The kings of *Arrakan* and *Tangu*, taking advantage of this distressed condition of *Pegu*, marched to besiege it anew; and the king, being at length obliged to submit for want of provisions, some time in the year 1599, yielded himself and the city into the hands of the king of *Tangu*; whose wife, though sister to the unfortunate prince, caused him and his family to be put to death^o.

FROM that time *Pegu* ceased to be the royal seat, except *Royal seat* at times, and fell to decay: so that, as we are informed by *removed.* a late traveller, although six or seven leagues in compass, not one twentieth part is inhabited, and that only by the lower class of people^p. However, it is still the seat of the viceroy, who governs for the king residing now at *Ava*; and dwells in the palace standing in the new city, which is separated from the old by the river passing between them.

TRAVELLERS have given no account of the inland cities of *Pegu*; our readers therefore must be content with what they relate concerning some of its maritime towns.

THE first which occurs on the west side of the river of *City of* *Pegu*, towards its mouth, is *Sirian*. This is the only port *Sirian.* now open for trade in all that country^q. It is situated near the mouth of the river of the same name, which communicates with the chanel coming from the bar of *Negrais*: the ruins of its walls and bulwarks shew it to have been a very strong place (P). On the news of its reduction, the emperor poisoned himself; and the conqueror carried the rest of his

* PIMENTA apud PURCH. vol. ii. p. 1747. BOUES, p. 1748. FLORIS. vol. i. p. 322. ^p HAMILT. new acc. East India, vol. ii. p. 33. ^q Ibid. p. 32.

(P) What *Balbi* says, of its having been the seat of an emperor, till taken by the king of *Pegu* in 1567, &c. seems to have been copied from *Cæsar Frederic's* account of the conquest of *Silon*, or *Siam*; which *Balbi* has mistaken for *Sirian*.

Port of
Sirian.

family, with all his treasures, to *Pegu*^r. At present, it is inclosed with a stone wall, laid without mortar, built near the river-side on a rising ground. The governor is generally of the blood royal; and the suburbs are four times larger than the city. The port is frequented by ships from several parts of *India*, the river being capable of receiving vessels of 600 tons: it is frequented by some *English*, *Portugueses*, and *Armenians*, which latter have monopolized the ruby trade.

The mak-
kræa, or
tide.

If, by accident, a ship be driven a league or two to the eastward of *Sirian* bar, a strong tide carries her on hard sands; for anchors cannot stop her career. There she sits fast; but being left dry at low-water by the sea, which retires five or six leagues, the sailors have time to cross the sands to shore: for the *makkra*, or tide, returns with such violence, as hath been mentioned before, that no vessel can withstand its force. *Sirian* stands about six leagues from the bar of *Pegu* river, and forty miles from the city of *Pegu* itself^s. But as the violent tides above-mentioned render the navigation thither dangerous, so goods are commonly landed at *Sirian*, and carried from thence, by the inland chanel before described, as far as a place called *Makkao*; where they are again put on shore, and conveyed by land to the city of *Pegu*, which is twelve miles distant.

Temples of
Kiak-
kiak,

In the neighbourhood of *Sirian* stand the two most remarkable pagods in all the dominions of the *Peguan*, or *Avan*, empire. One is about six miles to the southward, called *Kiakkiak*, or the temple of *the god of gods*; and, as it is built in a high champain country, it may be seen eight leagues off. Within it is an image twenty yards long, lying in a sleeping posture; and by the tradition of the natives has lain in that posture above 6000 years. His doors and windows are always open, every body having the liberty to see him; and when he awakes, this world is to be annihilated. The other temple stands in a low plain to the north of *Sirian*, about the same distance, and is called *Dagun* (Q). His doors and windows are always shut, nor do any enter but his priests; who will not tell what shape he is of, farther than that he is not of human shape. As soon as *Kiakkiak* has destroyed this world, *Dagon*, or *Dagun*, will gather up the fragments, and make a new one. There are yearly fairs held near these

and of
Dagun.

^r BALBI, p. 97. DE FARIA, Portug. Asia, vol. iii. p. 127.

^s HAMILT. vol. ii. p. 32.

(Q) According to *De Faria*, the name of the idol (or god worshipped here) is *Biay*.

temples; and the offerings made at those fairs are for the use of those holy places[†]. Kosmin city.

THIS is the account given by a late author who saw both temples (R): but two earlier travellers have given a more particular account of that called *Dogon*, or *Dagon*. It stands in[‡] or near the city of *Dogon*, which lies on the north side of the chanel of *Negrais*. It is about two days journey from the city of *Pegu*, and so near to *Sirian*, that the *makkrea*, or violent tide, rises there to a very great height, so as to cover the stairs at the landing-place consisting of twenty steps. From the landing-place they pass through a street above a mile long, where the priests live in gilded houses. At the end of the street stands the temple, to which one ascends by a large stair-case of ninety steps. At the foot of it were two tigers of stone, in a saliant attitude; on the top, two angels, with triple crowns on their heads. The temple itself is round, and of stone, gilt all over. On the left hand is a beautiful hall, carved and gilt both inside and out: this is a kind of chapel, where the people resort to hear the *Talepays* preach. The king of *Pegu*, and all the royal family, used to attend the anniversary festival of this pagod, there to receive absolution of their sins. At this time a great fair is kept, for the convenience of the multitudes, who resort thither either for devotion, or sake of trade. In a hall, at the first landing-place (for there are three), coming down, was a vast bell, seven paces three palms in circumference, inscribed all over with curious characters. But the natives could neither give any account of them, nor how the bell came thither. The latter described.

To the westward of *Sirian*, on the same coast, about forty-five leagues distant, is *Kosmin*, or *Kosmin*, formerly a port of great resort for *Indian* shipping; which here landed their goods to be conveyed in *paros*, a kind of barges, or large boats, by the inland chanel, to *Pegu*. This is a very handsome town, delightfully situated, facing the north-east-by east. But as the neighbouring country is full of woods, infested with tigers, wild boars, and monkies; the inhabitants raise their houses, built with bambous, on piles, several feet above the ground, to avoid those animals; especially the tigers, who frequently in the night enter the town, and carry off both men and cattle[§]. There is no other port betwixt *Kosmin* City of Kosmin.

[†] HAMILT. vol. ii. p. 57, & seq.
FITCH, apud PURCH. vol. ii. p. 1739.

[‡] BALBI, p. 55.

(R) According to the draught gar-loaf, hollowing towards the middle.
published by captain *Hamilton*,
their figure is like a cone, or su-

the women as having shook off all modesty, on account of their dress, exposing some parts of their bodies, which ought to be concealed from sight^z: but how far this charge may be just will appear presently. The females are much whiter than the men; low of stature, but well-shaped; their faces pretty plump; their arms and legs well-proportioned; their hands and feet small^h.

*Dress of
the men,*

and "

THE dress of the men is a coat or frock of painted calico, girt with a *lungee*, or scarf, about the middle, and falling down as low as their feet, which are bare; for neither stockings nor shoes are worn in *Pegu*. The habit of the women is very singular. Their head-dress is their own black hair tied up behind; and, when they go abroad, they wear a *shawl* folded up, or a piece of white cotton cloth lying loose on the top of their heads. Their raiment is first a frock of silk, or calico, fitted to their bodies, and the sleeves made very tight to the arms. This frock reaches half-way down the thighs; and under it they have a scarf, or *lungee*, four-double, which is made fast round the waist, and descends almost to the ankle; so contrived, that at every step as they walk, it opens before and shews the right leg (B), with part of the thighⁱ. Some travellers go farther, and say the women go naked, with only a cloth before, which, as they walk, opens and shews their secret parts. This is the immodesty with which they are accused in the preceding paragraph: but this, we are told, is not a fashion brought in by the female sex in this country through wantonness, but imposed on them many ages ago by a certain queen (C); in order, by that means, to draw the inclinations of the men, then strangely addicted to sodomy, towards the sex.

Odd custom

THEY tell you, that this neglect of women had so far put a stop to propagation, that *Pegu*, by degrees, became very thin of inhabitants. The queen therefore, effectually to prevent that unnatural vice which occasioned it, introduced another still more extraordinary custom: for she made a law that the males, as soon as they arrived at a certain age (D), should

^z SHELDON, ubi supra.

^h HAMILT. vol. ii. p. 49.

ⁱ BALBI, p. 107. FITCH apud PURCH. vol. ii. p. 1741. HAMILT. vol. ii. p. 29.

(B) *Ralbi* says, that the cotton gown which they wear is slit in four parts; because, in walking, they affect to shew both their leg

(C) Called *Canane*. See *Portug. Asia*, vol. i. p. 228.

(D) Some say, at the age of twenty-five or thirty; others, when they are of an age capable of making use of women.

have

have balls, or bells, inserted, one on each side of the virile ^{of wear-} member, between the skin and the flesh, which is opened for ^{ing bells} that purpose, and healed in seven or eight days ! Authors differ about the size of these bells ; some say, they are big as hazel nuts, others as walnuts. *Linschoten* affirms, they are the size of *acorns* ; and *Fitch*, that some are as large as hens eggs ; but the least, as big as a small walnut. These balls or bells are round, and of divers metals, as gold, silver, brass, or lead, according to the degree of the person who wears them ; the costlier sort being for the king and his nobles ; for all, it seems, are obliged to obey this law ; which, in appearance, must be no less grievous than that of circumcision.

BOTH the men and women, we are told, are delighted with ^{in these} these bells, which have a sweet sound. They are sold by old ^{countries.} women, who seem to be the operators for furnishing the male sex with these ornaments. *Linschoten* brought one of them with him from the *Indies* to *Holland* ; and relates a strange management practised on the females (D) when young ; which, though it may appear incredible to most readers, is yet confirmed by other earlier travellers, as well as solemnly attested by himself ^k.

• THIS custom, or law, of wearing bells, we are told, is in use among the people of *Ava*, *Lanjang*, or *Laos*, *Siam*, and the *Barmas* : *Conti* particularly mentions, that he found it practised at *Ava*, and the bells sold by old women ^l. After so many credible testimonies relating to this matter, it might seem unreasonable to doubt the truth of it ; and yet neither captain *Hamilton*, who was at *Pegu* the beginning of the present century ; nor Mr. *Sheldon*, who wrote an account of *Pegu* about the year 1685, mention any thing of these bells, although they speak of the peculiarity of the womens drefs. Possibly, the cause being at length removed, that painful custom has been abolished ; although, to prevent a relapse, the loose drefs of the women is still kept up as a provocative.

THE drefs of the *Barmas* differs somewhat from that of *Barmas* the *Peguers*. Their coat is a thin *Betella*, so that their skin ^{bow drefs} may be seen through it. About their loins they have a large ^{ed} *lungee*, which reaches to their ancles, and is gathered at the

^k BALBI, p. 126. FITCH, ubi supra, p. 1741. LINSCHOT. p. 29. ^l CONTI, apud PURCH. vol. iii. p. 150.

(D) *Viz.* That their parents saw one of those women ; and sow up their private parts, leaving only a small orifice, which had the fact confirmed, by the surgeon who performed the operation, is enlarged by a surgeon at the time of marriage. *Linschoten*

navel, in a round bundle as big as a child's head. They imprint several devices in their skins, which, for that purpose, they prick with bodkins; and, rubbing charcoal-dust over the punctures while fresh, the black marks remain ever after. This is an ornament appropriated to themselves, and which the *Peguers* dare not assume: so that the people of one nation may easily be distinguished from those of the other^m.

*People's
diet.*

THE inhabitants of *Pegu* are accused by some authors with being slovenly in their houses and nasty in their diet; on account of seasoning their victuals with *fidol*, made of stinking fish, in the same manner as practised in *Arrakan*, so nauseous and offensive that none but themselves can endure the smell of itⁿ. *Balbi* says, he could sooner bear the scent of stinking carrion; and yet with this they season their rice and other foods, instead of butter or oil. He adds, that all the *grandees*, and even the king, eat of this fish, of which they are as fond as *Europeans* of *sturgeon*^o. But a late traveller only says, that the ingredients which the king puts into his boiled rice to give it a relish, are made of shrimps dried and powdered, mixed with some salt and cod-pepper^p; without ascribing to it any smell or taste which is offensive. Perhaps he had not examined it, or other authors censure it without reason; since they speak as reproachfully of the *assa foetida*, which is the seasoning used by the more western *Indians*, although it appears to have been the famous *silphium* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*; and is indeed a refinement of *rocambol*e, as this latter is of garlick, which yet the *Europeans* are so fond of. However that be, the people of *Pegu* have plenty of excellent provisions, both of quadrupeds and fowls, wild and tame, as well as of fish. As they have no wheat in the country, their bread is rice made into cakes. Their common drink is water, nor have they any wine: but, instead thereof, use the juice drawn by incision from a tree, which they call *Annipa* (E); a liquor very pleasant to the palate. By way of regale they chew *betel*, like all the rest of the *Indians* in both peninsulas.

Their marriages:

THE men here, as in most other eastern countries, buy their wives, or pay their parents a dowry for them. If, after cohabiting with his wife for a time, the husband dislikes

^m HAMILT. vol. ii. p. 48, & seq.
apud OVINGT. p. 590.
ubi supr. p. 42.

ⁿ TOSSI, l. 2. p. 69.

^o BALBI, p. 125.

^p HAMILT.

(E) Some call it *nipa*, or *niper* wine: the best is made at *Tanossirin*, a port belonging to *Siam*, to the south of *Martawân*. It is distilled from cocoa-nut water. See *Cæsar Frederic* ap. *Hackluyt's voy.* part 2. p. 231. and *Linschot*, p. 30.

either her person or temper, he has liberty to divorce, and send her home again. On the other side, if either the woman, or her friends, dislike the man, they may take her away from him; but, in that case, must return the dowry which the husband gave for her¹.

THEY have an odd custom in *Pegu*, which is to offer *Some, for* their daughters to strangers, and hire them out for a time. *a time.* Some say, they hire out their wives in the same manner. These marriages for a term are well-regulated, and often prove very beneficial to the occasional husband. The women are very courteous and kind to strangers in general, but very fond of marrying with *Europeans*; and most of the foreigners who trade thither marry a wife for the time of their stay. The ceremony is this: when the parties are agreed, the bride's parents, or nearest friends, invite the relations or friends of both parties to an entertainment; at the end of which the father, or bride-man, asketh them, before the company, if they are willing to live together as man and wife? And on their answering in the affirmative, he declares them lawfully married: after which the bridegroom carries his wife home; or, if he hath no house of his own, consummates the marriage in that where it was performed².

THESE wives prove very obliging and obedient: they take *Conve-* the management of the house upon them, go to market, dress *nience of* the victuals, and take care of their husbands clothes, as to mending and washing. In case the man has any commodities to sell, the wife sets up a shop, and disposes of them by retale, to much better account than they could be sold for by wholesale. Some of them carry goods into the inland towns, and barter for such as are proper for the foreign markets to which her husband is bound. If she be convicted of infidelity, her husband may carry her to the *rounday, or court-house*, where, having her hair cut off, he may sell her for a slave. On the other hand, in case he goes astray, she will be apt to revenge herself by poison. In case of separation, the father is obliged to take care of the boys, and the mother of the girls: but the children cannot be carried out of the country without the king's permission; which yet may be purchased for forty or fifty pounds. The marriage may be con- *such tem-* tinued even in the husband's absence in other countries, pro- *porary* vided he leaves a fund to pay his wife about six shillings and *wives.* eight-pence a month; otherwise, at the year's end, she may marry again: but, if the said sum be paid her, she is obliged

¹ BALBI, p. 127.

² LINSCHOT, p. 29. OVIINGT.

P. 590. HAMILT, p. 50.

to stay the term of three years¹. *Sheldon* says, that in case during such husband's absence, another should marry her, he would be obliged to restore her to the former, during his continuance in the place; nor is a woman looked on the worse, but rather the better, for having had several *European* husbands². Nay, we are told, that no person of fashion in *Pegu*, from the gentleman to the king, will marry a maiden, till some acquaintance, or stranger, has had the first night's lodging with her³.

Inheritances.

IN *Pegu*, the inheritance of all lands is in the king: he is likewise the heir of all his subjects who die without issue; but in case they have children, two thirds go to them, and the rest to his majesty⁴.

Musical instruments.

THE people of this country have various sorts of music, among which the pipe and tabor are most esteemed; although their stringed instruments pleased our author best. They have one kind in shape of a galley, about three feet in length, and eight or ten inches broad, and six deep: on the upper belly of it are fastened about twenty bells, of different sizes and tones, which are beaten with a stick of heavy wood, and make no contemptible harmony⁵.

Diseases.

THE air of *Pegu* is so healthy, that it is not afflicted with many diseases, which other countries, wanting the same benefit, are subject to. However, the small-pox is dreaded through all the provinces; but chiefly in that of *Kirian* (F), where it makes great ravages, and is considered as pestiferous: so that when any one is found to have caught this cruel distemper, the whole neighbourhood fly, as from the plague, and build new houses to dwell in two or three miles distant. At their departure, they leave with the sick person a jar of water, a basket of raw rice, with some earthen pots to boil it in; and then bid him farewell for one-and-twenty days. If the patient recovers, which can only happen in case he has strength enough to rise and boil his food, at the expiration of that term they carry him to their new plantation⁶.

Physicians.

AMONG the *Peguers*, the priests are their principal physicians: however, we are told, that, for the general, when any person falls sick, he makes a vow to the devil, from whom they believe all evil comes. Then a scaffold is built, and victuals spread on the top of it, to solace *old Nic*, and

¹ BALBI, p. 127. HAMILT. p. 51.

² OVIINGT. p. 591.

HAMILT. p. 51.

³ LINSCHOT. p. 29.

⁴ BALBI,

p. 127.

⁵ HAMILT. vol. ii. p. 57.

⁶ Ibid. p. 59,

& 61.

render him propitious. This feast is accompanied with lighted candles and music. The whole is managed by an undertaker called the devil's father : and although their priests forbid such practices, yet the people are too fond of this ancient custom to obey their commands^a.

WE have already given a general view of the trade of *Pe-Commerce*. *gu*, in treating of *Sirian*, which is its only port at present. The commodities exported from thence are gold, silver, rubies, musk, benjamin, long-pepper, tin, lead, copper, *lakka* (or gum lack, whereof they make hard wax), rice, rice-wine, and some sugar-canes, of which they would have plenty, but that the elephants eat them^b. It may be observed, that, under the name of rubies, the *Peguers* comprise topazes, sapphires, amethysts, and other stones, which they distinguish, by saying the blue, the violet, and the yellow rubies. The true ruby is red, transparent, and sparkling; inclining, near the surface, to the violet of the amethyst. They are found in the mountains of *Kapelan*, or *Kablan*; and in those which stretch from *Pegu* to *Kamboja*^c.

COTTON cloths, from *Bengál* and *Choromandel*, with some *Commodi-* striped silks, are best for the *Pegu* market : and silver of any *ties*. sort will go off there; for the king, in return for his eight and an half *per cent.* duty on it, allows the merchants to melt it down, and put what copper alloy they please in it : so that *Rupé* silver, which has no alloy, will bear twenty-eight *per cent.* of copper, and keep the *Pegu* touch, which they call flowered silver; for if it flowers, it passes current. Their *Flowered* way to make flowered silver is this : they cast the silver and *silver.* copper into shallow moulds; and, while the metal is in fusion; blow on the surface through a wooden pipe, which produces the figures of flowers or stars. But, if there is too great a mixture of alloy, no figures will appear : nor did our author ever know of any foreigner who had the art of making this kind of silver.

THEY wear none of our *European* commodities in *Pegu*, but hats and ribbons. The gentry will give extravagant prices for fine beaver hats, which they wear without any cocks. They are no less fond of ribbons, flowered with gold and silver, which they wear round their hats at full breadth, be they ever so broad^d.

^a BALBI, p. 124.

^b FREDER. apud HAKL. vol. ii. p. 237.

BALBI, p. 108. FITCH apud PURCH. vol. ii. p. 1739.

^c OVINGT. p. 585.

^d HAMILT. ubi supra, p. 41.

Way of
buying
goods.

ALL commodities are sold by certain *Tarreka*, or *Taregha*, that is, *brokers* (G), with whom the merchants bargain; and the buyer may return them, in case he finds himself imposed on, after having had them in his possession three or four days: which is looked on as a great disgrace to the broker. One ignorant in jewels shall be as well served as he who has skill. Their way of bargaining is very singular and convenient: for as many merchants come to buy at the same time, and their knowing what one another paid for their parcels might occasion disputes or murmurings; therefore, that none may know how the rubies are sold, excepting the buyer, the broker and merchant put their hands under a cloth, and, by touching each other's fingers, and nipping their joints, each of which has its signification, know what is bidden, and what is asked.

No risks in
dealing.

ALL other goods are likewise sold by brokers, who are allowed two *per cent.* for their trouble; and are obliged to see you paid the sums agreed for by the purchaser. He is properly your pay-master; and if he does not satisfy you punctually on the fixed day for payment, you may carry him home with you, and confine him in your house. After this, in case he does not discharge the debt immediately, you may seize his wife, children, and slaves; whom you may bind at your door, exposed to the scorching sun, according to the law of the country. Thus the merchant scarce ever runs the risk of losing his money; only he is often delayed longer than he would choose, by being obliged to give two or three months credit. Payments are made in *Ganza*, or *Gansa* (H), a kind of brass coin, and the only one; for gold and silver are commodities, and bought like rubies. Payments, it is true, are often made in silver; but as the receiver is apt to be imposed on, by reason of the great difference of alloy, and difficulty of knowing the real value, it is therefore safer to agree to be paid in *Ganza*; which goes by a weight called *Biza*, whose value is about half-a-crown *English*, or somewhat less^c.

Current
coin.

^c FREDER. ubi supra, p. 239. BALBI, p. 107. FITCH ubi supra, p. 1739.

(G) *Cæsar Frederic* says there are four: *Fitch* says eight. Their number may have varied at different times.

(H) Or a mixture of copper and lead.

S E C T. III.

Religion of Pegu.

THE religion of Pegu is the same, at bottom, with that *Their re-* which prevails over the rest of *India* and *Tibet*, only va- *ligion.* ries its dress somewhat in different countries; according to the humour or interest of the priests, who every-where like to have a religion of their own. They hold the existence of one *One su-* supreme God, the Creator of all things, of whom they make *preme be-* ing. no image; and the worship of him is monopolized by the priests, the people not being thought worthy of paying their homage to so exalted a being. For this reason other inferior and created gods are set apart for them; the chief of whom are, *Somma Kuddom*, *Samjay*, and *Prawpout*, whose images are set up in their *Baws*, or *temples*, for the laity to worship^a. Not content with these, and many more subaltern, *Many in-* gods, we are told they worship the devil also. In sickness *ferior gods.* they make feasts to appease him, as hath been already observed. Many are seen to run about the streets every morning, with rice in one hand, and a torch in the other, crying aloud, that *they go to give the devil his breakfast, that he might not hurt them all the day.* Others, before they eat, throw part of their meat over their shoulder to feed him. At *Tavay* they fill their houses with provisions, and then leave them for three months, for the devils to come and revel there; in expectation that they will be propitious to them all the rest of the year. For all this care to sooth the evil spirit, they are so afraid of him, that they will run, as if really possessed, from a man in a mask, lest he should prove a devil come out of hell to torment them^b.

THE *Portugueses* knowing the *Peguers* to be a very super- *Ape's tooth* stitious people, though not more so than themselves; when *worshipped.* the famous ape's tooth was taken by them in the island of *Seylan*, or *Ceylon*, about the year 1559, some were for having it sent to Pegu to be sold, concluding, that it would yield an extraordinary price^c: but although the viceroy chose to burn it, two or three counterfeits soon appeared, and one of them was imposed on the king of Pegu for genuine.

BESIDES the *Manichean* doctrine of two principles, one *Succeffion* the author of good, the other of evil, from whence their *of worlds.* worshipping the devil has its rise, they believe an eternal succeffion of worlds, without creation; and a multiplicity of

^a HAMILT. p. 53.^b BALBI, p. 126. OVIINGT. p. 591.^c DE FARIA, vol. ii. p. 208.

gods to govern them. For instance, they say that, for the government of the present world, five different gods were appointed by the supreme being, of whom four have been removed, their time of ruling being expired. They add, that above 2200 years have elapsed, since the death (or disappearance) of the fourth; so that they suddenly expect the coming of the fifth: after whose departure the world itself shall be destroyed with fire, that a new one, phoenix-like, may spring out of its ashes.

Transmigration of souls.

THE Peguers hold the doctrine of the *Metempsychosis*, or transmigration of the human soul, which, after passing thro' the bodies of various animals, shall attain to the perfections and felicity of their gods; which, in effect, is no other than a state of annihilation: for having made its progress through the beasts, birds, and other creatures, it is received into *Naxak*, that is, *the place of torments*. After a long confinement there, they are released, and admitted into *Sevum*, a second receptacle for departed souls, replete with all sorts of sensual pleasures. From hence, after a certain period of time, they arrive at their last state, called *Nibam*, which imports as much as a privation of the essence both of soul and body. However, this is to be said for the *Pegu* priests, that they are not so wedded to any of the above opinions, as not to be willing enough to hearken to, and even embrace, other doctrines, when they are made known to them.

THEY have a strong opinion of the sanctity of apes and crocodiles; inasmuch that they believe the persons to be perfectly happy, who chance to be devoured by them^d.

Their temples,

THE temples, or places set apart for religious worship (A), are generally built of earth within, and cased on the outside with stone. They are of various sizes, but all of a conic form. Some are as high as one of our churches, and no less than a quarter of a mile round; all gilded towards the top, and many all over, both within and without: which great consumption of gold has made that metal scarce in *Pegu*^e.

and images.

THE images of the inferior gods, which are found in their temples, are placed in domes, in a sitting posture, with their legs across, and toes of equal length. Their arms and hands very small, in proportion to their bodies: their faces longer than human: their ears long, and the lappets very thick.

^d Ovingt. p. 594. & seq.
Fitch ubi supra, p. 1739.

^e FREDER. ubi supra, p. 239.

• (A) Called *Kiak*, by *Fitch*; famous ones near *Sirian*, de- and *Baru*, by *Hamilton*. Two scribed before.

The congregation bow to them when they go in, and when they go out; and that is all the worship which they pay to them^f. *Fitch* could perceive no kind of divine service performed in their churches but that of preaching &c.

THE *Peguers* never repair an old temple; nor is there any *Feast of occasion* for that piety or expence: for every *September* there *sky-rockets*. is an old custom for men of fortune to play off sky-rockets; and if any of them fall to the ground, and spends its fire without mounting, the owner becomes much dejected; believing the deities are angry with him. On the contrary, if it flies a considerable height, he takes it for an infallible sign of his being in favour with the gods, and never fails to build a new church, which he dedicates to the divinity he adores: and when it is finished, certain priests, whose temples are gone to decay, remove their images thither, and have the benefice for their pains.

OUR author, captain *Hamilton*, had seen some of those *Monstrous* rockets so large, that one of them would contain above 500 *large ones*. weight of powder and coal-dust, which is their usual composition. Their carcase is the trunk of a great tree, made hollow, leaving about two inches of solid wood on the outside. When the ingredients are put in, and well rammed down, they gird the carcase very tight, with thongs made of raw buffaloes hides, which, when dry, bind it as close as so many hoops. Then, having secured the ends, that the composition might consume gradually, they suspend it on a branch of a certain great tree, to which they lash it, to keep it from falling; and fix a tail to balance it. Some are 120 feet long. After this, the day of solemnity being proclaimed, which never fails to bring great numbers of people, of all ranks; when every thing is ready, the owner sets fire to the rocket; and the lashings, which fastened it to the tree, being at the same time cut with a hatchet, it takes its flight, either upward or downward, as hath been before-mentioned.

A LITTLE while after this they have another feast called *Hermaphroditos*. *Kollok*, at which time women are picked out of the people assembled, to perform a dance to the gods of the earth. Hermaphrodites, who are numerous in *Pegu*, are commonly chosen, in case there happens to be a number sufficient to make up a set. Our author saw nine dance like mad folks, for above half an hour; and then some of them fell in fits, foaming at the mouth for half an hour more. When they come to themselves, they pretend to foretell what will hap-

^f HAMILT. p. 54.
1740.

^g FITCH apud Purchas, ubi supra, p.

pen that year : as, whether there will be plenty or scarcity of grain ; whether it will be a healthy or sickly season ; and other things of moment ; which they learned in their conversation with the gods, while they were in the trance ^b.

*Other
festivals.*

BESIDES the festivals above-mentioned, the *Peguers* observe several others, which they call *Sapan*. Of these are in most esteem, first, *Sapan Jakia* : this is held about twelve miles from the city of *Pegu*, where the king, queen, and whole court, were obliged to be present, with great pomp and splendor ; their majesties riding in a triumphal car, drawn by eight white horses, and decked with jewels of inestimable value.

2. THAT of *Katena*, or the temple so called, is held in the city itself. On this occasion the chief men erect pillars and pyramids of different fashions, erected in cars, each drawn by 300 persons. At night the streets are illuminated, that the people may see their way to the temple.

3. THE *Sapan* called *Jaymo Sejenon*, in honour of another inferior deity, at which appeared the king and queen, in their triumphal car, richly dressed, as at the first festival.

*Fest of
water.*

4. THE *Sapan Dayka*, that is, *the feast of water*, is kept in the old city. The king and queen attending, as at other times, first entered a gilt palace, and bathed in rose-water. Then the officers and great men, being assembled in a neighbouring field, threw cups of water on one another, to such a degree, that they looked as if ducked in the river. At this time there was no passing in the streets, without being soundly wetted with water, thrown from the windows.

*Rowing
for prizes.*

THE fifth *Sapan*, called *Donon*, is held at the city of *Mak-kao*, whither the king and queen used to repair in their gilt bark, and land at a beautiful palace, richly gilt also. From hence the king went to another palace, without the city, to see the courtiers row in their *paros*, or barks, two in each, upon the river, for prizes. The first which arrived at the palace gained a little image of gold ; the second, one of silver ; the rest had nothing, except the last, whose rowers, by way of jest, were presented with a widow's weeds. This feast lasts a whole moon, or *Peguan* month ⁱ.

*Talepoy,
or priests.*

THE priests of *Pegu*, who are called *Talepoy*, are a kind of mixture of the popish monks and friars : they observe celibacy, and eat but once a day. Their dress is a long frock, girt with a leathern thong, four inches broad, at which hangs a bag for receiving alms, for they have no stipends ; and in

^b HAMILT. p. 55, & seq.

ⁱ BALBI, p. 119, 121. FITCH ubi supra, p. 1740. OVIINGT. p. 595.

case the few acres, which every one who builds a temple bestows for their maintenance, be not sufficient, they send some novices abroad, to beg alms. These mendicants are clad with a large orange-coloured mantle, and have a little basket hanging at their left arm. In the left hand they carry a little drum, and a little stick in the right, with which, when they come to people's doors, they beat three strokes. If nobody answers, they beat a second and a third time; but then, if the house continues silent, they go on to the next, without speaking one word. Yet they are seldom sent away without an alms of rice, pulse, fruits, or roots, which are their only food^k; for the people have them in great veneration, on account of their exemplary lives: infomuch that they drink the water in which the bodies of the *Talepoy* are washed, according to custom, once every year.

THEY dwell in the woods, in a sort of nests or cages, *Dw* built on the tops of trees, for fear of the tigers. Their lives *was* are innocent, and they are very humane. They were the best observers of the rules of morality and charity that captain *Hamilton* met with in all his travels. The people too were generally pious and hospitable. They preach frequently; assembling the people every new moon, or, as others say, every *Monday*, by the sound of a bell or bason. Their subject or text is some precept of the law of nature, which they think sufficient to salvation, without regard to speculative doctrines, and is attended with very good effects on their auditors. They teach charity, as the most sublime of all virtues, and have no religious controversies. Persecution is a stranger to them: nor are they offended if any of their people embrace a different faith: they say the mind is a free agent, and must not be forced. They even go so far as to hold all religions to be good, and say that the deity is pleased with variety^m.

THE *Talepoy* have a kind of hierarchy among them, and *Several* a high-priest, who is stiled *Rawli*. All the clergy have sumptuous funerals, made at the expence of the people: their bodies are burnt on a pile of costly wood, and the ashes cast into the river. When a high-priest dies, his corps is kept embalmed for three or four months. At the time appointed for his funeral, they erect four masts in the ground about 100 yards one from the other, with a very tall one in the middle, round which they build three scaffolds, railed

^k BALBI, p. 123. FITCH ubi supra. Ovingt. p. 593. HAM-
MILT. p. 52. ^l BALBI ubi supra, p. 123. ^m Ovingt.
p. 593. HAMILT. p. 52.

Their government.

about ; the lowermost largest, and the highest least. These they fill with combustibles ; and, on ropes drawn tight from the middle mast to the corner ones, place rockets. Then, the corps being laid along on the upper scaffold, a trumpet is blown ; at the sound whereof the rockets are fired, which, in an instant, set all in a flame : so that, in an hour, the whole is consumed ³.

SECT. IV.

Government of Pegu.

Of the King and Nobility.

Orders of nobility.

THE kingdom of *Pegu*, being at present annexed to that of *Ava* ; and consequently subject to the same laws, we shall postpone what we have to say in relation to affairs of government, till we come to treat of *Ava* ; and proceed to speak of such matters as concern the king and nobility of *Pegu*, before the dissolution of that monarchy, in the year 1600.

THE nobility of *Pegu* are distinguished into several orders, of which we find mention of two. The first *Baja*, who are the same with our dukes : and *Semini*, or *Shemini* (A), who are the commanders, great officers of state, and the barons ^a. Besides these, we meet with two other titles of honour and dignity : one *Najiran*, which signifies *lord* ; the other *Banna*, or *Bayna*, which we find tacked to the names of great men ; as *Chau-bayna*, king of *Martavàn* ; *Banna Dola*, from whom *Sirian* was taken by *Nicote*.

Their slavish subjection.

THESE nobles are in a kind of slavish subjection to the king, who takes care to keep up that servile obedience among his chiefs and great men, by employing them in acts of labour, very unbecoming the dignity of noblemen. While *Balbi* was in *Pegu*, about 1586, they were commanded to go and help in building a gallery and aqueduct ; which order they put in execution : nor were they excused from going on with the work, although it rained heavily ; but, with spades in their hands, were seen to dig the ground like other labourers ; the king being present, to see that they were not idle ^b.

^a OYINGT. p. 594. HAMILT. p. 60.
^b Ibid. p. 119.

^a BALBI, p. 103.

(A) According to *Fitch*, all the nobility are included under the title of *Shemines*.

THIS prince appears in great pomp, and is treated with *Reverence* the highest reverence by all his subjects. In his public audiences, which he gives twice every day, all his *Shemines*, or nobles, sit on each side of him, at a good distance; and without them is a numerous guard. The court-yard, facing the hall of audience, is very large; and when any person has a mind to apply himself to his majesty, he makes his prostrations in this manner: he first kneels down; and then lifting his hands to his head, bows it to the ground three times. This he does three times, *viz.* when he enters the court, when he is advanced half way, and when he draws near the king. After this he sits down, and talks with his majesty, at a greater or lesser distance, according as the king likes him.

WHEN he rides abroad, he is attended with a great guard, *Pomp in* and many noblemen. He often appears upon an elephant, in a little castle or pavilion, richly gilded, in *going* himself in a kind of coach, called *Serrion*: it consists of a great frame, like a horse-litter, on which is placed a sort of small house, covered at top, but open on the side, all over gilded, and set with rubies and sapphires. This machine is carried on the shoulders of sixteen or eighteen men, and generally accompanied with the acclamations and feastings of the people*. The triumphal car or waggon, which he rides in when he attends the feasts above-mentioned, is drawn by sixteen horses: 'tis all over gilded, and raised very high, with a sumptuous canopy over it. The car is followed by twenty lords, each holding a rope, which is fastened to it, in order to keep it from falling. Upon the car stand four of the king's favourites, attending him: and round it are all the nobility of his kingdom, the army marching before. It is surprising to see so much splendor and good order among such multitudes of people, who are, by *Europeans*, reckoned *Barbarians*.

THE king, in hearing the complaints of his subjects, never *Public au-* speaks to, or is spoken to by, them: but supplications are *diences.* made to him in the following manner. His majesty sits aloft in a great hall, on a tribunal seat; and below him sit all his lords, round about: then the persons who demand audience enter a spacious court, facing the hall, and sit down promiscuously, at the distance of about forty paces from the king, with their petitions in one hand, and a present or gift in the other, according to the importance of the matters contained in them. Then the secretary advances; and taking the pe-

* FITCH apud Purch. vol. ii. p. 1738.

titions from the suitors, reads them aloud ; and if his majesty thinks fit to grant their request, he orders the presents to be taken from them. But in case he thinks their demand not to be just or reasonable, he dismisses them without receiving their gifts. It may be proper to take notice, that the petitions are written with an iron style on the leaves of trees, about twenty-seven inches long, and two broad. In the same manner are all writings ingrossed ^d.

*Revenues
and
wealth.*

THE king of *Pegu's* revenues arise chiefly from the rent of lands, of which he is the sole proprietor. Another branch of it are the duties paid for commodities imported and exported. The treasure of the kingdom has been vastly increased, in former times, by the spoil of conquered countries ; and what contributed much to prevent their dissipation, was the king's being at no expence to maintain his standing forces, excepting when in the field. In a word, he was judged to be the richest monarch in the world, next to the emperor of *China* ^e.

*Power and
forces.*

THE forces of the kingdom, during the dominion of the *Barma* race, were exceeding numerous. Those monarchs, by the report of most authors, have brought into the field armies amounting to the number of a million, and a million and a half of men ; for maintenance of whom he assigned lands and towns to his nobles, who were obliged to keep them in time of peace, and, in time of war, bring them into the field. The king then had the charge of providing for them, and found them in pay, clothes, and arms : but, when the war was over, they were all returned into his magazines. It may seem hard to conceive where victuals could be had for such numerous forces : but, besides the great plenty of all necessaries of life, it must be considered, not only that the *Peguans* are very abstemious in their diet, but also that nothing, either of animals or vegetables, comes amiss to them. They eat the flesh of all kinds of creatures, even cats, rats, serpents, and other vermin : and when that is wanting, provided they have but water and salt, they will support themselves a long time under a bush, with roots, flowers, and the leaves of trees.

*Their
arms.*

THE arms of the soldiers are lances, muskets, swords, and targets. Their muskets are beautiful, and good as the *European* : but their pikes are bad, and swords worse, being no better than long knives with one edge, and without a point. The king had plenty of all sorts of artillery ; but had not

^d FREDERIC *ibid.* p. 1716.
p. 235. BALBI, p. 110.

^e *Ibid.* apud HAKL. vol. ii.

skilful gunners. He likewise wanted ship-carpenters and *Their go-*
sailors; and this is the reason why he had no naval force, *vernment.*
which otherwise he might be well provided with. Instead
of shipping, therefore, he contented himself with certain plea-
sure barges, than which nothing could be more rich and beau-
tiful, being all over gilded, and otherwise adorned. Among
them there was one, built by the father of the king, who
reigned in the year 1586, and kept at *Mekkae*, an inland place;
which, for the security of this vessel, was surrounded with
guards. According to *Balbi*, none ever was equal to it in
beauty; for it was finished in great perfection, and adorned
with great variety of figures, exquisitely carved, and the whole
gilded, amazing to behold. The vessel was of a vast length,
but narrow, out of all proportion. It had 150 rowers on
each side, who, sitting with each a short oar in his hand, all
gilded except the pale, plunged it at once into the water,
and drawing it towards them, made the vessel run forward,
as swift as an arrow out of bow. It had two gilded rudders:
and, in an apartment which possessed the middle part of the
bark, with windows on every side, the king used to take his
pleasure in the neighbouring rivers.

THIS monarch had no fewer than 800 elephants trained to *Elephants*
war, furnished with castles on their backs, each holding four *of war.*
soldiers: and it was thought formerly, that the chief strength
of his armies consisted in these elephants, whose number he was
able to increase at pleasure from the forests. His great power
might also be judged of from hence, that he had no fewer
than 26 crowned heads at his command.

THE kings of *Pegu* had only one wife; but they main- *Wife and*
tained, besides, 300 concubines, by whom they had commonly *concubines.*
many children: he who reigned in the time of *Cesar Fre-*
deric, about 1563, was reputed to have had no fewer than
ninety^f.

THE funeral of a king of *Pegu* used to be performed in the *King's fu-*
following manner. Upon his decease, two barks were ordered *neral.*
to be made, with a beautiful covering, all gilded, which
served both vessels. Under the covering was raised a lofty
pile or scaffolding, gilded likewise, on which was laid the
royal corpse: then a good quantity of lignum aloes, sandal
wood, benjamin, musk, and other odoriferous combustibles,
being placed about it, they were set on fire; and the barks,
at the same time, put a sailing down the river of *Pegu*, un-
der the direction of some *Talepoi*, who went singing and re-

^f *FREDER. ibid. p. 236. BALBI, p. 111. HAMILT. p. 46.*

joining. When the body was burnt, the priests took the ashes, and made them into a paste with milk. This done, they carried the ashes, thus amalgamated, to the mouth of the port of *Sirian*, where runs the *Makkrea*, or violent tide, often mentioned before, and threw them into the water when it began to ebb : from hence they repaired to the city *Dogon* (B), and, near the famous temple in that city, built another, where they deposited the bones of the deceased prince. After this they returned to the palace of *Pegu*, and placed the heir upon the throne, with the usual ceremonies §.

S E C T. V.

The History of Pegu.

*Curious,
but im-
perfect.*

PEGU was always a kingdom of considerable power ; and made itself so famous through the world, by its great conquests over the neighbouring countries, in the sixteenth century, that a complete account of its affairs, from the beginning of the monarchy, would, no doubt, make one of the most shining figures in a *universal history*. But although we have large relations, written by travellers and others, drawn thither during its flourishing state, for sake either of trade or curiosity ; yet those materials are too imperfect, from thence to form any thing like a series, even of all the remarkable transactions which have happened, since the *Portugueses* first discovered *India* by sea.

*The chief
authors,*

THE chief authors who have furnished materials for the *Pegu* history, from that period, down to the destruction of the monarchy in the year 1600, which contains the space of little more than a hundred years, are *Mendez Pinto*, *Caspar Frederic*, *Gasparo Balbi*, and *Ralph Fitch*. The first of these, *Mendez Pinto*, though one of the most fabulous among the travellers of these latter times, has yet preserved many important facts, relating to the wars and revolutions which about his time happened in several *Indian* countries : and it must be acknowledged, that to him the public is obliged for what they meet with here, concerning the kings of *Pegu*, down to the year 1550 ; which comprises the great revolution brought about by the *Barmas* (commonly called *Bramas*),

§ BALBI, p. 123.

(B) The bones of the king, who died in 1583, while *Balbi* was at *Pegu*, were buried at *Dogon*, or *Dagan* : but the bones of the former kings were deposited in such places as they chose themselves.

and the first increasings of their power. It is true, this author has blended the truth with so many fictions of his own invention, to fill up chasms, that it is often very difficult to separate one from the other; and many writers, who have depended too much on his veracity, have fallen into very grievous errors. For all this, *Pinto* hath had his advocates: and a late collector (A) has published his most palpable forgeries (B), with which his relation abounds, believing them to be genuine; and, at the same time, has omitted the revolutions of *Pegu* (C), which are, perhaps, for the general, the most genuine, as well as valuable, part of his book.

FREDERIC, Balbi, and Fitch, went to *Pegu* after *Pinto*; treating the first in 1563, and the two latter about 1583. These of it. have continued, in some sort, the account of affairs where *Pinto* left off, down to the year 1587. Thenceforward, to the destruction of the monarchy in 1600, we find a supply from the letters of the Jesuits, *Pimenta, Fernandez, and Boues*: after which the *Portuguese Asia* of *De Faria y Sousa*, affords a few particulars, as low as 1640. From this year, to the present time, we meet with scarce any thing relating to the history of *Pegu*, excepting what is found in *Sheldon's* memoir (D), inserted in *Ovington's* voyage to *Surat*; and *Capt. Hamilton's* new account of the *East-Indies*, which gives us a view of the state of *Pegu*, as part of the dominion of the king of *Ava*, whose history is, in great measure, connected with it.

THE kingdom of *Pegu* was founded about 1100 years ago, and had a seaman for its first monarch. This prince was succeeded by his son, who, we are told, lived eighty years, and had for his successor his son, named *Tam*. These three, as well as all who came after them, as *Kael Vea, Talanna, Inda, Dazar, Mampla*, and six or seven others, of whom the last was *Shemin Doo* (E), added to their name the title of *Banna*

or

(A) The *Abbe Prevost*, in his continuation of *Histoire generale des voyages*, &c. tome ix. p. 353.

(B) Particularly his pretended travels through *China* and *Tartary*, with his journey to the court of *Calaminban*, of which scarce the name of one place or person is true.

(C) See the same collection, p. 483, note (30). *Purébas*, that mangler of voyages and

travels, has done the like. See his *Pilgrims*, vol. iii. p. 252, & seqq.

(D) Which memoir seems to be nothing else but a collection from *Tosi, Jarric*, and other authors.

(E) This we take to be the sense of the original *Portuguese* (tom. iii. part 2. ch. 4. p. 237), which, being obscurely worded, the translator has rendered quite unintelligible, by omitting the words, and six or seven successive,

Bressagukan. (or *Bainha*)^a. These princes had, by degrees, so enlarged their dominions, that *Bressagukan* (F), who ascended the throne in the year 1518, had under his subjection nine kingdoms, which were governed by his lieutenants, whose revenues amounted to three millions of gold^b.

Portuguese embassy. IT WAS doubtless to this prince that *Antony Correa* was sent in 1519, to conclude a peace; at the swearing of which assisted the king's ministers, with the priests of both nations, *Remyb* and *Peguan*. The *Gentile* pontiff was the great *Rauli*, or *Raulin*, who, after the capitulations made in the golden mine were publicly read, according to the custom of those people, began to read in a book. He then took some yellow paper (a colour dedicated to their holy uses), with the odoriferous leaves of certain trees, inscribed with characters, and set fire to them. This done, he took the hands of the king's minister, and holding them over the ashes, spoke some words, which rendered the oath inviolable. *Antony Correa*, to answer the solemnity of this ceremony, ordered his priest to put on a surplice, and bring with him his breviary: but when the book came, it appeared so tattered and torn, that *Correa*, to avoid the scandal which such a sight might give those heathens, had a book of church music substituted in its place. As this made a more creditable figure, being both larger and better bound, it passed on those people as well, says *De Faria*, as if it had been the gospel^c.

The king murder'd. WE meet with nothing farther relating to *Bressagukan*, till the year 1539, when he was slain on the following occasion. Among other princes who were his tributaries was *Parà Mandorà*, king of the *Barmas* (G). This prince, by one condition of his vassalage, was obliged to furnish the *Pegu* monarch with 30,000 of his subjects, to labour in his mines, and other public works. As the king used frequently to go see how his works went forward, and took along with him none but

^a DE FARIA, Portug. Asia, vol. iii. p. 117

^b MARTINIERE dict. geogr. art. Pegou. PINTO's travels, p. 198, 206.

^c CASTANHEDA, hist. del l'Indie orient. part ii. cap. 12. p. 59. & DE FARIA, ubi supra, vol. i. p. 226.

fewly, of whom the last, named, which ought to come between the names of *Mompla* and *Xeminda*, who was slain in the year 1549, not 1540, as it is by mistake in the original, as well as the translation.

(F) In the *English* version of

Mendex Pinto it is written *Presa-guean*.

(G) *Pinto* does not name this prince; but, p. 212, intimates, that he had been *Sacmín*, or lord, of *Tangu*, before he was king of *Brama*, or rather the *Barmas*.

his women, who delighted to see foreigners, and the progress which they made; the *Barma* labourers formed a design to rob the queen and all the concubines of their jewels, the first opportunity which offered. Pursuant to this resolution, the next time the king went to visit the works, the *Barmas* murdered him; and, having stripped the ladies, fled to their own country ^d.

THE *Barmas* (H), by *Pinto*, and most other authors, called *The Bar-Bramas*, inhabited the highlands of *Pangavirau*, which encompasses the kingdom of *Pegu*. Their country, which was 200 leagues in length, and 80 in breadth, made one of the thirteen kingdoms, which, according to their histories, were formerly united under one monarch; whose yoke they threw off, by poisoning him at a banquet, prepared for him in the city of *Chaleu* (I), and thus became independent, along with *Pegu* and the rest ^e.

THE country of the *Barmas* is that, doubtless, called by *Their do-Edoardo Barbosa, Verma*; to which, in 1515, belonged all ^{minions.} the coast extending from *Bengal* to *Pegu*: so that what goes now by the name of *Arrakan*, was then called *Verma*, or *Barma*; and *Arrakan*, according to the same author, lay within land, to the north of it ^f. We find likewise from *De Faria*, that they were formerly masters of *Ava* (K), whose dominions extended as far as *China* ^g. Hence it appears, that the *Barmas* had once most of the northern part of the peninsula beyond *Ganges* under their power; and possibly it was their empire which became divided into thirteen kingdoms, on the death of the sole monarch above-mentioned. However that be, a little before the time of *Pinto*, their dominions were reduced to very narrow bounds, and their king was tributary to him of *Pegu*: but, by degrees, they recovered their ancient empire; which at present, according to a late author, extends from *Maruvi*, near *Tanaferin*, to the province of *Yun-nan*, in *China*, about 800 miles from south to

^d DE FARIA, vol. ii. p. 10.

^e PINTO'S VOY. p. 241.

^f EDOAR. BARBOSA, M. S. p. 187.

^g DE FARIA, vol. ii.

p. 11.

(H) So named by *Duchatz* and *Hamilton*. By *Barbosa, Verma*.

(I) In a kingdom of the same name; of which, according to *Mendez Pinto*, the city of *Ava* was the capital; and that of *Chaleu* lay between *Ava* and *Prom*.

The inhabitants of this kingdom were called *Chaleus*. See *Pinto's voyages*, p. 214, & *alibi*.

(K) *Pinto*, and, after him, *De Faria*, says it extended the space of two months travels, at ordinary journies, and contained sixty-two cities.

north, and 250 broad from west to east^b. As to the name of *Bramas*, or rather *Barmas*, we are told by *Balbi*, that it signifies *soldiers*; and the same author calls the general of their army the *Great Brama*^c. To return to our history:

They in-
vade Pe-
gu,

THIS enormous action of the *Barma* slaves threw all the dominions of *Pegu* into confusion; but the people everywhere, instead of rising to revenge the death of the murdered king, divided into factions, and began rebellions in several parts of the empire: so that *Dacha Rupi*, who was heir to the deceased, found himself in no condition to maintain his authority. *Parà Mandarà*, then king of the *Barmas*, taking advantage of these commotions, which weakened the strength of *Pegu*, not only threw off the yoke, but even formed the design of conquering that country; which he invaded with an army of more than a million of men and 5000 elephants; besides a great fleet which he sent down the river of *Ava* towards *Bagou*, corruptly called *Pegu*, the capital of that empire, while he marched with his forces thither by land.

and con-
quer it.

JUST at this juncture, *Ferdinand de Morales* arrived in the port of *Pegù*, with a great galleon, laden on account of the king of *Portugal*, and sent thither to trade by order of the viceroy of *Goa*. As soon as *Dacha Rupi* heard of his coming, he sent to desire his assistance against the enemy; and, having won him with favours and promises, gave him the command of his whole fleet. *Morales* hereupon set out in a galliot; and, having joined the king's ships, put himself in a posture to oppose the adversary. Mean time the king of the *Barmas* came on by land like a torrent, carrying all before him; and his fleet covered the river, though as great as the *Ganges*: with this power he easily gained both the city and kingdom of *Pegu*, which he quickly over-ran. *Morales*, although the ships under his command were scarce visible in respect of the enemy's, yet met them at the point of *Jinamarreka*, where was a furious, bloody, and desperate fight; in which the *Peguers*, under the conduct of the *Portuguese* commander, made great havock among the ships of the *Barmas*: but, finding themselves overpowered by numbers, they at length deserted *Morales*, who alone in his galliot withstood the whole fleet of the enemy; and, performing wonders, made a vast slaughter among them, till, oppressed by the multitudes, who assailed him on all sides, he was at last slain^d. This happened in the year 1539 or 40.

^b HAMILT. new acc. of E. Ind. vol. ii. p. 39.
^c voy. p. 101, 108.

^d BALBI
^e DE FARIA, ubi supra, vol. ii. p. 9,
& seqq.

AFTER the conquest of *Pegu*, *Parà Mandarà* turned his arms against the neighbouring kingdoms which had been tributary to that empire (L). In the year 1544 he marched against *Martavân*, capital of a kingdom of the same name, then very great and flourishing, its revenue being no less than three millions of gold. He laid siege to the city by land, with 700,000 men; and by sea with a fleet of 1700 sail, 100 of which were large galleys: in them were 700 *Portugueses*, commanded by *John Cayero*, reputed a man of valour and conduct.

At the end of seven months, in which five assaults had been given to the city, and the *Barmas* had lost 120,000 men; the king *Chaubayna*, finding it impossible to withstand any longer so great a power, especially as provisions were become already so scarce that they had eaten 3000 elephants, offered to capitulate: but no conditions were allowed by the besiegers. The king, in this distress, resolved to apply to the *Portugueses*, to whom he had always been very kind and serviceable. With this view he sent one *Seixas* to intreat *Cayero* to receive him, his family, and treasure (M), into the four ships under his command; offering to give half of his riches to the king of *Portugal*, to become his vassal, and pay such tribute as should be agreed on: for he did not doubt but that, with the assistance of 2000 *Portugueses*, maintained at

(L) *De Faria* says, he conquered the *Jangomas*, *Lanjangs*, and the *Laos*, with others, which, like his own, were tributaries to *Pegu*; and thus recovered his ancient kingdom of *Ava*, whose great extent, and number of cities, have been specified in a preceding note. He likewise subdued a kingdom of *Turks* (perhaps that of *Trukon*, mentioned hereafter), which contained as many cities as that of *Ava*, viz. sixty-two; and was taken by the king of *Pegu* from him of *Katbay* (or *Kitay*): also the kingdom of *Bimir*, west of *Ava*, of the same extent, with twenty-seven populous cities; that of *Lanjam* (or *Lanjan*), to the north of *Bimir*, and of equal dimensions, with thirty-eight cities, and store of gold and

silver: also *Mamprom*, as large as the former, to the east of which it lies, and west of *Kochinchina*, yet containing no more than eight cities.—But *De Faria* ascribes to *Parà Mandarà* what should rather belong to his third successor *Chaumigrem*; for it appears from *Pinto*, that he did not conquer *Ava*; and from *Pimenta*, that *Jangoma* was conquered by the father of the last *Brama* king of *Pegu*, who was *Chaumigrem*; nor was the reign of *Parà Mandarà* long enough to make such conquests as are ascribed to him.

(M) Among which was that of *Presaguean*, or *Brissagukan*, late king of *Pegu*, in twenty six chests, amounting to sixty millions of gold, if *Pinto* may be credited.

his own expence, he should be able to repulse the enemy, and retrieve his affairs. *Cayero* consulted the principal officers; and, in their presence, asked *Seixas* what the treasure of *Martaván* might amount to? *Seixas* answered, that out of what he had seen, for he had not seen all, two ships might be loaded with gold and jewels, and four or five more with silver. This was a proposal too advantageous to be slighted: but the *Portugueses*, envious of the great fortune which *Cayero* might have made, by accepting that offer, threatened to discover the matter to the *Barma* king, in case he did not reject it¹.

The king
capitu-
lates :

THE king of *Martaván* was no less surprised than overwhelmed with anguish at this refusal: however, seeing *Seixas* take his leave, to fly the danger which threatened the city, he gave him a pair of bracelets, which were afterwards sold to the governor of *Narsinga* for 80,000 ducats. After this, having lost all hopes of relief, he resolved to set fire to the city, and, falling with those few men whom he had left, die honourably in the midst of his enemies: but the same night one of his officers, with 4000 men, deserted to the besiegers, and discovered his design. The king, thus betrayed, capitulated with the *Barma* king for his own life, and the lives of his wife and children, with leave to end his days in retirement: this, and more, was easily granted, because the conqueror intended to perform no part of what he promised. The way from the city to the king of the *Barma*'s tent, above a league distant, was lined with musqueteers of sundry nations; and next the gate were posted the *Portugueses*. The first who came forth was the queen *Nhay Kanatoo* in a chair, with her two daughters and two sons in two others. They were surrounded by forty beautiful young ladies, led by as many ancient ones, accompanied by priests, who prayed and comforted them. Then the king appeared amidst a guard of *Barmas*. He was seated on a small she elephant, clothed in black velvet; his head, beard, and eye-brows were shaved; and about his neck there hung a rope, which moved even the enemy to compassion.

goes to the
camp.

THE unfortunate king, as soon as he saw the *Portugueses*, stopped, and would not proceed one step till they were removed from that post. When *Chaubayna* came before his conqueror, he cast himself at his feet; but not being able to speak for grief, the *Raulin* of *Mounay*, chief-priest of these gentiles, and esteemed a saint, made a moving speech in the

¹ PINTO, p. 196, & seqq. DE FARIA, vol. iii. p. 348, & seqq

captive king's behalf: but it not having the designed effect, *The city* the miserable prince, his queen, children, and ladies, were all *plundered*. The two following days were spent in removing the treasure, amounting to one hundred millions of gold, which required the labour of one thousand men. Liberty was then given the army to plunder the city, whose riches were valued at twelve millions; after which the city was burnt, wherein there perished by fire and sword above 60,000 souls, besides 60,000 more who were made slaves of; 1700 temples and 140,000 houses were reduced to ashes. There were found in the town 6000 pieces of cannon, 100,000 quintals of pepper, and the same quantity of other spices^m.

ON the morrow which followed this destruction, there appeared on an adjacent hill, called *Beydao*, twenty-one gibbets, *King put to death* with a strong guard of horse. Thither was led the queen, with her children and ladies, in all one hundred and forty, and there hanged up by the feet (N). *Chaubayna*, and fifty men of great quality, were cast into the sea with stones about their necks; which gave so great displeasure to the *Barma* army, that they mutinied, and the cruel king was in no small danger of suffering for his tyranny. However, the storm blowing over, he left people to rebuild the ruined city, and returned to *Pegu* with the rest of his army, among whom was *Cayero*, and his 700 *Portugueses*.

ABOUT this time the king received some intimation, that *Prom* the emperor of *Pandalu*, styled the *Siammon* (O), intended to *siege*,

^m PINTO, p. 199, & seqq. DE FARIA, p. 349, & seqq.

(N) All alive, excepting the queen; who, overcome with anguish, expired in the lap of one of the ladies.

(O) This name, as well as that of the *Mons*, mentioned hereafter, seems to be made out of *Sions Maons*; which *Gaspar da Cruz* says is the name given by some to the *Laos*. *De Faria*, in his extract from *Pinto*, mistakes *Siamon* for *Siam*. *Pandalu* is either a fictitious empire of *Pinto's*, like *Kalaminbam*; or he speaks of a power as in being, which had been long before destroyed: for we read of a people called the great *Siams*, to the

north of the present kingdom of *Siam*, inhabiting a country now a great wilderness, called by the *Chinese*, and perhaps other neighbouring nations, *Pabima Pan* (1), which name has some affinity with *Pandalu*. However that be, according to *Pinto*, the empire of *Pandalu* lies to the west and north-west of that of *Kalaminbam*; another fictitious empire, situate to the north or north-east of *Pegu*; for that author speaks very obscurely of the scite thereof, although he pretends he travelled through the country.



(1) See *Du Hable's China*, vol. i. p. 61, 62.

by Parà
Mandarà,

invade his dominions; and that the king of *Ava* had confederated with those of *Sevâdi* and *Châleus* (P), to give that monarch a passage through their territories. On this advice, *Parà Mandarà* fortified all his frontier places; and then, having increased his forces to 900,000 men, in *March* 1545 set out from *Pegu* to besiege *Prom*. He embarked this numerous army in 12,000 rowing vessels, whereof 2000 were *ferroes*, *laulers*, *katurus*, and *foists*; and went up the river *Anseira* as high as *Danaplun*. Then, passing out of it in that called *Pichu Malakou*, in *April* came before the city of *Prom*. The king hereof was dead, and had left a son to inherit, who was no more than thirteen years of age. As he had married the king of *Ava*'s daughter, he had sent to him for succour on this occasion, and expected a supply of 30,000 men. This moved the enemy to press the siege, in hopes to gain the city before that aid should arrive. After six days leaguer, the queen offered to hold the crown of *Parà Mandarà*, and pay what tribute he thought fit to impose, provided he would withdraw his forces. On the other hand, he insisted that she should put herself, with all her treasure, into his power: but she, knowing how perfidious he was, resolved not to trust him. He therefore renewed his assaults, in which, and by the plague that raged in his camp, he lost 80,000 men, among whom were 500 *Portugueses*ⁿ.

and be-
trayed.

THIS way of attack proving so pernicious, he raised a mount which overlooked the city; and from thence, plying it with his artillery, left no place of safety to the besieged. But 5000 of them, making a successful sally, not only destroyed the mount, and killed 15,000 of the enemy, but also carried off eighty cannon, and wounded the king himself; who, in a rage, slew 2000 *Portugueses*, then on guard, as being negligent of their duty. *Parà Mandarà* began to despair of succeeding in his enterprize, when he accomplished by bribery what he could not obtain by force. For, towards the end of *August*, *Shemên Malatay*, one of the four principal men who commanded in *Prom*, treacherously gave the enemy entrance into the city; which was utterly destroyed with fire and sword: the bodies of 2000 slain children, cut to pieces, were served as food for the elephants. The queen, stripped naked, was publicly whipped, and then tortured till she died (Q);
the

ⁿ PINTO, p. 205, & seqq. DE FARIA, 351.

(P) *Châleu* kingdom lies between *Prom* and *Ava*, according to *Pinto*, p. 214.

(Q) *De Faria* says, she was given up to the last of the soldiers till she expired. She was
fair

the young king was tied to her dead body, and both together cast into the river. The like fate 300 gentlemen underwent, after stakes had been driven through their bodies.

THE tyrant was employed in fortifying the city, of which Meleytay he had been proclaimed king, when advice was brought him by *fortrefs* spies, that the prince of *Ava* had sailed from thence down *besieged*, the river *Queytor* with 30,000 *Siamon* soldiers on board 400 rowing vessels: and, hearing of his sister's disaster, had stopped at *Meleytay*, a fortrefs some twelve leagues north of *Prom*, where he waited to be joined by his father the king of *Ava*; who, with 80,000 *Mons* (K) was marching by land. On this news the *Barma* king sent his foster-brother *Chaumigrem* along the river-side with 200,000 men, and went by water with 100,000 more, in 2000 *feros*. On the approach of *Chaumigrem*, the prince of *Ava* burnt his barks; and, forming a vanguard of the mariners, drew up his 30,000 *Mons* to encounter the enemy. Bloody was the fight; all the vanguard were cut to pieces in a trice, and of the 300,000 *Mons* only 800 remained: but the *Barmas* paid dear for the victory, with the loss of 115,000 out of 200,000.

THE king coming up, and seeing the havock that had *and taken* been made of his men, attacked the fortrefs furiously for seven days: at the end of which the 800 *Mons*, despairing of holding out long against so great a power, and resolving to sell their lives at the dearest rate, sallied out in a dark rainy night; and, breaking through the enemy's troops in several places, pressed so hard upon the king himself, that he was forced to jump into the river and swim for his life. In short, the *Mons* were all cut off, but not till they had slain 12,000 of their enemies; among whom were about 2000 *Barmas*, as many foreigners, and the rest *Peguers*. After this, the victor entered *Meleytay*, and put to death the *Shemin* thereof, who had betrayed *Prom* to him; saying, *That he who had been a traitor to his natural prince could not be faithful to him*°.

THE king immediately ordered the fort to be repaired; *Advances* which, being finished, he embarked 70,000 men in 1000 row- to *Ava*

° PINTO, p. 210, & seqq. DE FARIA, p. 352, & seqq.

fair and handsome, but much older than the king, being thirty-six years of age; she was also his maternal aunt. It is thought his cruelty to her was in revenge, for having been denied

him in marriage, by the king of *Ava* her father.

(R) Or *Maons* perhaps; they were, probably, a tribe of the *Laos*.

without
attacking
it.

ing *seras*, and went up the *Queytor* (S), in order to observe the country. Having passed by many considerable places belonging to the kingdom of *Chaleu* (T) and *Jacubalaon*, he, in October 1545, after a voyage of twenty-eight days, arrived at the port of *Ava*, about a league from the city, where he burnt between two and 3000 vessels, and also several villages; with the loss however of 8000 men, including sixty-two *Portugueses*. As for the city of *Ava*, he did not think fit to attack it, for it had been newly fortified, and was defended by 20,000 *Mons* (U), from the mountains of *Pandaleu*; where he was informed 80,000 more were raising for the service of the king of *Ava*. For as soon as this prince received advice of the loss of *Prom*, not being strong enough to revenge the injury, he went in person to implore the *Siamon's* protection, and become his tributary, on condition that he should assist him with his forces, and enable him to recover that city; which the emperor promised to accomplish within one year from the time of this treaty.

THIS intelligence startled the *Barma* king, who therefore, after thirteen days stay, returned to *Prom*; having first dispatched an ambassador to the *Kalaminham*, in order to engage him by a treaty of alliance to divert the *Siamon* by a war the next spring, from aiding the king of *Ava*, whom he designed to conquer.

The Kalam-
minham,

his great
empire.

THE *Kalaminham*, which signifies *lord of the world* (X), was a prince of mighty power, whose dominions were situated in the midst of this region, and contained a large extent of country. His capital city was named *Timlam*; where he resided in vast state and magnificence. It stood on the great river *Pitay*, had a strong wall, defended with towers and a wide ditch. It contained no fewer than 400,000 houses, most of one or two stories; and 2600 temples full of images, which were served by twenty-seven sorts or orders of priests. The palace was splendid beyond imagination; and in it were

(S) By this circumstance of sailing up the river to *Ava*, and then up the same afterwards from *Ava*, with the ambassador sent to the *Kalaminham* by the *Queytor*, must be understood the river *Ava*; but no other author, besides *Pinto*, gives it that name. It is called by the *Chinese*, *Lu Kyang*; and by others, perhaps

the *Peguers* themselves, *Menan Kiow*.

(T) See its situation in a former note.

(U) Seem to be *Laos*; and the name derived from *Sions Maons*, as the *Laos* are by some called. See a former note.

(X) According to *Pinto*, *Kala* is *lord*, and *Minham*, *the world*.

the statues of thirteen *Kalaminhams* in silver, with each a golden mitre on his head P.

THE empire (which our author *Pinto* does not name) was 300 leagues long, and as many broad, containing twenty-seven kingdoms; each divided into twenty-six provinces, 700 in all. They are full of noble cities; the soil exceeding fertile, and abounding with commodities, which, with the manufactures, produce a wealthy commerce. The inhabitants are extremely civilized and mild-tempered; the women very fair, yet modest. The emperor has always 60,000 horse and 10,000 elephants about his person. His forces, throughout the 700 provinces, are 1,700,000 men, of whom 350,000 are horse: there are also 55,000 elephants; on account of whose number in this country, the *Kalaminham* styles himself in his titles, *lord of the invincible force of elephants*. In a word, the revenue of this mighty prince amounted to twenty millions of gold; and he worshipped *Kiay Frigau*, or *Firgau*, that is, *the god of moles in the sun*, who is also adored at *Dagun* in *Pegu*^a.

THIS is, in brief, the account, true or false (Y), which *The Chau-Mendez Pinto* has given of the empire of *Kalaminham*, and *migrem* its sovereign. Upon the ambassadors return to *Pegu*, the king sent the *Chaumigrem*, his foster-brother, whom he honoured with the title of *Koutalanha*, that is *the king's brother*, to meet him, accompanied with all the grandees of the kingdom, and four battalions of strangers: among whom were 1000 *Portugueses*, commanded by *Antonio Ferreira* of *Braganza*, a man of great understanding; to whom the king gave a pension of 12,000 ducats a year, besides presents, which

^P PINTO, p. 214, & seqq.

^a Ibid. p. 227, 243.

(Y) In our opinion, this relation, especially as it stands at large in the book itself, has all the marks of forgery; nor did either the emperor or the empire ever exist but in the author's brain. At least we are certain, that the account which *Pinto* has given of his journey, with the ambassador, to that prince's court, is all a forgery: it being quite inconsistent with the ideas which the relations of later travellers of credit give us, both as to the geography and history of the countries lying between *Siam*

and *China*, where this great empire is pretended to have existed; and of which there does not appear to be the least traces at present. As our author says, he is called *the holy Kalaminham*, and represents him both as a spiritual and temporal prince, some have imagined that he is the same with the great *Lama of Tibet*. It is true, *Pinto* does not tell us the name of the empire; but, by the situation he gives it, and course of his pretended travels, it cannot be *Tibet*.

came

baffled
before Sa-
vâdi.

came to little less (Z). Although it appeared by the *Kalamin-ham's* letter that the treaty had taken effect, yet as the season was not yet come for invading *Ava*, the king sent the *Chau-migrem*, with 150,000 men in 13000 boats, against the city *Sebâdi*, or *Savâdi*, the capital of a small kingdom 130 leagues distant from *Pegu* towards the north-east. The general, after having lost many men in several assaults which he made, raised two mounts, from whence he did much damage to the city: but the besieged sallies killed at one time 8000 men, and 5000 at another; which so discouraged *Chau-migrem* that he drew off his army, in order to revenge his disgrace on a town called *Valentay*, which had furnished the city with provisions; but a body of *Savâdis* falling on his troops by surprise put them to the rout¹.

Distrac-
tions in
Siam.

A. D.
1546.

WHILE these things were doing on the side of *Pegu*, the empire of the *Sornau*, commonly called *Siam*, fell into great distractions. The king, coming from the war of *Chiammay*, was poisoned by his queen; who, in his absence, had been gotten with child by an officer of the court. She made away, after the same manner, with the young king, in order to advance her paramour, whom she married, to the crown. This she effected in *November* 1545: but in *January* following they were both slain at a feast, by the contrivance of *Oya Passiloko*, and the king of *Kamboja*; who conferred the crown on a religious man named *Pretiem*, natural brother to the late monarch, the line being extinct, but of a cowardly disposition and a tyrant. As soon as the news of this revolution came to the ears of the king of *Pegu*, who at that time kept his court in the city of *Anapleu*, he assembled his lords to consult them on the occasion. Their advice was, that he ought not to neglect so favourable an opportunity of conquering that country: that, in case he succeeded, he would be honoured with the title of *lord of the white elephant* (A); and likewise open

¹ PINTO, p. 245, 249.

(Z) We are thus particular with relation to this person, because *De Pinto* says no more of him; and yet *De Faria* represents him as the person to whom the king of *Barma* owed all his conquests: although he does not mention one action of his, or speak of him twice, more than *Pinto*; whereas he is tedious in relating the exploits of *James*

Suarez de Melo, whom, by the way, captain *Hamilton* seems to confound with *Ferreira*. See *Portug. Asia*, vol. iii. p. 117. and new account of *East Indies*, vol. ii. p. 36, & seq.

(A) *De Faria* makes this war to have been undertaken merely on account of the white elephant. But he seems to have mistaken this expedition for that

open himself a way into *China*; against which empire the great *Khân of Tartary*, the *Siamon*, and the *Kalaminham*, had led such formidable armies *.

THE *Barma* monarch, pleased with their approbation of what he had himself designed, immediately repaired to *Martavân*; where, in less than three months, he gathered an army of 800,000 men; of these 100,000 were foreigners, among whom were 1000 *Portugueses*, 40,000 horse, 60,000 musqueteers, 20,000 elephants, and 1000 cannon (B). The *Portugueses* were commanded by *James Suarez* (C), called the *Gallego*, or *Galician*, who left *Portugal* in 1538; but had now a pension from the king of *Pegu* of 200,000 ducats a year, with the title of his brother, and governor of the kingdom.

THE king set out from *Martavân* in April 1548, and having at length entered into the kingdom of *Siam*, five days after arrived before the fortress of *Tapurau* (D), commanded by a *Mogor*, containing 2000 houses. The *Barmas* having been repulsed in three assaults, *Suarez*, who was general of the camp, and governed the king by his advice, made a breach with forty cannon; and then, giving a fierce attack, in half an hour all the besieged, in number 6000 *Siamites*, were slain, with the loss of 3000 of his men; in revenge of whom, the king put all the women to the sword. This done, he advanced to the city of *Sokotay* (E), nine leagues beyond, and encamped along the river *Lebrau* (F), designing to reduce it:

invades the
country.
A. D.
1548.

* PINTO, p. 278, & seq. DE FARIA, vol. ii. p. 137. and vol. iii. p. 357.

that which happened twenty years after, in another king's reign.

(B) There is a strange contrariety between the two accounts given by *De Faria* of this expedition, in his *Asia Portuguesa*, vol. ii. p. 135. and vol. iii. p. 357. In the first place, he makes the army one million and 500,000 men, with only 14000 elephants, and 180 *Portugueses*.

(C) Of *Braganza*, according to *Pinto*; but, according to *De Faria*, of *Melo*: who adds, that he was pirating about *Mozambique* in *Africa* in 1542 and in 1547; was at the siege of *Malakka*. Next year, being in the *Barma*

king's service: he was worth four millions, in jewels and other effects.

(D) In *De Faria* written *Tapuram*. See that author's account, vol. ii. p. 135. and vol. iii p. 357.

(E) This is no forged name, for we meet with it in *Leubers*'s map of *Siam*, drawn in the country by an *European*; where it is placed between two branches of the *Menam*, above four degrees north north-west of the city of *Siam*, and one degree south-west of *Pitsanouluk*, called by the *Portugueses* *Porjelouk*.

(F) Although the name of the city be not forged, that of the river may; which, he says,

but, as he was counselled not to lose time, or waste his forces, he departed next day, and marched through woods cut down by his pioneers till he came to *Tilau*, a place on the coast towards *Junkalau*, near the kingdom of *Quedah* (G); from whence, in nine days (H), he got in sight of *Odiaa* (or *Judia*), the capital of *Siam*.

Odiaa, the capital, besieged.

THE besieged seeming to make no account of this great power, *Suarez* made an attack on the south side with 72,000 men, in two bodies, scaling the walls with above 1000 ladders; but, in half an hour, he was repulsed with the loss of 10,000 men. The king, enraged, renewed the attack with 5000 elephants; which, advancing up to the walls (I), tore away their target fences, while the musqueteers from the castles on their backs made such execution, that none durst appear on the ramparts. The walls thus deserted, the besiegers mounted with their ladders; and 1200 *Turks*, sliding down by the wall, attempted to break open a gate with two battering rams, in order to obtain the reward of 500,000 ducats, which the king had promised to those who should let him into the city: but before they could compass their design, they were attacked and cut to pieces by 3000 *Jaos*; who then, mounting the wall, drove off the *Barmas* with great slaughter^t.

The Barmas repulsed

THE king of *Pegu*, not discouraged with this new repulse, renewed the assault with the elephants. At the noise of their approach, *Oya Passiliko*, who commanded in the city, caused a gate to be opened; and sent the king word, that his majesty might bring the promised reward, for he was ready to receive it. The king answered by a furious assault; during which, the *Barmas* twice forced the gate and entered the city; but the king of *Siam*, alarmed at the danger, coming on with 30,000 choice troops, a dreadful slaughter ensued, and the enemy were driven out of the city. Hereupon the king, by the advice of *Suarez*, founded a retreat; and then found that

^t PINTO, p. 279, & seqq.

is one of the three descending from the lake of *Chiammay*; a lake which *Louberé* could never hear of from those who had been at the city of that name.

(G) This was an extravagant rout, going above 200 miles beyond *Siam* to the south-west, instead of taking the direct way thither: but such blunders frequently happen to forgers. *Jun-*

calau is doubtless a mistake of the press for *Junkalau*; and some write it, an island near the coast.

(H) It must rather have been a march of nineteen, or more.

(I) *Odia*, or *Siam*, is seated in an island encompassed with walls. How then could the elephants approach them? This discovers that *Pinto* was not at this siege, as he pretends he was.

he

he had been wounded with an arrow. The hurt was seventeen ². Parà days healing; at the end whereof he made several new assaults, but with no better success than before. The siege had now lasted near five months, and eight assaults had been given in vain: he was resolved, however, to make one vigorous effort more, with twenty-six strong timber castles, filled with combustibles; each sixty-five feet long, fifty broad, and twenty-five high, mounted on twenty-six wheels of iron. These set forward in a dark and tempestuous night, under three discharges of all the artillery in the camp; and being brought close to the walls, fire was put to them. They burnt four hours with a dreadful blaze, during which time the fight was renewed on both sides with double fury and equal advantage, so that at length a retreat was sounded.

AFTER this it was resolved in a council of war to continue the siege; and a large mount of earth was raised, overlooking the city, mounted with forty pieces of cannon ready to batter it, when in October advice came, that *Shoripam Shay* had rebelled in Pegu.

SHORIPAM Shay was near a-kin to the preceding monarch, slain twelve years before, and about forty-five years of age. He was a religious person, of great understanding, and esteemed a saint. As he was a famous preacher, he made a sermon, in which he set forth the tyranny of the *Barmas*, and the evils which the kingdom suffered by them, in so moving a manner, that he was taken out of the pulpit, and proclaimed king by the people; who, as a token of sovereignty, gave him the title of *Shemindoo*. As soon as this person found himself invested with the regal authority, he cut in pieces 15,000 *Barmas* and seized on the treasure. This change was so agreeable to the wishes of the people all over the kingdom, who thought now the time of their deliverance was come, that, in twenty-three days time, all the strong holds in Pegu fell into *Shemindoo's* hands.

ON this news, the king immediately broke up the siege of *Odia*, and in seventeen days got to *Martaván*. There he was farther informed, that the new king had posted 500,000 men in different places, in order to intercept his passage; and, when foreboded worse, 50,000 of his Pegu troops, in aversion to *Barma* yoke, had deserted to his rival. To prevent a later desertion, after fourteen days stay, he departed from *Martaván*; and, being arrived in the kingdom, found *Shemindoo* waiting for him with 600,000 men, in a great plain two

2. Parà leagues from the city of *Pegu* *. According to some authors, *Mandarà* the king sent *Suarez de Melo* before him from *Siam*, with 200 *Portugueses*, to suppress the rebellion. *Shemíndoo* fled on the approach of this commander, who followed him to the city *Sevâli*; but the other, slipping by, got into the city of *Pegu*, which sided with him. The queen on this fled to the castle, where she was defended by twenty *Portugueses*, till the king himself arrived with his forces †. Next day the two armies came to an engagement; in which, after a desperate battle that lasted three hours, *Shemíndoo* was defeated, with the loss of 300,000 of his forces: so that he escaped with only six horse to the fortress of *Battelor*, from whence he fled in the night up the river to *Sedaa*. Of the *Barma* troops were slain 60,000; among whom were 280 *Portugueses*.

and seats
Sheminda-
doo.

Martavân
revolts.

THE next morning after this victory, the king marched to the city, whose inhabitants surrendered, on condition to have their lives and effects. The kingdom being thus brought again under his subjection, his next movement was to punish the principal persons concerned in the rebellion, whose heads he cut off, and estates confiscated; amounting to ten millions of gold, besides plate and jewels ‡. Others say, that, *Matrasy* to agreement, he put all to the sword, excepting 12,000 who were within the liberty of *Suarez de Melo*'s house, which was exempted from the slaughter. The plunder was unaccountable; *Dè Melo* alone got three millions †. But these severities did not quench the spirit of rebellion; for in less than three months news was brought that the city of *Martavân* had revolted; and that the *Chalagomin*, or governor, having slain 2000 *Barmas*, declared for *Shemíndoo*.

A Shemín
rebel,

THE king, on this advice, gave orders for all the lords of the kingdom to repair to him with their force within fifteen days; and went from his capital at *Pegu*, with 3000 men, to a town called *Mzuchau*, there to wait for them. Being informed in this place, that the *Shemín*, who was governor of *Satán*, or *Zatán*, a delightful city, had submitted to *Shemíndoo*, and also lent him a large sum of gold; he sent for him, with an intention to put him to death. The *Shemín*, who suspected the king's design, feigned himself sick; and immediately advising with his relations, it was agreed among them, that he had no way to escape the *Barma*'s anger but by killing him. Accordingly they drew together about 100 men; and, assaulting a temple, where he was lodged, slew

* PINTO, p. 284, 286.

vol. ii. p. 136.

† DE FARIA, Portug. Asia,

‡ PINTO, p. 285.

vol. ii. p. 137. vol. iii. p. 359.

‡ DE FARIA,

him in his apartment, with the few who happened to be about him. The guards in the court being alarmed with the noise, a fierce combat ensued, in which 800 were slain, most of them *Barmas*. The *Shemín* then retreated to a place called *Pontel*; whither those of the country, hearing of the king's death, whom they mortally hated, resorted to him. When he had assembled about 5000 men, he returned to seek the soldiers whom the king had brought with him to *Mouchau*; and falling on them, dispersed in several places, slew them all. With the *Barmas* were slain fourscore out of three hundred *Portugueses*; who, with their commander *Suarez* (K), surrendered, and were spared, on condition that, for the future, they should serve the *Shemín* ^b.

NINE days after, seeing his forces increase, by the resort of *Usurps the* people, to 30,000 men, he caused himself to be proclaimed king. Then retiring to the fortrefs of *Tagálua*, for fear of the forces which were on the road to join the murdered king, he endeavoured, with great promises, to raise troops; and, to spirit up the people, declared he would not leave a *Barma* in all the kingdom. It happened that one of the *Barmas*, who had been with the late king, escaped the slaughter; and, swimming over the river, went and informed the *Chau-migrem*, who was encamped at *Koutafarem* with 180,000 men, all *Peguers*, excepting 30,000 *Barmas*. The general, though greatly afflicted at this news, yet knowing his safety depended on concealing it, immediately assembled all his commanders; and told them that he had received a letter from the king, with orders to put forces into *Kosmín* and *Dalaa* (L): for that he was informed the *Shemíndoo* intended to possess himself of the province of *Danaphu*, along the rivers *Digon* and *Meydoo* (M), as far as *Ansedaa*. Accordingly he sent detachments to those places, as also to *Shara* and *Malakou*; and thus got rid of the 150,000 *Peguers*, who, he knew, had they stayed to hear of the king's death, would have put him and his 30,000 *Barmas* to the sword.

^b PINTO, p. 286, & seq.

(K) According to others, *Suarez*, after this disaster, retired to the city of *Ava*; but returning, in some time, to that of *Pegu*, was reconciled to the new king. *Portug. Asia*, vol. ii. p. 137. vol. iii. p. 359.

(L) Cities and ports on the south coast of *Pegu*, on the river of *Negrais*.

(M) These fall into, or make part of, the river of *Negrais*: *Digon* seems to be the same with *Dagon*; and *Meydoo* may be what *Fitch* calls *Medun*.

3. Shemin
of Zatan.

The Chau-
migrem's
address.

As soon as they were marched, he turned back to the city of *Pegu*, but three miles distant, and secured the king's treasure, amounting to above thirty millions of gold, besides infinite jewels. He likewise seized all the arms and ammunition. After this he set fire to the magazines, the arsenals, the palace, some of whose apartments were ciled with gold, and 2000 rowing vessels which were on the river. Then destroying all the artillery, he retired, with the wives and children of the *Barmas*, towards *Tangu*, his native country, about 160 leagues distant within land, where he arrived in fifteen days. By this expedition he escaped the hands of 120,000 *Peguers*, who, two days after they had left his camp, hearing that the king had been slain, hastened back to seek the 30,000 *Barmas*; whom they pursued as far as *Guaynakoutel*, about forty leagues beyond the capital, and then desisted, finding they had passed through that place five days before. On their return, they resolved to join the *Shemin* of *Zatan*; who having received them with mighty promises of future favour, repaired forthwith to *Pegu*, and was there magnificently crowned in *Kom-kiay*, the principal temple in that city.

Shemin-
doo grows
strong.

THE *Shemin* now was in peaceable possession of the kingdom: but, by his acts of tyranny, and squandering the public treasure, he so disobliterated his lords, and bred such feuds among them, that many retired to foreign countries, and others went over to *Shemindoo*; who, by his preaching and authority, began to make head again in the province of *Anse-daa*, whither he had fled. The power of this latter increasing, as that of his competitor declined, his army, by degrees, augmented to 60,000 men. With these forces he marched to *Meydoo*, where he was well received by the people of the country; among whom he stayed four months, to strengthen his forces. Mean time the great *James Suarez*, who had been governor of the kingdom during the late king's reign, fell a sacrifice on the following occasion.

Suarez his
insolence.

IN the height of his former greatness, passing with numerous equipage by the door of a rich merchant's house, on the day of his daughter's marriage, the father, to do *Suarez* honour, went out to pay his respects to him, and brought his daughter to do the same. On the bride's presenting him a ring, *Suarez*, who was lascivious and brutish, rudely pulled the young lady to him, in order to carry her away by force; and killed the bridegroom, with others who came to her rescue. However, he did not enjoy the fruits of his villainy; for the young lady, to prevent falling into such a monster's

hands, strangled herself. The father, expecting no justice against the criminal, whilst that prince was upon the throne, shut himself up, and never stirred abroad, till the *Shemin* of *Zatan* came to the crown: then appearing among the people, he so lamented his case through the city of *Pegu*, that above 50,000 of the inhabitants gathered about him, crying out for justice. The *Shemin*, fearing some worse consequence, caused *De Melo* to be apprehended, and delivered up to that rabble; who falling upon him with stones, he was in an instant buried under a heap of rubbish. Then withdrawing the body, they tore it in pieces, and delivered them to the boys to drag about the streets. His house was plundered; and as the treasure found therein amounted to not so much by a great deal as was expected, it was believed that he had buried the rest^d.

3. *Shemin*
of *Zatan*.

He is stoned
to death.

THIS was the end of *James Suarez de Melo*, one of fortune's prodigies, who lost, by one crime, what he had gained by many. Nor did the new king, who gave him up to popular fury, long survive him: for he grew intolerable in his cruelties and oppressions, killing and robbing, indifferently, all who were thought to have had money: so that, in seven months time, he put to death 6000 rich merchants, besides many of the ancient lords of the country, who held their estates by right of inheritance under the crown. These tyrannies rendered him so odious, that most of his followers abandoned him, to join with *Shemindoo*; who, by this time, was master of the cities of *Digon*, *Meydoo*, *Dalaa*, and *Kow-lam* (N), with all the country, as far as the borders of *Sharru*^e.

SHEMINDOO, having now an army of 200,000 men, and 5000 elephants, resolved to go and attack the usurper in the capital. He set forward; and, coming before the city of *Pegu*, hemmed it in with trenches, fenced with strong palisades. After this he gave several assaults: but finding a much greater resistance than he expected, he proposed a truce, which he agreed to quit his right to the crown, and raise the siege in twenty days; in case in that time his competitor should send him 1000 *bisses* of gold, which amount to 500,000 ducats. This was a politic contrivance, in order to gain the capital with less difficulty: for an intercourse ensued in consequence of the truce between the besiegers and

Is besieged
by *Shemindoo*,

^d PINTO, p. 289, & seq. DE FARIA, vol. iii. p. 260.
^e PINTO, p. 294. DE FARIA, vol. ii. p. 137. vol. iii. p. 368.

(N) Perhaps *Koylan*, on the river of *Negrain*, mentioned by *Balbi*.

4. She-
mandoo.



the besieged, some priests, set on by *Shemindoo*, exhorted them to relinquish the *Shemin* of *Zatân*, and take part with their master; at the same time threatening them with judgments from *Kiay Nivândel*, the god of battles, in the field of *Vitân*, in case they offered to lift a hand against the holy *Shemindoo*; a submission to whom, they said, was a sure way to wealth and happiness.

and join
in a sally.

THESE exhortations, joined to the harmonious music which accompanied them, so wrought on the hearts of the besieged, that 60,000 having deserted in a few days, the tyrant thought fit to break off the truce; and, by advice of his officers, to fight *Shemindoo*, before he increased more in strength. Pursuant to this advice, he sallied out of the city, with fourscore thousand men, and charged the enemy with great fury. The battle was so fierce, that in half an hour above 40,000 fell on both sides; when *Gonzalo Ncto*, by a fortunate shot with a musket-ball, killed the *Shemin*. Immediately his forces submitted, and the inhabitants opened the city gates to the victor, on promise of having their lives and effects. *Shemindoo* entered the capital, and was forthwith crowned king. This event happened in February 1551. *Gonzalo* had 10,000 crowns for that lucky hit; and the eighty *Portugueses*, his companions, five thousand^f.

A. D.
1551.

Shemin-
doo en-
throned.

SHEMINDOO was the reverse of his late rival; for he governed with a just but easy reign. He was loved by the people, and admired by strangers, for his virtue. Things continued above a year in this peaceable and happy state, when a new war broke out, which once more overturned the government. The *Chou-migrem*, who watched at *Tângu* for an opportunity to reduce the kingdom under the power of the *Barmas*, understanding by his spies that the strength of the nation was greatly exhausted by the wars; that the principal lords were either slain, or had left the realm; and that, in short, the new king was greatly unprovided of the necessaries proper for his defence, he, with an army of 300,000 men, all strangers (O), excepting 50,000 *Barmas*, whom he had raised for the purpose, set out from *Tângu* the ninth of March 1552, and bent his march towards the city of *Pegu*. The new king, informed of his proceedings, made preparations for his defence, and assembled no fewer than 900,000 troops: but as they were all *Peguers*, who are of a weakly constitu-

A. D.
1552.

^f PINTO. p. 294. & seq.

(O) Viz. *Mous, Chaleus, Kalayinhans, Sauanis, Pamkrus*, and *Awaas*.

tion, this great power was inferior to the enemy in strength. 4. She-
However, *Shemindoo*, understanding that the *Chau-migrem* was mindoo.
arrived at the river *Meleytay*, about twelve leagues from his
capital, he advanced with great diligence, and encamped two
leagues from thence, on the river *Potareu*.

NEXT morning the *Chau-migrem* forded the river, in spite *Is defeated*
of the enemy; and the day following the *Shemindoo* present- *and flies.*
ed him battle. The van-guards began the fight, and the
shock was very fierce. In half an hour the field was covered
with dead bodies, and the *Peguers* began to lose courage.
The prince, seeing them give ground, advanced to succour them
with 3000 elephants, and drove the *Barmas* back in their turn.
The *Chau-migrem*, upon this, feigned a retreat; and the king
mistaking it for a flight, pursued eagerly, as sure of the vic-
tory: but the *Barmas*, after they had retired about a mile,
suddenly faced about, and rushed on their enemies, with hor-
rible cries. Presently both armies engaged afresh, with such
fury, that, towards sun-set, 400,000 *Peguers* being slain, *A. D.*
and most of the rest wounded, the king fled. Thus the vic- *1553.*
tory remaining to the *Chau-migrem* (P), he caused himself to
be crowned king of *Pegu* in the field of battle, in *April* *5. Chau-*
migrem
1553 b. *crowned.*

NEXT morning the victors rifled the dead, and got very
rich spoil; for it is the custom with these *Gentiles* to carry
with them all their riches when they go to war. After this
the new king marched towards the capital, three leagues di-
stant; and encamped in view of it, half a league off, in the
plain of *Sunday Patir*. From thence he sent a *Barma* com-
mander, with 5000 horse as a guard, to each of the twenty-
four gates; and continued five days in the field, without en-
tering the city. This he did, lest the strangers should de-
mand the pillage of it, pursuant to his promise at *Tangu*. *His army*
Hereupon the foreign troops mutinied, by the instigation of *mutiny.*
Christonano Surnento, a brave, but turbulent, *Portuguese* com-

§ PINTO, p. 296, & seq.

(P) *As Faria*, who frequently
varies, from his *vol. iii. p.*
301. following *Pinto*, calls this
prince *Chau-migrem*: but *vol. ii.*
p. 37. he, from other authors,
names him *Mandaragri*, who he
says, was the king's brother-in-
law, and claimed the kingdom
in right of his wife. Perhaps
the same person is intended b

both appellations, that of *Man-*
daragri being the proper name.
Pinto, p. 297, mentions a bro-
ther of the *Chau-migrem*, whom
he calls the *Panonfaray*; but,
though so full of his explana-
tions on other accounts, does
not give the meaning of either
of those two denominations.

mander.

5. Chau-migrem. The king, for more security, retired to a temple, and there fortified himself. Next day assembling the commanders, he told them from the wall, that he had promised them what he could not in conscience grant, as it would be to make the innocent suffer with the guilty: that, however, as it was not fit they should go unrecompensed, he was willing to make them any reasonable satisfaction, and would contribute part out of his own effects. With this the commanders declared themselves content; and it was proposed to leave the matter to arbitrators, three to be chosen on each side. Of these six, three were to be religious men of *Pegu*, and three strangers. The first three being agreed upon, the king and mutineers cast lots, to see who should choose two of the three strangers; and the lot falling in favour of his majesty, he chose two *Portugueses*: one *Gonzalo Pacheco*, factor for the *Lakka*; and the other *Nuno Fernandez Texeyra*, a worthy merchant, known formerly to the *Chau-migrem*.

Their demands settled,

by arbitration.

ON this occasion the king wrote to *Pacheco*, who, on receipt of the letter, immediately repaired to the camp, accompanied with *Texeira*, and ten other *Portugueses*. They were received with great honour by the king, who, in his instructions, ordered them to favour the commanders rather than him. The arbitrators met in a tent, with the high-treasurer and two secretaries. After debating near the whole day, it was at length concluded, that the king should pay the foreign troops, over and above their arrears, 1000 *bisses*, or crowns, out of his own treasury; and that, on receiving the same, they should forthwith cross the river, and retire into their respective countries, furnished with victuals for twenty days. Both parties were satisfied with this award; and the king, out of his bounty, gave the officers in general a farther gratuity. In this manner the king got rid of the three mutinous nations, the *Chaleus*, *Meleytes*, and *Savâdis*, whom he would employ no longer. Likewise, to prevent their doing mischief to the open towns in the road, he caused them to march in parties of a thousand men each, one after the other. To his two arbitrators, for their trouble, the king gave ten *bisses* of gold, with a passport written by himself; whereby the *Portugueses* were permitted to retire into the *Indies*, without paying any duty for their merchandizes. This was more acceptable to them than the money: because the preceding king had, for three years before, detained them in the country; where they were treated with much rigour, and often in danger of their lives^a.

^a PINEO, p. 737, & seq.

NEXT day the king moved towards the city. He was received at the gate by 6000 priests, of all the twelve sects, who intreated that he would forgive the inhabitants; who, on promising pardon, fell prostrate before him. Then one of the priests set on the king's head a crown of gold, like a mitre, adorned with precious stones. After this the *Chau-migrem* entered the city, in a kind of triumph, mounted on a large elephant, preceded by all the spoil of elephants and chariots, with the effigies of *Shemindoo*, bound with an iron chain, and forty colours trailed on the ground. He was guarded by forty mace-men; the lords and commanders marching on foot, with their swords covered with plates of gold, carried on their shoulders. The train was closed by 3000 war elephants, with their castles in various forms, and followed by multitudes of people.

THE first thing which the new king did was to get possession of the principal cities and strong holds, which still held out for *Shemindoo*, as not knowing yet of his defeat. To this purpose he wrote very kind letters to the inhabitants, promising favours, as well as forgiveness, and an exemption from taxes. This method having had the desired effect, he dispatched horsemen in quest of *Shemindoo*, who was discovered at *Faulau*, a place near the city of *Potem*, on the frontiers of *Arrakan*. He was carried to court by a man, to whom the king gave a pension of 30,000 ducats. He was brought into the presence chain'd; and, falling prostrate, received several taunting expressions from the conqueror, without speaking; at last he spoke, lamenting his condition, and then desired some water to drink. The king, to afflict him more, ordered it to be given to him by his daughter. The miserable *Shemindoo*, seeing his beloved child now a slave, who, but a little before, was to have been married to the prince of *Nautir*, the king of *Ava*'s son, fell into a swoon; while the princess, by her words and behaviour, shewed the utmost distress. This moving scene having drawn tears from some of the *Pegu* lords, who were formerly of *Shemindoo*'s party, the king ordered their heads to be cut off; saying, "that, since they had such great affection for him, they might go before, and prepare him a lodging." Not content with this cruelty, he ordered the princess to be killed, in the arms of her father: who was then carried to a close prison.

NEXT morning the *Shemindoo* was led, amidst a numerous guard, through all the principal streets of *Pegu*, mounted on a wretched horse; with the executioner on the crupper be-

5. Chau-
migrem.

and exe-
cuted.

Farce
acted,

at his
funeral.

hind, holding him up under both arms. He was very poorly drest; and on his head they had placed a crown of straw, garnished with mussel-shells, fastened with blue ribbons; and, to the iron collar which he had about his neck, were tied a parcel of onions. For all he looked like the picture of death, he discovered majesty in his face, accompanied with much sweetness. When he came to the place where *Pacheco* was on guard, with 100 other *Portugueses*, one of them reviled him; saying, *he intended to sup on a piece of his flesh, and invite two dogs to partake with him.* The prince, moved at this insult, reproved him with a severe countenance: on which *Pacheco* commanded the fellow to be silent. The *Shemindoo* was so well pleased with this action, that he wished *to live only one hour longer, that he might embrace so excellent a faith as the Portugueses professed* (Q). The executioner was so offended hereat, that he hit the unfortunate patient in the face, and made his nose bleed. Being come to the fatal place, and mounted, scarce alive, on a high scaffold, the *Chirka* of justice read his sentence: and then making a sign with his hand, the executioner severed his head from the body at one stroke. The head being held up for the people to view it, the corpse was cut into eight parts, and the bowels set apart. They were all covered with a yellow cloth, which is the mourning colour, and left till evening, in order to be view'd: for the king had caused this public execution to be done, that all doubt might be taken away of the *Shemindoo's* death.

MULTITUDES flocked to the place, both to see the sight, and receive the *Asbiperan*, or plenary indulgence, given by the priests on that occasion. At three o'clock a bell was heard to toll five times. On this signal, twelve men in black robes, spotted with blood, having their faces covered, and silver maces on their shoulders, came out of a house near the scaffold, followed by twelve priests; after whom came the *Shemin Pokasser*, the king's uncle, who seemed near 100 years of age, and, in the name of his nephew (R), with much ceremony, "asked forgiveness of the divided members for what had been done; offered to yield up the kingdom to him, to do him homage for it, and govern it as his deputy." To this one of the priests, speaking in the person of the deceased, an-

(Q) If *Pinto* had told no lies but such as these, he might be excused; since very grave lay-travellers, as well as missionaries, never scruple such pious

falsehoods, which they think do service to their religion.

(R) Who is called *Orctana Chau-migrem*, prince of *Savadi* and *Tanyau*,

swered,

swered, "that since the king confessed his fault, he forgave ^{5.} Chau- him; and also granted him power to govern in his stead, migrem. "according to the rules of justice." This farce being over, the priests removed the carcase to a place below, and burnt it in a fire made of odoriferous wood, offering sacrifices of sheep and other creatures. The ashes of *Shemindoo* were put in a silver urn, and buried in a sumptuous tomb, within a chapel gilt all over ^k.

ACCORDING to some authors, *Shemindoo*, after his defeat, fled to the mountains; where wandering about, he married the daughter of an ordinary peasant: the husband discovered himself to his wife, and the wife revealed the secret to her father; who, for lucre of the great rewards which were promised to such as should deliver him up, betrayed his son-in-law to the king ^l.

HOWEVER that be, it is certain that the *Chau-migrem*, or, *Chaumi*- if our readers will, *Mandaragri*, the second *Barma* king, by the *grem's* death of the *Shemindoo*, became master of all (S) *Pegu*, without *history*, a competitor. But although he lived a long time, and was the mightiest of all the princes who reigned in that country, yet we meet with scarce any-thing in travellers relating to his exploits. *Cæsar Frederic*, who was at his court in the year 1567, describes his power and magnificence; yet takes little notice of the transactions of his reign, nor mentions so much as his name. No more do *Caspar Balbi* and *Ralph Fitch*, ^{very im-} who were at *Pegu* the year in which he died. So that our ^{perfect.} readers must be content with a bare enumeration of his conquests, instead of a history of them, which we should have been greatly pleased to present them with.

WE are told that *Chau-migrem*, not satisfied with the people of his capital *Pegu*, built, not far from it, another great and strong city (T). After this, he raised an army of 1,600,000 men; with which power he over-ran many neighbouring kingdoms. But his conquests were interrupted by another rebellion, which broke out at *Pegu*, and called him home to suppress it. On this occasion the queen was

^k PANGE, p. 522, & seq.

^l DE FARIA, vol. ii. p. 137.

(S) This, perhaps, was the new city of *Pegu*, where the king and nobility afterwards resided.

(T) This, doubtless, is to be understood of the new city of *Pegu*, on the other side of the river, opposite to the old. But

it is probable that it was built, not before this king began his conquests, but rather in the midst of them: for it was finished while *Cæsar Frederic* was at *Pegu*, in 1567, about the time when the king returned from the war of *Siam*.

forced

5. Chau- migrem. forced to fly to the castle, chiefly relying on thirty-nine *Portugueses*, who defended her till his majesty returned, and vanquished the rebels ^m.

Many kingdoms

conquered by him.

ACCORDING to *De Faria y Sousa*; this prince so far enlarged his dominions by conquests, that they extended to *China* and *Tartary*; and was sovereign of twenty-four great kingdoms, besides eighty princes, not inferior to kings; whereby *Pegu* became the most powerful monarchy in *Asia*, excepting that of *China* ⁿ. But of all those mighty conquests, this author mentions no more than that of *Siam* (U). Another author reduces the number of the conquered kingdoms to twelve, which were as follow: first, *Kavelam*, from whence came the rubies and sapphires. Second, the kingdom of *Ava* ^o, containing mines of *Cyprian* brass, lead, and silver, the conquest of which the late murdered king his father-in-law had resolved on, but did not live to achieve; and which, we are told, was the ancient dominion of the *Barma* monarchs ^p. Thirdly, the kingdom of *Bakkan* (X), where there are many gold mines. Fourth, the kingdom of *Tangram*, which abounds with lead and lak. Fifth, the kingdom of *Prom* (Y), whose commodities are the same with those of the former. Sixth, *Jangoma*: this kingdom is stored with copper, musk, pepper, silk, gold, and silver ^q. It lies to the north of *Siam*, and the capital of it is *Jamahay*, which seems to be the same with *Chiamay*, situated on the *Menam*, the river which runs through the country of *Siam* ^r. Seventh, the kingdom of *Lawran*, which produces benjamin enough to load ships with it. The eighth and ninth are the kingdoms of *Trukon* (Z), from whence come the *China* wares. The tenth and ele-

^m DE FARIA, p. 137.

ⁿ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 117.

^o PI-

MENTA ap. Purch. vol. ii. p. 1746.

^p DE FARIA.

^q PIMENTA, ubi sup.

^r See our account of *Jangoma* hereafter.

(U) 'Tis true he also mentions that of *Martavân*; but then it is the same conquest described by *Pinto*, and made in 1544 from *Chau-buinbâ*; whereby it appears, that *De Faria* has ascribed to the third *Barma* king of *Pegu*, the acts both of the first and second kings of the same race.

(X) The city of *Bâkan*, seventy or eighty miles to the

south of *Ava*, on the east side of the river *Avâ*, seems to have been the capital of this kingdom.

(Y) The capital seems to have been the city *Prom*, on the river of *Ava*, about eighty miles south of *Bâkan*.

(Z) This, perhaps, is the kingdom of *Turks*, bordering on *China*, mentioned by *De Faria*, *Portug. Asia*, vol. ii. p. 11.

venth

venth are the kingdoms of *Kablan*, which, we are told, lie near *Ava*, towards *China* (A), and abound with precious stones. The twelfth and last kingdom, conquered by *Chau-migkem*, was *Siam*⁵. We are sensible that this is not a complete enumeration of the countries conquered by this prince; for that of *Laos*, one of the most considerable of all, is omitted. The conquest of this great kingdom was made by the *Barmas*, in the year 1556 (B). We have this information from *Gaspar de Cruz*; by which it appears, that he had finished his expeditions to the north-east and east, if not all his northern conquests, at that juncture. This is all the account we meet with of his wars, excepting that of *Siam*, which *De Faria* speaks of, but ascribes to *Pranjinoko*, this king's successor, and the last of the *Barma* race in *Pegu*⁶.

AUTHORS disagree with regard to some particulars relating to this expedition: but we happen to have a traveller who was in *Pegu* at the very time, from whom we shall give our readers the account, and from whom, for the general, the rest have copied theirs. According to *Cesar Frederic*, the king of *Pegu*, for the reduction of the empire of *Siam*, raised an army of 1,400,000 men. With this prodigious force he began his march by land, and was four months in his way to the capital city of the same name. He lay one-and-twenty months before the place, in which time he lost a great number of men: for, six months after his departure, a reinforcement was sent him of 500,000 men, to supply the place of those who were killed in the first attacks. Neither, after all, had the city been taken, but for treachery; one of the gates having been set open in the night, through which the king, with great difficulty, forced his way. This happened in the year 1567. When the emperor found he was betrayed, and that his enemy was master of his capital, he poisoned himself. His wives and children, friends and noblemen,

⁵ PIMENTA, ubi sup.
168.

⁶ DA CRUZ, ap. Purch. vol. iii.

(A) This is a very crude way of expressing the situation of *Kablan*, or *Kaplan*, which seems to be the same with the first kingdom *Kavelam*. If this latter be not rather a mistake for *Kamelan*, whose king *Mafinga* we are told, was defeated and killed by *De Brito*, about 1604. *Kaplan*, famous for rubies, lies

between the province of *Sirian*, and the city of *Pegu*, as hath been mentioned in the geography.

(B) So it is expressed in words, in the text of *Purchas*: but in the margin we find the year 1559 in figures, and this last seems the more likely date of the two.

5. Chau
migrem.

who were not slain in the first heat, were all carried captives to *Pegu*, in triumph, by the conqueror. It was an agreeable sight, saith our author, to behold the elephants marching home in a square, laden some with gold, silver, and jewels; others with noblemen and women, who were taken with the spoil. *Balbi* has borrowed his account * of this from *Frederic*; *Fitch*, *Mandeflo*, and others, from *Balbi*.

and sub-
dues it.

De Faria relates this transaction from other authors, with some variation. According to him, the king of *Pegu*, after obtaining a signal victory over the *Siameses*, reduced the country under his dominion. He likewise took the king and his two sons prisoners; called, by reason of their different colours; one the *black* (C), the other the *white*. However, the two kings coming afterwards to an accommodation, the *Chau-migrem* left him of *Siam* in possession of his kingdom, on condition that he should pay him a yearly tribute; and carried with him to *Pegu* his two sons, as hostages, for performance of the treaty. On his return to the capital he entered the city in triumph, preceded by a great number of waggons, loaded with images, and inestimable booty. These were followed by two thousand elephants, richly adorned; and, after them, the conqueror marched in a chariot drawn by the captive princes and lords, having with him the queens of *Siam*, loaded with jewels, lying at his feet. Last of all came his victorious troops.

NEITHER *Cesar Frederic* nor *De Faria* tells us the occasion of this war: but *Linschoten* informs us, that it was undertaken on account of a white elephant, which the king of that country had in his possession. The *Pegu* monarch, who held that animal to be in its nature holy, and even made his supplications to it; sent an ambassador to intreat it of the *Siamite*, offering to pay for it whatever price he should demand (D). As the king of *Siam* refused, on any terms, to part with the elephant, which he no less esteemed than he of *Pegu*; the latter thereupon resolving to obtain by force what he could not procure either through intreaties or money, entered *Siam* with a most numerous army, and reduced

* *FREDERIC* ap. *Hakl.* vol. ii. p. 229.
p. 110.

† *DE FARIA*, vol. iii. p. 118.

* *BALBI* *voyage*.

(C) He is called *Rajah Apri*, which signifies not the *black*, but the *ferry*, king.

(D) *Mandeflo*, who places this war in the same year with

Linschoten, says the king of *Si-am* had two white elephants, and that he of *Pegu* sent to purchase one of them only. *Mandeflo* travels, ap. *Olear.* p. 127.

it to a state of dependance, as hath been before-mentioned ; 5. Chau- carrying off the white elephant, as a trophy of his victory ². *migrem.* That this was the cause of the war, is, in effect, confirmed by *Frederic*, as well as others ; who agree, that, from the time of this expedition, the king of *Pegu* assumed the title of *king of the white elephant*, and would suffer none of his neighbours to keep any of that kind.

MENDEZ Pinto, after setting forth the manner in which *for a* the *Chau-migrem* obtained the crown of *Pegu*, in taking leave *white ele-* of him, just mentions an invasion which he made into *Siam* ; *phant.* without telling us either the success of it, farther than that it cost his nation 280 *Portugueses*, or the year in which it was performed. He speaks, indeed, of this war, as the renewal of that undertaken by the first *Barma* king of *Pegu*, and as if commenced presently after this second *Barma* ascended the throne : but from the number of forces, which he says were the greatest ever brought into the field by an *Indian* prince, we take it to be the same war with that spoken of by *Frederic* : for his army consisted of 1,700,000 men, and 16,000 elephants, whereof 9000 were for carriage, and the rest for battle ². Add to this, that *Balbi* relates many *Portugueses* were brought prisoners to *Pegu*, who were not set at liberty till the reign of this king's successor. 'Tis true, *Pinto* returned to *Lisbon* in 1558, and therefore may be thought to speak of a war undertaken while he was in the *Indies* : but as that author did not print his voyages till several years after, it is probable what he has inserted, relating to this expedition, was done from information received in *Portugal*.

WHETHER the conquest of *Siam* was the last this monarch *Expedition* effected, we know not : but, in 1581, we find he attempted *against* that of *Arrakan*, the only kingdom bordering on *Pegu* which *Arrakan.* remained unsubdued. For this expedition he fitted out 1300 sail of barks, and sent them under the conduct of the prince his son. In their way they met with two *Portuguese* galliots, commanded by *Gonsalo vaz de Camoens* ; and the prince of *Pegu*, being desirous to take them, sent sixteen of his best sailors to attack them. After a sharp engagement, wherein three ships were disabled, and eighteen cannon taken, with some prisoners, the *Portugueses*, seeing all that multitude bear down upon them, retreated into the port of *Arrakan* ; and thus frustrated the intended invasion, as hath been already mentioned in the history of *Arrakan* ³.

² LINSCHOT. voy. Ind. p. 130.
seq.

³ PINTO voy. p. 305. &
DE FARIA, vol. iii. p. 370.

5. Chau-
migrem.

THIS is all of moment which we meet with in authors, relating to the conquests of this great prince, whom hitherto we have beheld in a state of glory. Let us now view him in a contemptible light, a slave and dupe to the most abject superstition.

*Ape's tooth
worshipped,*

IN the year 1560, *Don Constantine de Braganza*, viceroy of *Goa*, having taken from its king the city of *Jafana-patan*, in the island of *Seylan*, commonly called *Ceylon*, and *Zeylon*, found there an idol, which was adored through all the neighbouring coasts of *Asia*, whose inhabitants flocked thither daily in pilgrimage; and so highly esteemed by the princes of those parts, particularly the king of *Pegu*, that he every year sent ambassadors with rich presents, to procure a print of it. This so much worshipped relick was nothing (E), says our author, but the tooth of a white monkey^c. That, doubtless, was the fact: however, it was supposed, by its adorers, to have belonged to one of their subaltern deities, the famous *Anamonte*, or *Hanimant*; who, in the form of an ape, did so much service in *Seylan* for the god *Wishnu*, and is his *Wahan-nam*, or war-horse^d.

*taken and
burnt.*

HOWEVER that be, the king of *Pegu*, as soon as he heard that the viceroy had the tooth in his possession, sent to offer him 300,000 ducats for it; and it was not doubted but his zeal would have extended as far as a million, in case the bargain had been well driven. Most of the *Portugueses* were for taking the money: but it being resolved, in a meeting of the chief clergy and laity, that it should not be sold; *Don Constantine*, in the presence of them all, ordered it to be beaten to dust in a mortar, and then thrown into the fire. But this act, which at that time seemed to be applauded by all men, was, not long after, condemned and railled at, as being the occasion of propagating, instead of suppressing, this tooth idolatry^e.

*A counter-
feit tooth
A. D.
1564.*

FOR in the year 1564, the king of *Pegu* being told by astrologers that he was to marry a daughter of the king of *Kolombo*, in the island of *Seylan*, or *Ceylon*, sent to demand her. Those astrologers, it seems, were no conjurers, for the

^c DE FARIA, p. 207, & seq.
of India.

^d See hereafter, the history
^e DE FARIA, vol. ii. p. 208.

(E) Why is not a monkey's white tooth as rational an object of worship as a saint's bone, the hair of a beard, a bit of rotten wood, or a white wafer, adored by our author and those

of his communion? But people, blinded with prejudice, are apt to ridicule the superstitions of others, although they commit much greater themselves.

king of *Kolumbo* had no daughter. But as his chamberlain 5. Chau- had one, whom the king esteemed as his own, they agreed to *migrém.* impose her on the *Pegu* monarch, as if she was really the king of *Kolumbo's*. The chamberlain, in order farther to *imposed on* oblige the *Barma* king, with a view by his assistance to shake off the *Portuguese* yoke, gave an ape's tooth in dowry with the bride, imposed on him; pretending that it was the same which the *Portuguese*s had taken at *Jasanapatan*, and burnt at *Goa*. The ambassadors, easily giving credit to what they desired, took the bride and the tooth away, keeping it as a great secret from the *Portuguese*s. On their arrival in *Pegu*, the king received the lady first, and then the spurious relick, with the greatest pomp imaginable. The galley which carried the queen was covered with plates of gold, and rowed by beautiful young women, richly drest, and brought up for this exercise. They were of that kind who live there in separate quarters, by two and two, without the conversation of men.

THE king of *Kandea*, in the same island, who was in- *Another* formed of this trick put upon the *Peguan* monarch, through *spurious* envy, acquainted him therewith; and, at the same time, of- *one.* fered him a true daughter of his own, and the genuine tooth of the ape; affirming that the *Kolumbo* tooth, and that destroyed by *Don Constantine*, were both counterfeits. The *Barma* king, considering that it was as bad for a prince to own himself cheated, as really to be cheated, seemed not to credit the information; and thus the king of *Kandia* missed his aim. On this occasion our author *De Faria* makes two reflexions. One, that the *Portuguese* commanders, through their avarice, exposed that important place, *Kolumbo*, to be lost, had not the king of *Pegu* grown cool, upon his discovery of the cheat: the other, that had *Dón Constantine* sold the tooth, as he was advised to do, we should not have heard of two set up to be adored by such numbers of people^r.

BUT to return to actions more worthy of a great prince. *Magnif-* This monarch was not only the greatest hero, but the most *cent work* magnificent among the *Pegu* kings. With the spoils of other countries he enriched his own, and employed a great part of his acquired wealth in erecting monuments to his future glory. The chief of these was the new city of *Pegu*, as mentioned before, in which he built a splendid palace, the least part of whose beauty consisted in its paintings and gildings: for the cielings of some apartments were covered with gold; and others contained statues of gold and silver, some of a

^r DE FARIA, p. 68 & 251.

5. *Chau-monstrous size*, of which we have already given a description^a. Some rooms were set round with statues of kings and queens, as big as the life, all of massy gold, and adorned with precious stones of great value^b. He likewise caused 366 *kombalengas* to be cast in gold^c. These are wedges, in the form of sugar-loaves, each weighing about forty pounds, as hath been already observed in our description of *Arrakan*^d. Some gold and silver statues were also cast, as large as the life, on occasion of his conquest of *Siam*; from whence he brought several very fine ones, especially of cows, in copper, which were erected before chapels or halls, which contained the other statues^e. He had several magnificent chariots, or triumphal cars, on which no ornaments were wanting, which painting, carving, gilding, and plating with gold, could bestow upon them^f. The like may be said of his pleasure-barges; among which one excelled, for beauty and costliness, any thing of the kind which ever had been made before^g. In short, this monarch raised the power and wealth of *Pegu* to a surprising pitch: but those advantages, which continued during his whole reign, did not long survive him.

His death. CHAU-MIGREM, or *Mandaragri*, died in the year 1583, a little before *Balbi* landed in *Pegu*, which was about the middle of *September*^o; after he had reigned thirty years, reckoning from the death of *Shemindoo*, in 1553. He reigned thirty-seven years, according to *Pimenta*, who places the beginning of his reign in 1546 P. This remark, though perhaps a little faulty, proves, however, that the king, whose reign we have been treating of, and who was the father of him who possessed the throne in the times of *Balbi* and *Pimenta*, was the same who succeeded *Shemindoo*.

Wives and sons. THIS prince, according to *Caspar Frederic*, had only one wife, but above 300 concubines, by whom he was reported to have had ninety children. However, we meet with no account of any of them, either from him or other authors, excepting the son who succeeded to the crown^h.

^a See before, p. 44, & seqq. also CASPAR FREDERIC ap. HAKL. vol. ii. p. 236. ^b DE FARIA, vol. iii. p. 119. ^c PIMENTA. ap. PURCH. trav. vol. ii. p. 1746. ^d See before, p. 16. ^e See BALBI viagg. p. 110. ^f FREDERIC ap. HAKL. vol. ii. p. 236. BALBI, p. 120, & seq. ^g BALBI, p. 118. See also before, p. 65. ^h BALBI, p. 100. PIMENTA. ap. PURCH. vol. ii. p. 1746. ⁱ FREDERIC ap. eund. ibid. p. 1716.

THE king being dead, he was succeeded, about the middle of the year 1583, by his son, who was then fifty years of age ^a. *De Faria* calls him *Pranjinoko*; but makes him the successor of *Shemindoo*; thus confounding the son with the father: and accordingly ascribes to him several actions, which do not belong to his reign. *Pegu* was in the most flourishing condition imaginable, famous for its wealth, and dreaded for its power, when this prince ascended the throne: but by his tyranny and obstinacy, he, by degrees, lost all which his father had gained, and at length brought both himself and the empire to destruction ^b.

HE had been scarce two months in possession of the crown, when he set out from his capital with all his forces, against his uncle the king of *Ava*, who was his tributary. This prince, being the oldest among those of the blood, imagined that he only had a right to the empire; and therefore, when *Pranjinoko* ascended the throne, he neither came to pay him homage, as the other kings and dukes had done, nor sent the usual present of jewels. He went so far as to prohibit his merchants from carrying precious stones into *Pegu*, so that a stop was put to the jewel trade: and, in short, secretly endeavoured to engage the *Peguan* nobility in a conspiracy to dethrone their sovereign, and set himself on the throne. The king of *Pegu* dissimbled his resentment for a time; and as his father had, at his death, enjoined him to preserve a good understanding with his uncle, he resolved to try what could be done by gentle methods.

WITH this view he sent an officer of his court to the king of *Ava*, to know the reason why, for three years before, he had not come to pay him homage; and also why he suffered no jewels to be carried to *Pegu*. The king of *Ava*, relying on the assistance of the *Peguan* grandees, instead of returning his nephew an answer, put to death his envoy; and the king of *Pegu*, thinking all obligations of affinity were cancelled by so atrocious an affront, immediately declared war against him. But as he knew that he was not well beloved by his subjects, and that the greater part of his nobles, who were in his uncle's interest, ought not to be trusted by him, he resolved to get rid of them, before he took the field ^c.

To compass this design with least suspicion, he sent for the chief of them, under pretence of consulting them about affairs of state; and, as they arrived, had them handcuffed

^a BALBI viagg. p. 109.

^b DE FARIA, vol. iii. p. 361.

^c BALBI viagg. p. 105 & 112.

6. Bran-
jinoko.

and imprisoned. When they had been all secured, he ordered their wives and children to be seized, not excepting women with child, and sucking infants. Next morning he caused a large scaffold to be built, a great height from the ground, on which the prisoners, to the number of 4000 (A) great and small, being mounted, were all burnt alive. To strike the greater terror by this dreadful execution, the inhabitants, both of the old and new city of *Pegu*, were, by proclamation, commanded to attend; among whom was our author *Balbi*, who beheld this tragedy with the greatest horror. Of all those who had been seized, none but a scrivener was pardoned; but the reprieve came so late, that the flames had already caught his legs, and disabled them^d.

The king
marches

As soon as the execution was over, the king sent for all the other commanders into his presence, and warned them, from the example which they had seen made of traitors, to be loyal; and also to assemble, without delay, such a body of forces as might assure him of the victory. This speech had so good an effect, that in a few days they collected from the two cities upwards of 300,000 men, and encamped without the walls. It was thought, as soon as the king's army had taken the field, that his uncle of *Ava* would come and submit himself, in case the soldiers did not mutiny in his favour. Nothing of this kind happened: and ten days after, the king appeared on a white elephant, all covered with gold and jewels. He took the field with great resolution; girt with a sword sent him by *Don Lewis de Taide*, viceroy of *Goa*, the guard whereof was richly gilt^e.

against
Ava.

He left, as regent in the capital during his absence, prince *Maupa Rájah*, his eldest son, with the great *Barma* (B), and then set forward, the beginning of *April*, at the head of his troops. As all believed he would have but bad success, and most people wish'd it him, every day brought some ill news from the army. At length the king fell ill of the small-pox, which is looked on as pestilential in *Pegu*. However he had the good luck to escape that danger: and as soon as he re-

^d BALBI, *ibid*.

^e *Ibid*. p. 108, 112.

(A) *Pimenta* writes, that only forty noblemen were put to death on this occasion, however, with their wives, children, friends, and families. He adds, that all who fled out of the fire were cut to pieces: but there

could be no flying from a scaffold. See *Purchas's pilgrims*, vol. ii. p. 1746.

(B) By the great *Barma* is to be understood the chief general of his army.

covered, attacked his competitor. While the armies were 6. Bran-
fiercely engaged, the two kings met, and fought hand to jinoko.
hand (C), first with muskets, then with darts, and at last
with their fwords. The combat had continued doubtful a con-
siderable time, when the *Pegu* elephant happened to break his
right tooth in attacking that of *Ava*. This beast, enraged
with pain, rushed on his antagonist a second time, with such
advantage to the king of *Pegu*, as gave him an opportunity
to kill his uncle; who did not fall altogether unrevenged: *Kills his*
for he wounded his nephew, though but slightly, in the arm; *uncle.*
and at the same time the elephant of the latter dropp'd down
dead under him; but he immediately got on the back of his
uncle's: and as soon as the forces of *Ava* perceived their
king was slain, they instantly left off fighting, and submitted
to the king of *Pegu*; who, praising their courage, pardoned
their fault. It was reckoned that 200,000 of his forces were
slain, and not many less of the *Avan* army.

AFTER this victory, he sent a body of troops to the city *Ava city*
of *Ava*, with orders to raze it to the ground, and make the *razed.*
inhabitants prisoners. This was done accordingly: and be-
cause he was not able to discover the great treasure belong-
ing to the deceased king, he banished them to the woods.
The queen, as the king of *Pegu's* sister, was allowed a pa-
lace to live in, with a numerous attendance; but was obliged
to confine herself to its limits, without ever stirring abroad.
Six days after the battle, which was fought the fourteenth of
July (D), the king returned unexpectedly to his capital, and
found the city without the guards which he had ordered to
be kept there: but, at the request of the prince his son, the
fault was pardoned, and a stop put to farther executions.

WHILE he was on the above-mentioned expedition, the son *Invades*
(E) of the emperor of *Silon* (or *Siam*), under pretence of com- *Siam.*
ing to his assistanc (F), arrived at the old city of *Pegu*, with

^f BALBI, p. 112, 114. PIMENTA ap. Purch. pilgr. vol. ii, p. 1746.

(C) *Pimenta* says, that the king of *Pegu* chose this way of
single combat to decide the con- twelve miles from *Pegu*.

(E) This possibly was *Râjah*
Api, mentioned hereafter.

(F) *Pimenta* says, that the
king of *Siam*, with an army,
marched into *Pegu*, as far as a
town called *Satan*, giving out
that he came to assist his lord
the king.

6. Bran- thirty war elephants and 800 horsemen. The great *Barma*
 jinoko. directed him to follow the king towards *Ava*; but instead of
 taking that route, he returned home. The king of *Siam*, pre-
 tending to take offence that the *Barma* general, whom he called
 a slave, should presume to give an answer to the prince
 his son, sent *Pranjinoko* word, that he would no longer ac-
 knowledge him as his superior. Hereupon the *Pegu* monarch
 sent a powerful army to invade *Siam*, under the command of
 the great *Barma* (G): but after losing a great number of
 men before the capital, that general was forced to retire, with
 this answer from the king of *Siam*; that, if *Pranjinoko* had
 come in person, he would have paid him his compliments;
 but would not demean himself to submit to his inferior. This
 being reported to the king of *Pegu*, he said, it was his will
 and pleasure that the least of his slaves should have authority
 over the prince who was his subject ^a.

His army destroyed. HOWEVER, nothing farther was done against *Siam* while
 our author *Balbi* stayed in the country, which he left in *Fe-*
bruary 1586. But the next year, when *Fitch* was there, the
 king himself made an expedition into *Siam*, with an army of
 300,000 men, and 3000 elephants, besides his guards, which
 were 30,000 ^b. The success of this enterprise is not mention-
 ed by that author, who seems to have left *Pegu* before his
 majesty returned: but we learn the circumstances of it from
Pimenta. According to this author, the king arrived with
 his army before the city of *Siam* towards the beginning of
 the year (H); and was amused with offers of submission, in
 order to protract the time till *March*; when the river of
Siam overflowing its banks, like the *Nile*, soon laid the ene-
 my's camp under water: so that, out of all that multitude,
 scarce 70,000 returned to *Martavân*, and that without ei-
 ther horses or elephants.

Other fruitless invasions. THE king of *Pegu*, having made another expedition into
Siam, no more successful than the former, sent thither his
 brother the king of *Jangoma*, to try what he could do ^c.
 But he was defeated by the black prince, the king of *Siam*'s
 eldest son, and 200,000 of his forces cut to pieces, with a

^a BALBI *ibid.* & PIMENTA *ibid.*
ibid. p. 1738.

^b FITCH *ap. Purch.*
^c PIMENTA *ubi sup.*

(G) This is the same, per- we cannot determine. *Pimenta*
 haps, whom *De Faria* calls says, his army amounted to
Banna, the king's chief fa- 900,000 men: whence it may
 vourite. *Portug. Asia*, vol. iii. be judged, that all the accounts
 p. 119. of these great armies are exag-

(H) Whether 1587 or 88, generated.

great number of elephants and horse, besides what were taken⁶. It hath been already mentioned, that when *Chau-migrem* conquered *Siam*, in 1567, he carried with him to *Pegu* the king's two sons, who were educated at his court. Some years after, he gave them leave to return to *Siam*, to visit their father, where they stayed, whether with or without the king of *Pegu*'s consent, does not appear from history. The eldest, called *Rajah Api*, or *the fiery prince*, and by the *Portugueses*, *the black prince*, did great service against the enemy in their repeated invasions. The second was named *the white prince*, and was king of *Siam* after the death of his brother.

PRANJINOKO, rather provoked than discouraged by these defeats, sends his son *Maupa Rajah*, who was king of *Martavân*, with a formidable army, which committed great devastations in the country of *Siam*, through which it marched; but the prince, after losing half his forces, was obliged to return, without reducing the king to obedience. The *Pegu* monarch, resolved to make a last effort, raises an army of 1,700,000 men, and once more gives the command of them to his son *Maupa Rajah*, with the title of king of *Siam*. At the report of this mighty power all *Siam* trembled, excepting the black prince, now king, who met the enemy, and gave them battle. At length the two kings, encountering on their elephants, fought, and *Maupa Rajah* was cast dead to the ground. At this sight his men fled, and the *Siamites* pursued them for a month, in which time they destroyed the greater part of that vast army¹. This happened about the year 1590. *Balbi*, who saw and spoke to this prince, says, he was large of stature, and brown, like the king his father; but very courteous and obliging. He often dissuaded him from acts of cruelty; and, while our author was there, saved the old city from destruction: an astrologer having told the king, that, if he was desirous to reduce *Siam*, he should burn another city, as his father had done before.

PRANJINOKO, enraged at the death of this prince, made great preparations for three years together; designing to carry with him to the wars all the inhabitants of

⁶ *De Faria* Portug. Asia, vol. iii. p. 119. *PRIMENTA* ubi sup.

¹ *Id. ibid.* &

(1) *De Faria* says, the king, on this occasion, turned his fury against his people, and some days burned above ten thousand;

throwing so many into the river, as stopp'd the passage even of boats.

6. Bran- *Pegu*, who were able to bear arms. The people, terrified to
 jinoko. be thus dragged to the slaughter, after suffering so much al-
 ready by former expeditions, abandoned themselves to despair;
 and, to avoid this oppression, some became *Talapoy*s, or friers,
 others fled to woods and deserts, and many sold themselves
 for slaves. Hereupon the king caused his uncle *Shimibogo* to
 search the public records, and press one half of the people
 for his armies. He likewise ordained, by proclamation, that
 all who had made themselves *Talapoy*s, should quit that pro-
 fession, and return to a secular state; that the young men
 should be compelled to serve in the wars, and the old banished
 into the country of the *Barmas*: but he afterwards exchanged
 them away for horses. He commanded likewise, that all the
*Pegu*ers should be branded in the right hand, that so every
 man's name, country, and condition, might be known.

The Pe-
 guers re-
 bell

THE *Pegu*ers, provoked to see themselves thus opprobri-
 ously treated, began to rebel. The citizens of *Kajmi*, or
Kosmin, first set up a king to oppose this tyranny. Against
 them *Pranjinoko* sent an army, which destroyed all the country,
 and brought away many prisoners, whom he caused to be
 burned. Then, continuing the war upon them, they who had
 fled to the woods were forced by famine to yield to his mercy;
 which was such, that he put them all to death with exquisite
 torments. The next act of his fury was against the king-
 dom of *Ava*: for he commanded his son (K), who was go-
 vernor thereof, to bring all the inhabitants of that province
 into the kingdom of *Pegu*, which was then so destitute of
 people. The son obeyed, and transplanted the *Avans*: but,
 the air not agreeing with their constitutions, they became af-
 flicted with boils, and several other diseases; which also
 caught the natives, many of whom, to avoid the pain, threw
 themselves into the river. Mean time some of the *Pegu*ers
 had, by the help of the *Siamites*, gotten the castle of *Mur-
 mulan* (L) into their possession. The king, on this advice,
 lent thither forces, which besieged that fortress for a whole
 year together: but the *Siamese* troops, coming on them unex-
 pectedly, defeated his army, with great slaughter of men,
 horses, and elephants; many were drowned, and not a few
 taken prisoners. That part of the country being thus reduced
 under the enemies power, many *Peguan* lords fled to them,
 whose wives, children, and families, *Pranjinoko*, with his
 usual cruelty, utterly destroyed with fire and sword (M). So
 that

A. D.
 1524.

(K) His name was *Nayda*, *Siam*, to the south or south-east
 according to *Balbi*, p. 120.

(L) A frontier place towards

(M) The date in the margin

that the whole tract, from the city of *Pegu* to *Martavan* 6. *Bram* and *Murmulan*, became a wilderness. *jinoko.*

WHILST the siege of that place was going on, he sent for his son (N), the viceroy of *Prom*; who imagined it was to be declared his successor, in prejudice to his elder brother, the prince of *Ava*: but when he found it was to go to the siege of *Murmulan*, he would fain have avoided it; whereat his father, being angry, ordered him to salute his brother, and be gone. The prince of *Prom*, instead of obeying the king's command, returned in his ships to *Prom*, and there rebelled. The king of *Siam*, taking advantage of these distractions, invades *Pegu*, and lays siege to the capital, in which were then *Pegu besieged.* numbered 150,000 *Peguers*, *Barmas*, and others, with three thousand pieces of cannon, one thousand of them brass. The siege continued from *January* to *April* 1596, when, by the assistance of sixty *Portugueses* and twenty *Turks*, joined to a report that more of the former were advancing thither through *Kamboja*, the king of *Siam* raised the siege^m, with the loss of 100,000 menⁿ. But famine succeeded, with a worse calamity; which made not only the *Lanjangs* and *Siamese* soldiers to leave the city, but also the *Peguers*, *Barmas*, and even the king of *Tangu*: in effect, all withdrew, excepting a few from this last country.

A. D.
1596.

PRANJINOKO, thus deserted, sent his commands to *Tangu* the king, or viceroy, of *Tangu*, to gather in the harvest, then ripe, and embark it, with all the inhabitants, for *Pegu*. The viceroy of *Tangu* answers, that he would ship one half of each; and that either he, or his son, would set out along with them. The king, enraged to have his orders disputed, dispatches four principal lords to fetch him, and the provisions, by force: but the viceroy, instead of submitting to his sovereign's authority, puts to death these commissioners; and, having seized the ships, with the soldiers on board, by proclamation prohibits all intercourse with *Pegu*, or any aid to be sent thither. By this means the famine increased to such a degree in the city, that the people killed and ate one another. Man's flesh was sold in the public shambles: parents abstained not from their children, and children devoured their parents. The stronger preyed on the weaker; neither could their being nothing but skin and bones protect them from the teeth of others, who opened their bellies to feast on their

Dreadful
famine.

^m PIMENTA, ubi supra, p. 1747.
p. 120.

ⁿ DE FARIA, vol. iii.

is given by conjecture here, and in some other places.

(N) Called *Naymor* by *Balbi*, p. 120.

bowels,

6. Bran- bowels, and sucked out their brains. Nor were they men
jinoko. only who did these cruel butcheries to satisfy their hunger;
but the very women went about the streets with knives, look-
ing out for such as were not able to resist them. At length
the king caused the people in the city to be numbered; and
finding that there were amongst them 7000 *Siameses*, he
caused them all to be slain, and the provision divided among
the rest, who did not amount to above 30,000 in all, reckon-
ing women and children.

The prince AFTER the king of *Prom* had stood out in rebellion for
poisoned. three years, he sent to submit himself to his father, and pro-
A. D. mised to bring the inhabitants of that city to the capital of
1597. *Pegu*. Upon this, the king pardoned and sent him presents:
but the chief minister of the prince, who had been the cause
of his disobedience, apprehending that his head would atone
for the crime, poisoned him, and assumed the government.
Seven days after, he was killed by the grandees; and they,
aspiring to the same dignity one after another, so wasted the
people by civil war, that in two months time, out of 50,000
men, scarce fifty remained; who, repairing by water to *Pegu*,
left *Prom* for an habitation to wild beasts. The kingdom was
thus almost exhausted of people; all destroyed by the wars
and famine, excepting such as fled to the neighbouring coun-
tries, amounting to the number of about 240,000 people;
viz: in the kingdom of *Jangoma*, 120,000, partly *Peguers*,
partly *Barmas*; in *Orakan* (or *Arrakân*), 20,000; in *Siam*,
and the countries beyond, 100,000.

Jangoma WHILE the kingdom was in these confusions, the *Talipays*,
in motion. who hated *Pranjinoko* for his tyranny, counselled his brother,
the king, or viceroy, of *Jangoma*, to usurp the throne;
which he refused, pretending his oath of allegiance. They
replied, that, the king being deposed, no oath withheld him
from taking the sceptre, provided he placed his brother in
the *vahat*, or golden throne, there to be adored as a god.
The Regulo's scruples being effectually removed by this ar-
gument; he afterwards found out two others himself, no less
cogent, which convinced him that he was the lawful heir to
the crown, and had a better right than his brother. The
first, because his brother was born before his father was king;
but he, afterwards. The second, for that his mother was
daughter of the old king of *Pegu* (O), who was then living,
and

(O) The relative who, in the foregoing history, unless it be a
mistake for the feminine, and is
the original *Latin*, is in the mascu- to be referred to *another*. For
line gender; but we cannot tell since the king of *Pegu*, whom,
how to reconcile it with the after

and named *Neykhino*; whereas his brother's mother was not a king's daughter. The king of *Jangama* was at this time so powerful, that he could bring 350,000 men into the field; and, if occasion required, no fewer than a million.

THE treasures of the *Pegu* monarch at this time, though so much weakened in his power, were thought to be immense. Among which were the sixty-six *kombalengas*, and sixty-seven statues of gods, adorned with jewels, made by his father's order: these, however, were hidden in the city, but in what place nobody could tell; and it is said, that he put to death 200 eunuchs, to prevent their making a discovery.

THIS was the state of the kingdom of *Pegu*, reduced to one city, and that almost wholly destroyed, when the (P) king of *Arrakan*, in the beginning of the year 1598, came and besieged it: and was soon after joined by the Regulo of *Tangu*, who had before thrown off his dependance. The king of *Pegu*, being well provided with artillery, and all kinds of military stores, made, for a while, a brave defence against his enemies. The king of *Tangu*, finding it would be difficult to reduce the place, so long as *Pranjinako's* forces continued firm, endeavoured to corrupt them by rewards; promising life, liberty, and estates, to all who would come over to him. This policy had the desired effect. The first who deserted were the *Portugueses* and *Moors*: after them followed a natural son (Q) of the king's, whose head was cut off by order of the besieged monarch's sister, wife to the king of *Tangu*; saying, that he who was false to his father, could not be true to her.

At length, the distressed king, finding himself no longer able to hold out, took the opportunity, while the king of *Arrakan* was absent, and delivered up (R) himself and his city into the hands of the king of *Tangu*: from whom, as his bro-

* PIMENTA, ubi supr. & ap. HAIES de reb. Japan. & Indio. p. 747, & seqq.

after *De Faria*, we call *Pranjinako*, was the son of *Chau-migren*, or *Mandaragri*, who died in 1583, and reigned at least thirty years; who can this old king be? Possibly he was king of some other country, not of *Pegu*.

(P) Our author *Bauer* calls him *Mago*, or the *Mago* king of *Arrakan*; but *De Faria*, *Shilimi Shâb*. We know that the people

of *Arrakan* are called *Mago*, or *Mogben*; and that the king is stiled king of the *Mago*.

(Q) It was his eldest son, according to *Jarric. Thesour. Indic. part. i. l. 6. c. 31.*

(R) In December 1599, according to *Jarric*; who writes, that the king yielded himself, his wife, and thirteen children, to the king of *Tangu*, his brother-in-law.

then

6. Bran-
jinoko.

A. D.
1599

ther-in-law, he expected good quarter; which was promised him: but this promise was not kept. As soon as the king of *Tangu* was possessed of the city and palace, he hastened to the castle of *Makao* (S), where the treasure was lodged; of which he found so vast a quantity, that six hundred elephants, and as many horses, were scarce sufficient to carry away the gold and jewels only (T): for he made no account of silver and other metals. The king of *Arrakan*, being informed that he of *Tangu* had, contrary to his agreement, taken all this treasure for himself, and dismissed the army, without his knowledge, set out with his forces, among whom were the *Portugueses*, commanded by *Philip de Brito* (then the richest in *India*, and in great favour with that prince), in order to invade the country of *Tangu*.

Miseries of
Pegu.

A. D.
1600.

OUR author *Boues*, who, in *February 1600*, accompanied *De Brito* to *Sirian*, the chief port in *Pegu*, was witness, in his passage, of the dreadful devastations caused by the tyranny of that execrable king. It would have affected the hardest heart to behold infinite fruit-trees, with the ruins of gilded temples and stately edifices, lying along the banks of rivers; the roads and fields full of the skulls and bones of wretched *Peguers*, killed or famished; and their bodies thrown into the streams in such multitudes as to hinder the passage of vessels.

THE king of *Arrakan* found in the castle of *Makao* above three millions in silver, besides many excellent pieces of brass ordnance, which the king of *Tangu* had left behind him; either as being in haste to be gone before the other arrived, or not thinking it worth his while to carry such inconsiderable booty away.

The king
slain

WHILE the king of *Arrakan*, become thus possessed of the crown of *Pegu*, was employed in conveying the treasure from *Makao*, the kings of *Siam* and *Jangoma*, joining their forces, suddenly invaded the king of *Tangu*, with design to strip him of the immense spoils which he had so lately brought from *Pegu*. This advice perplexed the king of *Arrakan*, who, on so critical an occasion, knew not what course to take. He was in this irresolution when *Boues* wrote; nor does that author (or any other come to our hands), acquaint us what

P *BOUES* ap. *Haies*, ubi sup. p. 850. & *PURCH.* p. 1748. *DE FARIA*, ubi sup.

(S) It is twelve miles from *Pegu*; and the landing-place for those who come from *Sirian* (sixteen or eighteen miles distant) and the river of *Negrais*,

(T) So *Boues* writes: *Farric* says 700 elephants, and 700 horses; *De Faria* enlarges the number twelve-fold.

was

was the issue of this expedition of the two kings into *Tangu*. In all probability, they did not succeed in their attempt. As to the king of *Arrakan*, we are told from another quarter, that, after he had become master of *Pegu*, without any difficulty, he sent ambassadors to the king of *Tangu*; demanding part of the treasures which he had carried off, with the white elephant, and the king of *Pegu's* daughter (U). He likewise required, that the said king should either be delivered up to him, or put to death. These demands were complied with by the king of *Tangu*: who soon after caused the captive monarch to be slain with a pestle, such as they pound their rice with; it not being lawful to shed the blood of those *Asiatic* princes¹.

THIS is the account given of his death by *Floris*; but *De Faria* relates the occasion of it somewhat differently. According to this author, the king of *Tangu*, on his return from the war, presented the captive prince to his sister, the queen of *Tangu*; and it was imagined that she, who had killed his son for betraying him, would have treated him with the regards due to a brother. On the contrary, she used him in a contemptuous manner; and afterwards, perceiving that her husband was inclined to spare him, caused him to be beaten or pounded to death with a wooden pestle. Indeed, how great soever his crimes were, the king of *Tangu* was under the most indispensable obligations to be kind to him, if what we are told be true; namely, that he was no more than the son of a carter, and owed all his greatness to the favour of the murdered prince. In this manner, saith *Floris*, came this mighty empire to ruin; so that, at this day (X), there is no remembrance of it¹.

PRANJINOKO, or *Branjinoko*, dying in 1599, must have been sixty-six years of age: for *Balbi* tells us he was fifty when he ascended the throne; and he reigned sixteen years. The same author informs us, that he was very fond of shewing himself to the people, contrary to the humour of his father: for that reason he almost every day appeared in public: and, when he passed through the city, suffered none to be turned out of the way, taking great pleasure to see and

¹ FLORIS voy. ap. Purch. vol. i. p. 322.
supr. & DE FARIA, vol. iii. p. 121.

Ibid. ubi

(U) *Floris* saw both at *Arrakan* in the year 1608. According to *Jarric*, the uncle of the king, and two sons of the latter, were also delivered up as hostages; and that he returned with them all in triumph to *Arrakan*. *Jarric Thesaur. Indic.* part i. l. 2. c. 24.

(X) He wrote in 1614.

6. Bran- be seen by his subjects. For the same reason he caused two
jinoko. pillars to be erected at the gate of his court to distinguish it ;
and on it was written, in large characters, *that every person*
might enter without asking leave.

How he *BALBI* was at a public audience, to which he was sent
appeared for by the king, about some jewels which he had brought to
Pegu. The entrance of the palace was by two gates, one
within the other ; and between them were porticos, or open
halls, one on each side, where the nobles waited for the king's
appearance, whose approach was proclaimed by twelve silver
trumpets. At this sound they all stood up ; and, as soon as
they saw the king, entered the second or inner gate, which
led to the hall of audience : a very beautiful fabric, being all
gilded over and enamelled with blue. The king was seated
on golden cushions, with his wives beside him. Behind him
stood four little boys, or pages, to attend him. The lords in
waiting, called *Najirans*, stood before him to report matters
to the king, and return his answers, as occasion required.
His treasurers, with other principal lords, were on the left
hand ; and near to him, on the right, was the prince *Maupe*
Rajah, his eldest son, seated on a kind of scaffold. At the
lower end of the hall were the nobility and great officers,
ranged in order according to their several degrees.

in public THE king had in his hand a fan, which he kept in constant
audiences. motion. High over his head were four gilded umbrellas,
borne on the top of spears, which were also gilded and
adorned with gold fringes of a good length. During the au-
dience, his elephants passed before him in review : four white
elephants, preceding the rest, when they came right before the
king, each of them, by way of doing him honour, raising his
trunk, opened his mouth and neighed three times : after this
they kneeled down ; then, rising, walked to their stables.

Profound As *Balbi*, with his interpreter, approached the king, they
reverence fell on their knees, with their hands lifted up in a suppliant
manner, and made as if they kissed the ground three times
before they rose again. This reverence, called *rombi*, they
performed four times before they came to the steps of the
place where his majesty was seated ; so near him that he
could distinctly hear his words, though he understood not
what was spoken. Then, giving the emeralds to the inter-
preter, this latter held them over his head, and made the
rombi. Immediately a *Najiran*, making the same reverence,
took the jewels, and having delivered them to the king, re-
tired a few steps back. Afterwards, the same lord being or-
dered to ask our traveller some questions concerning his coun-
try and voyages, he took the answers down in writing, and

read

read them to his majesty: who, hearing that *Venice* was in the kingdom of *Italy*, and yet not governed by a king, seemed greatly surprised; and then fell a laughing so heartily, that it brought a cough upon him, which for some time hindered him to speak. In the end, he ordered a present to be given *Balbi*, of a gold cup and five pieces of *China* damask, over and above the payment for his emeralds; with an exemption likewise of duty for his goods, by which he saved 800 ducats. A generosity which all present admired at, it not having been customary with that king to make presents to strangers.

PRANFINOKO, according to *Balbi*, had four sons. The first, called *Maupa Rôjah* (or *Maupatalia*, as he is named in one place). He was king of *Martavân*; and killed in the war of *Siam* 1590, as before related. The second, called *Naydu*, was king of *Ava*; and, after his brother's death, became heir to the crown. According to *Jarric*, he deserted his father, during the siege, as above related, and was put to death by his aunt, the queen of *Tangu*. The third son was named *Naymor*; the same, we conjecture, who was Regulo of *Prom*, and slain about 1597¹. The fourth is not named by *Balbi*, any more than the king himself. This, we should have concluded, was the young prince, who, on the surrender of *Pegu* in 1599, was, according to *Boues*, put to death, along with his father and mother, by the king or queen of *Tangu*. But we find that there were thirteen children given up to the king of *Tangu*²; and that they were all slain, excepting two sons, who were delivered to the king of *Arrakan*. These were named *Shimi Kolia* and *Markettam*; and three or four years after, went with the prince of *Arrakan* to the siege of *Sirian*³.

AFTER the death of this *Barma* king, *Pegu*, by the treaty of the king of *Tangu*, was left in the hands of the *Arrakan* monarch, as before-mentioned, and annexed to that crown. Authors do not take notice how long it continued so, but it seems to have ceased about the year 1606 or 1607; at which time it probably fell into the hands of the king of *Ava*: at least, in 1613, we find that monarch leading an army through it, as if it was his own dominion, to the siege of *Sirian*; which he took from the *Portugueses*, as will hereafter be related.

¹ BALBI viag. p. 102, 103.

² Ibid. p. 116; 120.

³ See JARRIC, ubi supr. l. 4. c. 31. vol. iii. p. 132.

⁴ See DE FAKIA,

6. Bran-
jinoko.

Annexed to
Ava,

IN 1619 or 1620, we read of a king of *Pegu*, who was also king of *Ava*, residing in the city of *Pegu*, at which time the affairs of that country began to be re-established. This king, we are told, was nephew to his predecessor, and succeeded in prejudice to his children; likewise, that he recovered the kingdom and city of *Zangomay* (or *Jangomay*) from the king of *Siam*, who had taken them from the former king. This recovery was made in the year 1615 or 1616; and the strangers found there carried with the conqueror into *Pegu*. From this imperfect account we conjecture, that the prince who took *Sirian*, and he who recovered *Jangoma*, were the same: and that he removed the royal seat from *Ava* back to *Pegu* between the two expeditions. However that be, the *English*, by his encouragement, began a trade at *Pegu* in 1619; but, by ill management of those employed, they were forced to abandon it almost as soon as they had commenced it².

and so
continues.

As to the predecessor of this king above-mentioned, whether he was one of the sons of *Pranjinoko*, carried to *Arrakan* by *Shelimi Sháh*, and set up by his assistance, or some other person of the *Barma* race, we cannot pretend to determine: neither does it appear when the royal seat was transferred from the city of *Pegu* to that of *Ava*, where it at present is, and seems to have been fixed for above a century past.

S E C T. V.

Proceedings of the Portugueses in Pegu.

THIS is all we have been able to collect from good authors concerning the history of *Pegu*, and its surprising revolutions (Y), within the compass of less than a century. However, we meet with one reign more, which may be added to the rest, as, in effect, it is subsequent to them; and that is the reign of a *Portuguese* king, or emperor,^o of *Pegu*. As the subject promises something very curious and uncommon, it would be unpardonable in us not to lay it before our readers.

¹ See METHOLD. Ind. obs. ap. Purch. Pilgr. vol. v. p. 1005, & seqq. ² Idem ibid.

(Y). The account given by different times and persons together, as will appear by comparing it with the preceding history.

SHILIMI Sháh, king of *Arrakan*, to express his gratitude to the *Portugueses* who served him in his armies, bestowed on them the port of *Sirian*, at the request of *Philip De Brito and Nicote*, before-mentioned; who, being raised from the station of a collier to the favour of that prince, soon after requited him with the basest ingratitude^a. This is *De Faria's* account of the matter: but we are told by *Boues* the Jesuit, who went to *Sirian* with *De Brito* in February 1598; that the king, not being yet acknowledged by the *Peguers* who lay concealed, or were fled, delivered the port of *Sirian* to *De Brito*, that the fugitives might there find refuge under *Portuguese* protection^b. He likewise honoured him with the title of *Chenga*, or *Shenga*, which signifies honest (Z); but which his ingrateful returns shewed he no ways deserved.

A. D.
1600.Sirian
given

SHILIMI Sháh, confiding in *De Brito*, was by him persuaded to erect a custom-house at the mouth of *Sirian* river, under pretence of increasing the king's revenue; but, in reality, with design to seize on, and convert it into a fort (A); in order to secure the *Portugueses* a footing in *Pegu*, and facilitate the conquest of that kingdom, which he had formed in his mind. The work being finished, the king put it into the hands of one *Banna-dala*, who began to fortify it; and, being more jealous of the *Portugueses* than was his master, would suffer none of that nation to enter the place, except a *Dominican* frier. *De Brito*, finding his design frustrated, resolved to seize the fort by force, before the works were too far advanced; and accordingly sent three officers with fifty men, to put his project in execution; presuming that he had credit enough with *Shilimi Sháh* to get the possession of it confirmed to him.

to the Pop.
tugueses.

THE three captains so well performed *Nicote's* orders, *De Brito's* that they gained the name of founders of the *Portuguese dominions in Pegu*. *Banna-dala*, apprised of their intention, attacked the enemy's factory first, and obliged them to quit it; but, at the same time they fled from thence, they assaulted the other's fort with such fury, that he was glad to retire to an

^a *DE FARIA*, ubi supra, p. 127, ubi supr. & *PURCH.* p. 1748.

^b *BOVES* ap. *Hæa*, p. 1748.

(Z) *De Faria*, p. 131. says, *Chenga* signifies good man: be which it will, *De Brito* deserved neither character.

(A) *Boues* the Jesuit says, that so early as March 1600,

when he wrote his letter, *De Brito* was actually preparing to build a fort at *Sirian*; which was as soon as the place was delivered to him.

A. D. 1600. island not far off; where he fortified himself with 1000 men, securing the treasure of the pagod of *Digan* (or *Dagun*), to maintain them. The king, being informed of this proceeding, was much offended, and resolved to support *Banna-dala*: but *De Brito* had the art to dissuade him; representing the other as a sacrilegious robber, and offered to compose matters with the *Portugueses*. The king consented, and he went to *Sirian*; but, instead of putting a stop to the work, it still advanced under his direction. When the fort was in a good posture of defence, *Nicote* set sail for *Gon*, in order to deliver it up to the viceroy, and solicit succours, wherewith he might become emperor of *Bengál*. He likewise persuaded each of the neighbouring princes, that if he would join the *Portuguese* viceroy, he might easily arrive to be king of *Pegu*; and, on this encouragement, some of them sent ambassadors along with him.

SCARCE was *Nicote* gone, when *Shilmi Sháh* became sensible of his oversight, and sent down the river a fleet with 6000 men, under the command of *Banna-dala*. When near the fort, they were met by three vessels, with only thirty *Portugueses* on board, commanded by *Salvador Ribeyro*, chief of the three officers who had taken that place; yet in a little time he destroyed many of the enemy, took forty ships, and put the rest to flight, without losing one man^c.

The city
besieged.

THE king of *Arrakan*, finding this to become a serious affair, in conjunction with the king of *Pram* (B) (or *Prom*), beset the place with 1200 sail by water, and 40,000 men by land. *Ribeyro*, perceiving that they observed no order, fell on them with his handful of men; and, killing the general, put the whole army to flight. *Banna-dala*, gathering 8000 foot of this scattered army, sat down the third time before the fort, lodging his men in good order; and having furiously battered the place for some time, in the dead of night ventured to give a fierce assault, but was repulsed with the loss of above a 1000 men, whose bodies filled up the ditch. The enemy continued the siege eight months; and although some *Portugueses* deserted *Ribeyro*, yet, far from being dismayed, he burnt the vessels which were in the port, to take from the rest all hopes of escaping. At length considerable succours came from the viceroy *Ayres de Saldanna*; and many, covetous of honour or profit, resorted thither: so that the

^c DE FARIA, ubi supr. p. 127, & seqq.

(B) A city standing on the west side of the river which passes through *Ava*. By this

it appears, that *Prom*, so lately desolated, had recovered again.

commander,

commander, finding himself 800 strong, resolved to attack the enemy in his works.

A. D.
1600.

RIBEIRO put this design in execution, with much conduct as well as bravery, and was received with no less; but at last *Banna-dala* was forced to fly; and had the mortification to see all the works, which he had raised in a year, burnt to the ground. The *Portugueses*, thinking this success had secured their affairs in *Pegu*, dispersed, in order to reap the benefit of it by plundering; so that there remained with the captains no more than 200, who had been sent by the viceroy. The enemy, taking advantage of this opportunity, returns the fourth time, provided with several moving castles and kinds of fireworks: in short, the fort was reduced to great distress, when a fiery meteor so affrighted the besiegers that they fled, leaving their castles a prey to the flames. After this the *Portugueses* took the field; and marching against king *Massinga* (C), met his forces in the province of *Kamelan*, where they obtained a victory; killing him on the spot, and doing great mischief both by sea and land.

The enemy retire.

THESE signal advantages procured the *Portugueses* that security they so much sought after: for the natives, finding them not only victorious, but also obliging, flocked to them in great numbers; so that, in a few days, they found above 20,000 ready to join them. These men, reflecting on the extraordinary success of *Philip de Brito and Nicote*, joined to his natural good-temper, which had procured him among them the name of *Ghenga*, resolved to proclaim him king of *Pegu*: but, being at that time absent, *Ribeyro* accepted of the crown in his name; and this might be the reason how it came to be thought in *Spain*, that it was the captain who had been raised to that dignity. *Nicote* afterwards arriving in person, received the kingdom in the name of his prince; and was the first *Portuguese* who rose to that pitch of fortune in *Asia*. He was succeeded in the command of the fort by *Rodrick Alvarez de Sequeyra*, who bravely defended it till it accidentally took fire, and only the bare walls were left standing.

De Brito proclaimed king of Pegu.

MEAN while *Nicote* solicited at *Goa* for succours, and received six ships with men: for the viceroy, esteeming him for his great wealth and growing power, married him to a niece he had there, born of a *Javan* woman, and for her sake could

Defeat the Tangu fleet.
A. D.
1603.

^a DE FARIA, p. 129, & seqq.

(C) Whether this prince was often leaves his readers at a loss king of *Kamelan*, or *Prom*, does on such occasions, which yet not appear from *De Faria*; who require explanation.

A. D.
1603.

deny him nothing; he likewise conferred on him the title of commander of *Sirian*, and general of the *Pegu* conquest. At his return to *Sirian*, the king of *Arrakan* himself sent to compliment him on his arrival, and had a rich present from *Nicote* on that occasion; after this he repaired the fort, and built a church, at *Sirian*. As to the custom-house; he, according to the viceroy's instructions, obliged all vessels, which traded on the coast of *Pegu*, to make their entries there; and compelled some ships of *Choromandel* to comply with his orders. These proceedings revived in the king of *Arrakan* a resolution to possess himself of that custom-house; and, with that view, he sent an ambassador to the king of *Tangu* (D), with twenty *jalias*; or small ships, to join him in the expedition; but *Nicote*, being informed of this, sent his small craft, which defeated and obliged them to fly to the king of *Jangma's* country (E).

Prince of
Arrakan
A. D.
1604.

THE enemy, thus exasperated, gathered 700 small vessels, with 4000 men, under the command of the king of *Arrakan's* son, who was accompanied by *Shimi Kolia* and *Markettam*, sons of the late emperor of *Pegu* (F). To meet them, *Paul de Rego Pinnero* set out with the boats and seven ships: with which, having taken ten advanced boats, he went in to secure them; and then, putting out again with more force, meets the prince, routs him, and takes several vessels. The prince, running up a river, got into a small creek; where *Pinnero* seized all the rest of his fleet, and obliged him to escape by land, after having lost one thousand men. Then he took the fort of *Chirim*, and in it many prisoners, among whom was the wife of *Banna-dala*. At this time *Nicote* was abroad with fourteen small vessels, in which were sixty *Portugueses* and

(D) *Tangu* seems to be a maritime province; or, at least, to lie not far from the particular province of which *Pegu* city is the capital, on the east of the river which passes by or near that last city. For we find, that the king of *Tangu* was ordered to transport the inhabitants of that city to the capital in ships: and the king of *Siam*, in his way to invade *Tangu*, entered the kingdom of *Martawan*. See before, p. 42.

(E) The kingdom of *Jangma* seems to have lain to the

north of *Siam*: its capital was *Jamabay* (the same, we apprehend, with *Chimay*); to which *Fitch* travelled from *Pegu* city in twenty-five days, going to the north-east. And, it is probable, that the river of *Pegu* passes through that country, or near the borders of it, since the *Arrakan* fleet, in flying to the kingdom of *Jangma*, must have passed up that river.

(F) These princes, as hath been mentioned before, were delivered by the king of *Tangu* to him of *Arrakan*.

C. 4. Portuguese Proceedings.

115

200 *Pegu* men : he happened to run up the afore-mentioned river, and hearing the prince was on the shore with 4000 men, 900 of them musketeers, ventures to attack him. In the encounter, *Shimi Toto*, a valiant native, attempting to seize the prince, was wounded ; but happened, at the same time, to wound the prince in the face ; which occasioned his being made prisoner, and gained the *Portugueses* the victory. They likewise defeated 2000 men, sent by the king of *Pram* (or *Prom*), who arrived too late to join the other troops^e.

A. D.

1604.

THE *Pegu* soldiers, almost distracted to see their prince carried into captivity, would all have gone with him, striving to get into the *Portuguese* ships. Nor was *De Brito* behind them in point of duty : for, not forgetting that he had been a slave to the prince, now his prisoner, he served him with the same respect as he had done before. He watched him asleep, holding his buskins with arms a-cross, according to the custom of those countries ; and attended him on all occasions. This generous behaviour might well have equalled him with men truly great, and merited the title of *Chenga*, which was given him, had he not sullied it by his covetousness. For *Shilmi Sháh*, to redeem his son, thought proper to treat with *Nicote* : who, contrary to the viceroy's orders, which were to return the prince without ransom, sold him for 50,000 crowns ; pretending it was to defray the expences of the fleet, which the king had obliged him to fit out^f.

taken and
ransomed.

THE king of *Arrakan*, farther provoked hereat, sent a small fleet against *Sirian* ; which, though easily defeated, gave him an opportunity of enslaving above 100,000 converts to the *Romish* religion, whom he had treated with great rigour. After this, the king of *Tangu*, being prevailed on to join him a second time, besieges the city by land, while *Shilmi Sháh* shut it up by sea with 800 sail, in which were 10,000 men. *Paul de Rego* met this fleet with eighty vessels ; and, failing of the success which he had formerly, set fire to the powder, and blew up himself, with all the men on board his ship, rather than fall into the hands of the enemy. The siege continued so long that the place was ready to surrender : when, on a sudden, the king of *Tangu*, upon some jealousy conceived, quits the field by night ; and he of *Arrakan* found it to no purpose to lie longer upon the sea.

Portu-
guese bot'y
attacked.
A. D.
1605.

A. D.
1606.

SOME of the neighbouring princes, startled at this success of *De Brito*, fought his friendship, and an alliance with the king of *Portugal*. The first who entered into these engagements was his late enemy the king of *Tangu* ; who, some time

^e DE FARIA, p. 131, & seqq.

^f Ibid. p. 133, & seqq.

A. D. 1606. after, having been attacked by the king of *Ava*, was defeated, and became his tributary. The king of *Martaván* was another of *Nicote's* confederates; who, to strengthen himself, marries his son *Simon* to that prince's daughter. Thinking himself now in a condition to execute a long premeditated design, of robbing the king of *Tangu* of the great wealth he had a few years before carried out of *Pegu*, he resolves, in conjunction with the king of *Martaván*, to attack his territories; alleging in his defence, that, since the treaty made with that king, he had been overcome by him of *Ava*: as if the most idle pretence was sufficient to justify the breach of faith. In short, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the king of *Tangu*, and his protestations of continuing a faithful vassal to the crown of *Portugal*, *De Brito* fell upon, and took him prisoner; returning with him and above a million of gold to *Sirian*. But he did not long enjoy the fruits of his crimes.

is besieged

A. D. 1613.

by the king of Ava.

He is taken,

THIS act of violence and injustice, committed on the king of *Tangu*, highly provoked the king of *Ava*, under whose protection he enjoyed his dominion. Scarce had he heard the news, when casting on the ground his gown and veil, he vowed to the idol *Biay*, worshipped at *Urgun* (or *Dagun*), that he would not enter within his gates till this injury was revenged. Resolving to attack *Sirian* effectually, both by sea and land, he equipped a fleet of 400 stout vessels, on board of which there were above 6000 of those *Mozers*, of noted valour, called *De Capanaya*, or *who wear caps*. At the same time he marched at the head of 120,000 men; and, the moment he arrived before the place, set fire to every thing which he found without the walls. Although *Nicote* was, at this time, wholly unprovided, having suffered most of his men to go for *India*, yet he made a vigorous defence. What concerned him most was the want of powder: for he had been so imprudent as to set fire to a vast quantity of it, which he found at *Tangu*. In this distress he sent a soldier to *Bengál* to buy powder; but that trusty servant ran away with the money. He likewise sent for some to the city of *St. Thomas*, on the coast of *Choromandel*; but his friends there were so kind as to refuse him. Besides, those few *Portugueses* who were with him, committed such outrages, robberies, and murders, as seemed to call down vengeance upon them, and hasten his ruin.

IT is true, his number of soldiers might have sufficed to defend the place against the enemy, though so much superior in numbers; having had with him 3000 *Peguers*, besides

100 *Portugueses* : but as there was no firing of cannon without powder, they could not keep the besiegers at a distance from the walls. All the resistance they were able to make, was to annoy them by pouring down boiling pitch and oil from the battlements. *De Brito*, to try what could be done at sea, sent out three ships against the fleet : but this enterprise was attended with very ill success : for, in one of them, all the men were slain ; and the two others returned with all theirs wounded. The enemy now began to undermine the works ; and the besieged bestirred themselves much, but to very small purpose. At length, after the siege had lasted thirty-four days, *Nicote* sent to beg mercy, but was not heard. He imagined he could prevail by means of the king of *Tangu*, whom he had robbed of his crown, his riches, and liberty. But the king of *Ava*, being resolved to punish him, rejected all manner of applications in his favour.

MEAN time the king of *Arrakan*, more through jealousy *and impaled.* of than monareh's power, than in kindness to *De Brito*, who had so grievously offended him, sent fifty sail to his assistance ; but they proved of no use to him, having all been taken by the besiegers. At length the king of *Ava* gives an assault, and both parties fought for three days without intermission. The issue of it was, that 700 of the besieged having been slain, *Nicote* was betrayed by one *Banna*, whom he had always treated with distinction, and carried to the king of *Ava*, who immediately ordered him to be impaled (G) ; and the stake fixed upright upon an eminence above the fort, *that, as the victor expressed it, he might the better look to it.* He lived two days in that dreadful misery, and then expired.

HIS wife, *De Luísa de Saldanna*, was kept three days in the river to be cleansed ; because the king designed her for himself : but as she exclaimed against him, when brought into his presence, he ordered her leg to be bored ; and that she should be sent to *Ava* among the other slaves. *Francis Mendez*, and a nephew of his, were treated in the same manner as *Nicote* had been. The traitor *Banna*, demanding a reward, was torn in pieces ; the king saying, *that he could never be true to him, since he had betrayed the man who had done him so much honour.* *Sebastian Rodriguez* was cooped up with a yoke about his neck. At first the king designed not to spare any of the inhabitants of *Sirian* ; but growing calm, he sent many of them slaves to *Ava*. Then pass-

(G) According to *Floris*, this *Purchas's pilgrims*, vol. i. happened in *March 1613*. See 325.

ing on to *Martavân*, he obliged that king to kill his own daughter's husband, that none of *De Brito's* race might remain. This was the end of that man's avarice; who, being naked but a few years before, was raised to be worth three millions. He had one when he went to *Goa*; he brought another from *Tangu*; and had gotten at least another since then, by prizes and merchandizing. The enemy confessed, that they lost at the siege no fewer than 30,000 men¹.

Allowing
to her,

How little soever the reader may be concerned for the fate of the husband, he will be apt, no doubt, to pity that of the wife; imagining that she drew on herself the punishment which was inflicted on her, through conjugal affection. But indeed her sufferings are so little to be ascribed to the love she had for her husband, that she was actually one of the principal causes of his ruin: for she entertained one of his captains as her gallant; and perceiving that the *Portugueses* censured their familiarity, they persuaded *De Brito* that he had no farther need of them. This was the reason why they were dismissed; and that dismissal was the cause of his destruction, and loss of the place¹.

and late
succours.

As soon as the viceroy heard of the danger that *Sirian* was in, he sent thither *James de Mendez Fustado*, with five galleys. This officer had orders to strengthen himself by the way, with some ships and men: but he was not able to do any thing of the kind, till he arrived at *Martavân*; where, in the river, he found a fleet of twenty sail. These, after a sharp engagement, fled, excepting four, which were taken, with some soldiers; by whom being informed of what had happened at *Sirian*, he saw it would be to no purpose to proceed farther, and therefore returned to *Goa*.

CHAP. V.

The Empire of Ava.

SECT. I.

Description of the Country.

Little
known in
Europe.

OUR informations, with regard to this great monarchy, are, in general, so scanty and imperfect, that it is proper to take notice thereof, before we enter upon either the description or history of the country; lest our readers

¹ DE FARIA, p. 191, & seq. ² Ibid. ubi sup.

should otherwise think that the fault is owing to us, and not to the defect of our materials.

WE have already observed, in our general remarks concerning the farther peninsula of *India*, that no part of *Asia* has been less frequented, especially the inland countries towards *China*. Hence it is, that *Pegu*, *Ava*, and others, were so disfigured in the maps of *European* geographers, that *Du Chatz*, a Jesuit missionary, could not know them. He particularly remarks, that the *Sanfons* have introduced much confusion, by deriving the great rivers, which pass through the kingdoms and capitals of *Siam*, *Pegu*, and *Ava*, from a lake called *Chindmay*, although they have all different sources*. In these enormous errors the *Sanfons* have been followed by all other geographers, till Messieurs *De Lisle* reformed them in 1700. However, the *Sanfons* are not to blame on that account; but rather *Mendez Pinto*, who, though guilty of many forgeries, yet possibly in this respect was guided by reports of the *Indians*, which have misled others.

IF *Ava* be so little known, it is not that it has never been visited by *Europeans*: for the *Portugueses*, *Dutch*, and other nations, have been often in that country, led on account of war, or trade. But these are a sort of people who have seldom either the curiosity or capacity to observe and write. We have, in short, no professed travellers into the inland: at least we meet with only two journals of persons who have travelled into *Ava*, towards the end of the last century; and that not from the coast upwards, but through the continent downwards, from *China*. The first performed by four *Chineses*, down the river which passes by *Ava*: the other by the Jesuit *Du Chatz* before-mentioned, who travelled the same way, and has given a map of the course of that river from *Ava* to the sea, in which are contained almost all his remarks; for he says very little concerning either the country or inhabitants. To these may be added some observations of Mr. *Roger Alison*, who had been twice ambassador from the governor of *Fort St. George*, or his agents at *Sirian*, to the court of *Ava*, about thirty years ago.

THESE three pieces, joined to some scattered remarks found in *Cesar Frederic*, *Gaspard Balbi*, *Gaspard da Cruz*, and some other early voyagers, are the principal funds from whence we draw our materials; which, therefore, our readers must not expect to be either very copious or satisfactory.

* DU CHATZ ap. mem. acad. scien. ann. 1692, p. 399.

Bounds

and extent.

Ava king-
dom.

AVA, or *Awa*, which some write with a strong aspirate *Hava* (A), may be considered either in a restrained sense, as a single kingdom; or in a more extended sense, as enlarged by the conquest of several other dominions. But in which ever sense it be taken, we are not able to speak with any certainty concerning its just bounds and dimensions, especially as to *Ava* as a particular kingdom: we only know, in general, that it lies inclosed with *Jangoma* or *Siam* on the east; *Pegu* on the south; and *Arrakan* on the west: what country lies to the north of it, we are not informed by travellers. *Mendez Pinto*, in place of *Ava*, puts the kingdom of *Chaleu*, whose capital he makes the city of *Ava*. He mentions also a city of the same name, which he sets on the river *Queytor* (so he calls the river of *Ava*), between *Prom* and *Ava*. He likewise gives to the inhabitants the name of *Chaleus*^b. This is all we can say touching the kingdom of *Ava*, properly so called.

Empire of
Ava.

WITH regard to the extent of the empire of *Ava*, including the kingdom of *Ava* with its conquests, we are able to say something more precise. A late missionary tells us, that it is twice as big as *France*^c. What we know, in general, is, that it is bounded on the west partly by the gulf of *Bengál*, and partly by the kingdoms of *Arrakan* and *Assam*, from which last it seems to be separated by the great river of *Arrakan*; on the north by mountains dividing it from *Tibet* and *China*; on the east by the country of the *Laos*; and on the south by the kingdom of *Siam*, and the gulf of *Bengál*. It is situated between the 15th and 26th degrees of latitude, and between the 109th and 118th degrees of longitude: so that its length, from south to north, is about 660 geometrical, or 765 *English* miles; and its breadth, from west to east, 494 miles of the first kind, and 575 of the second (B).

^b PINTO's voyage, p. 136, 208, 214.
supra.

^c DU CHATZ, ubi

(A) Some authors write *Awa*, as *Balbi*: others *Avaa* and *Owa*, as we find in *De Faria*, vol. iii. p. 139, 353, & *passim*. The *Chinese*s pronounce *Yawa*. It is called *Pamahang*, in the *Chinese*s journey from *Siam*.

(B) Captain *Hamilton*, who sometimes calls this the kingdom of *Burma*, and says it lies

about 500 miles up the river of *Pegu*, gives it different dimensions. According to him, it reaches from *Maravi*, near *Tanasserin*, to the province of *Yunnan*, in *China*, and is about 800 miles long, from north to south; and 250 broad, from west to east. New account of *East Ind*, vol. ii. p. 38, & seq.

THE country of *Ava*, properly so called, is, for the general, *Soil. Ri-*
 flat, especially near the great river. It is all fertile; pro-
 ducing rice, fruits, and variety of animals wild and tame, *vers.*
 like *Pegu*. It has also mines of *Cyprian* brass, lead, and fil-
 ver^d. Musk and rubies likewise come from thence to *Pegu*. *Soil and*
 As to the conquered countries lying to the north and east, ex-
 cepting that of *Jangoma*, we know but little concerning them
 in any respect, not so much as their names (C). The best
 information we can give our readers is from the travels of
 four *Chineses*, in company with others, from the province of
Yun-nan to *Ava* and *Pegu*, towards the middle of the last
 century. Departing from the city of *Jun-nan* (or *Yun-nan*),
 capital of the province of the same name, in the south-west
 of *China*, they went to *Jun-cham* (D), in the same province,
 in eighteen days; from thence to *Tien-nio-theou* (E) in four;
 and in five more to the last village on the borders of *Yun-*
nan and *China*: a fatiguing way, through woods, full of
 tigers, but no elephants.^a

AT this village, where there is a custom-house and garri- *River Lu-*
 son, they embarked on a river more large and rapid than *kyang*,
 that of *Siam*, and in twenty days sailed down it to the city
 of *Ava*. The first four or five days were through a desert
 country: afterwards they daily met with one or two planta-
 tions on the river, whose inhabitants, dwelling in houses made
 of *bambû* canes, fled into the neighbouring woods at their ap-
 proach. The journey may be performed by land, but not
 conveniently^e. The name of the river, down which our *Chi-*
neses passed, is not mentioned by them: but it is doubtless
 that which, in the Jesuits map, is called *Lu-kyang*, because
 of its largeness; there being no other in *Yun-nan*, on that
 side, so big as the river *Siam*, to which it is compared; nor
 perhaps capable of bearing large passage-boats. This river
 rises a great way to the north of *Yun-nan*, in the country of *Ti-*
bet; so that it may well be considerable, not only at the city of
Ava, as *Du Chatz* says it is, but even in *China* itself, from
 whence its course seems to be first south-west, and then south.

^d PIMENTA ap. Purch. pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1746.

^e GOURN obf. math. &c. ap. mem. acad. ann. 1699, p. 399.

(C) *De Faria* tells us, from two cities; but names none of
Pinto, that the dominions of them.

(D) In the Jesuits late map
 1539, were two months travel *Tung-chang*.

(E) In the same map *Tung-*
ye-chang.

Citius.
 or Menan
 kiow.

FROM the city of *Ava* this great river, which is there called *Menan Kiow* (F), runs south-west to the city of *Prom*, about 140 leagues distant; from whence to *Mero*, another considerable city, its course is almost north and south. From *Mero* it turns off almost due eastward; and, in that direction, passes on to *Sirian*, the port of *Ava* and *Pegu*, eighty leagues distant from *Mero*, and near three hundred from *Ava*. Above *Sirian* it receives the river of *Pegu*; and below it, at ten leagues distance, falls into the sea. Along the river, from *Ava* downwards, the banks are set with villages, often better than the country towns in *France*, and not above a mile and half asunder. They sail in vessels as large as our biggest ships, though not a nail or peg is used in building them. They have only one sail, but it is much higher and broader than any which the greatest *European* ships do carry. The *Chineses* above-mentioned were one month in their passage down it from *Ava* to *Pegu*; and, from the first of those cities to *Siam*, it was fifteen easy days journey by land^a.

City of
Ava.

THE capital of *Ava*, which bears the same name with the kingdom, is about as large as *Rheims* in *France*. The houses are high, and built of wood; and the streets as strait as a line, with trees planted on each side. The reason why the houses are built of no better materials than *bambú* canes, thutched with straw or reeds, we are told, is; that criminals, if they do not appear when summoned, may be easily forced out by fire. But then that sort of structure diminishes much from the beauty of the city, which is both great and populous.

The palace.

THE king's palace is very large, and built of stone; yet the buildings of it are but mean. It has four gates: the eastern is called the *golden gate*, because all ambassadors, who enter by it, approach him with presents: the south gate is called the *gate of justice*, for those to go-in at who bring petitions, accusations, or complaints, to the king: the west is the *gate of grace*, through which all who have received favours, or been acquitted of crimes, do pass-out in state; and all condemned persons are carried to execution in fetters: the north gate, fronting the river, is the *gate of state*, reserved for his majesty when he goes abroad; and by it all his provisions and water are carried into the palace^b.

^a GOUVE ubi supra.

^b Ibid.

^c HAMILT. new acc.

East Ind. vol. ii. p. 45, & seq.

(F) *Mendon Pinto* calls it every-where *Queyter*.

THIS is the account given by Mr. *Alison*: but *Du Chatz* *Cities.* describes it to more advantage. He says it is gilded both within and without; and situated in a square inclosure of brick, each side no fewer than 800 paces long. The same author tells us, that he found the latitude to be twenty-one degrees; but says not with what instrument he observed it¹. It is remarkable that this city is mentioned by *Antony Zeni*, so early as the year 1430. This author informs us, that passing up the river *Ganges* to *Chernowem* and *Maarazia* (G), he from thence crossed over land, in seventeen days, to the city of *Ava*, which he affirms to be fifteen miles in compass. He adds, that the inhabitants of both sexes indulge themselves much in eating and drinking. But what is most curious in this traveller, he is the first who speaks of bells being worn by the inhabitants of these countries in their privities: he says they were of gold, silver, and brass; that they were as large as nuts; and that certain old women lived by selling them². *Its splendour.*

THE city of *Ava* is remarkable for having a great trade *Jewel-trade.* in musk and jewels; that is, principally rubies and sapphires, so long ago as the time of *Edoardo Barbosa*, in 1516: who also observes that the inhabitants were excellent jewellers; and *Methold* says, the most esteemed rubies and sapphires were brought from thence¹. This city has, no doubt, suffered many changes, by the wars and revolutions which have happened from time to time; particularly in 1583, when it was razed by order of the king of *Pegu*, after the rebellion of his uncle, and all the inhabitants banished to the woods².

THERE are other cities of *Ava* mentioned by authors, such *Other cities.* as *Bakan*, *Chaleu*, and *Prom*, of which some account has been already given in the history of *Pegu*, and of which we find the names in *Du Chatz's* map of the course of the river *Menan Kiow*. *Bakan* was the capital of a kingdom conquered by *Chau-migrem*, second *Barma* king of *Pegu*: *Prom* was the metropolis of another small kingdom, which suffered greatly in the *Barma* wars: and *Chaleu*, we are told by *Pinto*, was both a city and a kingdom; of which last he makes *Ava* itself the capital.

¹ See *GOUVE* ubi sup.
vol. iii. p. 158.
21, p. 114.

² *NIC. DE CONTI* ap. *PURCHAS*,
PURCHAS, vol. v. p. 1017.

³ *BAL-*

(G) We meet with no such place in modern travellers as *Rajah*, which signifies the great *Chernowem*. *Zeni* writes *Cernowem*. As for *Maarazia*, it ought doubtless to be *Maha Rajah*, that is, chief of the *Rajabs* or kings of *India*.

S E C T. II.

Account of the Inhabitants of Ava.

The Bar-
mas.

Of what
kinds.

WHETHER the inhabitants of *Ava* were originally *Bar-mas*, or a different nation, authors do not afford us light enough to determine. *Mendez Pinto*, indeed, mentions a people in these parts calls *Chaleus*, inhabitants of a kingdom called *Chaleu*, of which he makes *Ava* the capital city. But as that author is not clear in this particular, and is besides not much to be depended on, we can venture to affirm nothing in this point upon his authority. In short, as the *Barmas* have been, for above two centuries at least, the proprietors of this country, not only of the kingdom of *Ava* in particular, but also of several other kingdoms or states which are annexed to that crown; and are the only nation within their dominions which have as yet come to our knowledge, we must here content ourselves with giving an account of them.

The Bar-
mas;

THE *Barmas*, called by some *Baramas* and *Vermas*, but mostly *Bramas*, as to their persons and dress have been already described in our account of *Pegu*. We shall only add from *Da Cruz*, that they have a great resemblance of the *Chinefes* in their faces^a; and some judge, from the great likeness which appears in their persons, and even their customs, that the inhabitants of all the farther peninsula of *India* are descended from the *Chinefes*.

their coun-
try,

THESE *Barmas*, or *Bramas*, according to *Mendez Pinto*, originally inhabited the hills or highlands which surround *Pegu*; containing a country about 200 leagues in length, and 80 in breadth. From these quarters they, by degrees, extended themselves over the neighbouring countries, sometimes gaining, at other times losing, what they had conquered. About the year 1516, when *Barbosa* was in the *Indies*, the kingdom of *Verma*, as he terms it, extended along the coast from *Bengal* southward, as far as *Pegu*; and *Arrakan* lay within land to the north of it. But, not long after, they were driven out of the maritime parts, where they had no trade, nor ports fit for it, by the inhabitants of *Arrakan*, who took possession of them. In 1539 their power was so much reduced, that, though they seem to have been masters of *Ava* not long before, they were, at this time, tributary to the king of *Pegu*. However, an accident soon after gave them an opportunity not only of recovering their freedom, but al-

and con-
quests.

^a *DA CRUZ* ap. Purch. vol. iii. p. 167, & seq.

so of subjecting *Pegu* in their turn; which they lost again *Govern-*
 for a short space of time: when recovering it about the mid-*ment.*
 dle of the sixteenth century, they, under the conduct of a
 valiant prince, over-ran almost the whole farther peninsula
 of *India*. In the reign of his son they lost *Pegu*, and other
 countries; but recovered them again in a few years space,
 and have continued in possession of them ever since^b.

S E C T. III.

The Government of Ava.

THE government in *Ava* is arbitrary; for the commands *How the*
 of the king are laws: but then the reins are kept steady *king*
 in his own hands, and managed with gentleness and atten-
 tion. He severely punishes the governors of provinces or
 towns, if guilty of oppression, or other illegal practices:
 and, to inform himself how affairs go every-where, each has
 a deputy residing at court, which is generally kept in the
 present capital *Ava*. These attend every morning, in an *knows all*
 apartment of the palace; to which adjoins another, whither *affairs.*
 the king repairs, who from thence can see the whole assembly,
 without being seen himself. A page stands without, to call
 whom his majesty appoints to make report of what had been
 transacted in his city or province; all which is performed by
 the deputy, with profound reverence towards the room where
 the king is. If any thing be concealed, and that prince comes
 to know it, severe punishments are inflicted on the offender.
 Thus he passes his mornings, from breakfast-time, in hear-
 ing the necessary cases of his own affairs, as well as those of
 his subjects.

IN matters of treason, murder, or the like, the king appoints *Capital*
 judges to try the accused; and, on conviction, signs the dead *punish-*
 warrant: wherein he orders; that the wretch convicted shall *ments.*
 tread no more on his ground; and execution presently fol-
 lows, either by beheading, or being thrown to his elephants,
 cruelly to be mashed to pieces under their feet. Sometimes
 criminals are banished for a term to the woods (A); and,
 when that is expired, if they are not devoured by tigers, or
 killed by wild elephants, they may return, and spend the re-
 mainder of their days in serving a tame elephant: and, for

^b MENDOZ PINTO'S VOY. p. 241.

(A) This, according to *Balbi*, is the punishment, inflicted on
 robbers.

. smaller

*Govern-
ment.*

smaller crimes, they are only condemned to cleanse his elephants stables for life^a.

*Law of
debtors.*

In civil cases the laws are very strict. With regard, particularly, to debts, there is no losing any: for, one way or other, they must be paid; and at last the debtor sold, with his family, as hath been already noted. Sometimes the *Paguers*, when they want money, will pledge not only themselves, but their wives and children, to obtain it. If payment is not made at the time limited, the creditor may then seize them all, and lock them up in his warehouse. They are so much at his disposal, that he may even lie with the insolvent's wife, if he has a mind: but then, by that action, the debt is understood to be quite discharged^b.

*Police in
cities.*

ALL cities and towns in this king's dominions are like aristocratical commonwealths. The prince, or governor, seldom sits in council himself, but appoints his deputy, and twelve counsellors or judges, who sit once in ten days, or oftener, if business requires it. They assemble in a large hall, mounted about three feet high, with double benches round the floor, for the people to sit or kneel on, to hear the free debates of council. The hall is raised on wooden pillars, and open on all sides. The judges are placed in the middle, on mats; and, sitting in a ring, have no precedency one of another. There are no lawyers or attornies to harangue at the bar: but every body has the privilege to plead his own cause, or send his case in writing, to be read publicly; and he is sure to have it determined within three sittings of council at most. Neither are there any fees due to the officers of the court, which they call *Rounday*; but the charge, which is very small, is defrayed by the people of the town.

*No law-
yers, nor
fees.*

*Excellent
regula-
tions.*

AT the backs of the judges there are placed clerks, who write down whatever the plaintiff and defendant have to say; and the cause is determined by the judgment of the governor and council. If in the sentence there happens to be the least partiality to either party, and the king is made acquainted with it by the deputies at court, the whole is reversed, and the judges corrected for it. This good regulation is a strong check upon the council, and makes appeals very rare. On the other hand, if an appeal is not well-grounded, the appellant is chastised; which just rigour prevents vexatious suits, common in countries where there are no penalties annexed to such litigious proceedings^c.

^a HAMILT. new acc. of E. Ind. vol. ii. p. 42, & seqq.

^b BALDI viag. del l'Ind. orient. p. 127.

^c HAMILT. new acc. of E. Ind. vol. ii. p. 47, & seq.

^d HAMILT. new acc. of E. Ind. vol. ii. p. 47, & seq.

FOR discovering murder, theft, or perjury, also to find the truth, where the evidence is doubtful or contradictory, the ordeal is much used in *Pegu*. Of this there are several kinds: one way is to make the parties chew some raw rice, and swallow it: but they say the guilty cannot get it down, and thus he stands convicted. Another method is to oblige the accused, and the accuser, to lay hold of a stake driven into a river; and he who stays longest under water is judged fit to be credited. The guilty person (that is, he who was so unlucky as to have the shortest breath), must lie on his back for three days and nights, with his neck in the stocks or pillory, without meat or drink, and is fined to boot. Scandal, and malicious slander, is punished in this manner. They have also the custom, in case of atrocious crimes, of dipping the naked hand in boiling oil, or melted lead; and if the accuser is scalded or burnt in the trial, he must undergo the punishment due to the crime: which makes people very cautious how they calumniate one another. In short, whoever calls a woman a whore, and cannot prove the aspersions to be true, is fined severely^d.

Ordeal trials.

WITH regard to little differences and disputes, which arise among neighbours, the making of them up is generally undertaken by the clergy, who never cease mediating between the parties, till there be a reconciliation; in token of which they eat *Champok* (B) from one another's hand, and that seals the friendship. Nor must we omit giving the *Pegu* ecclesiastics the praises due to them on another occasion. If a stranger happens to be shipwreck'd on their coast, by the laws of the country the men are the king's slaves: but, by the mediations of the church, the governors overlook that law: and when the unfortunate people repair to their temples, they are relieved both with food and raiment. If sick or wounded, they keep them till they are cured, and then give them letters of recommendation to the next convent, passing them thus from one to another, till they meet with barks to transport them to *Sirian*^e.

Differences how composed.

^d HAMILT. p. 58.

^e Ibid. p. 61.

(B) *Champok* is a kind of tea, of a very unfavoury taste, growing, as other tea does, on bushes.

S E C T. IV.

Of the King or Emperor.

Emperors
state.

Reverence
paid him.

THE king or emperor of *Ava* gives great attention to public affairs. Soon after he has risen in the morning, he dresses himself, and then takes his breakfast. This usually consists of rice boiled in water, and relished with *pruk*, of which we have already given an account in treating of *Pegu*. The *pruk* used by the king is a mixture of shrimps, dried and powdered, with salt and cod-pepper, which makes a very pungent sauce, in great esteem. When his breakfast is over, he retires to hear what passes in the assembly of deputies before-mentioned, and hear the petitions of his subjects; by whom, if they may be so called, he is approached with the most abject reverence (A). The highest title which any of them assumes is to call himself his majesty's first slave. When pots of water or baskets of fruit are carried through the streets for the king's use, an officer attends them, and the people who happen to be near must fall on their knees, and let them pass by; as a good catholic does, says our author, when he sees the host.

Vain titles,

THAT their language may be conformable to their actions, they treat him with the most fulsome adulation. When they speak or write to him, they call him their *kiak*, or *god*: and the king himself, in his letter to foreign princes, assumes the title of "king of kings, to whom all other kings ought to be subject, as being near kinsman and friend to all the gods in heaven and on earth: that, by their friendship to him, all animals are fed and preserved, as well as all the seasons of the year have their constant returns: that the sun is his brother, the moon and stars his near relations: that he is lord over the ebbing and flowing of the sea: lastly, that he is king of the white elephant, and twenty-four umbrellas (B)." These are only common *China* umbrellas, covered over with thin *Chormandel Batte-*

(A) The same with that paid to the king of *Pegu*, of whom this prince is properly no more than the successor, only residing in a different part of his dominions: so that what is related here of the king, is no more than an addition to what has been said before: but having been applied to him, as reign-

ing in *Ava*, we have inserted it here.

(B) These being used as ensigns of dignity by the princes of this peninsula, seem to denote the number of kingdoms and states conquered by the *Burma* monarchs, and added to their dominions.

last,

laes, with their canes lackered and gilded. Yet because his *Emperor's* own subjects dare not wear such umbrellas, he lays his com-*mands* on all other kings to forbear making use of them, *when they go abroad, with the same air of vanity.*

AFTER his majesty has dined, there is a trumpet blown, *and af-* to signify to all his slaves (meaning all other kings), that they *may go to dinner, because their lord has already dined.* And as he terms all other kings (though ever so powerful and out of his reach), his slaves, so their subjects are considered as such, when they come into his ports to trade, or on any other occasion. When a foreign ambassador is admitted to audience in the palace, he is attended with a large troop of guards, with trumpets sounding, and heralds proclaiming the honour which he is about to receive, in being permitted to see this king of kings, the glory of the whole earth. When the ambassadors come between the gate and the head of the stairs which lead to the chamber of audience, he is attended by the master of the ceremonies, who instructs him to kneel three times in his way thither; in which posture he must continue, with his hands lift over his head, not daring to rise, till a proclamation is read for that purpose. And because the very brutes ought to pay obedience to this universal monarch, some of his elephants are taught to fall on their bellies when his majesty passes by them^a.

NEITHER his soldiers nor military officers have any pay: *Forces* but there is a province, or city, with lands, given to some *how paid* lord or commander, who is to maintain out of it such a number of men, ready to attend the wars on all occasions; and to find the palace at *Ava* with such provisions as the providore thinks fit to demand. In time of war, however, they are all allowed pay, provisions, clothes, and arms, which are returned into the magazines as soon as the war is over. Hence it is that discipline is but little known among this king's troops; and a man of a tolerable stock of courage may pass in those parts for a hero. This is the account of our latest travellers. But some of those who went first to *Pegu* admired their discipline^b. The quality of an officer is known by his tobacco-pipe. This utensil consists of three parts, a head or bowl, a shape or shank, and a mouth-piece. The head is either of metal or clay, with a socket to let in the shaft, which is made of a jointed reed or cane: the mouth-piece is of gold, fixed on the upper end of the shaft, and,

^a ALLISON ap. Hamilt. ubi sup. p. 42. p. 120, & seqq.

^b See before,

A. D. like the reed, has joints, whose number ascertains the degree
1430. of the officer, and he is respected according to that token ^c.

WHAT has been said with regard to the religion, temples, and clergy, of *Pegu*, may serve for those of *Ava*: and indeed the laws, customs, and every thing else, are nearly the same in both countries, as hath been already mentioned. It remains therefore only to add a few things concerning

S E C T. V.

The History of Ava.

Earliest
notices.

WHAT we have to lay before our readers on this subject is but very inconsiderable, and little more than what hath already occurred to him in the history of *Pegu*. In the time of *Nicolo di Conti*, about 1430, it seems to have been an independent monarchy, and in a flourishing condition ^a. In 1505, when *Vertoman* or *Barthema* was there, the kings of *Ava* and *Pegu* had been at war together for two years; but coming at length to a pitch'd battle, the latter obtained the victory. However, that advantage did not oblige the king of *Ava* to submit to him: for presently after we find the lately defeated monarch moving against his enemy, with a very numerous army, although we know not whether there ensued a second engagement, or how the war terminated; our author having left *Pegu* before any action happened ^b.

Bramas
invade

WE meet with nothing after this relating to the affairs of *Ava*, till the year 1545; when *Parà Mandarà*, the *Barma* king, having conquered *Pegu*, upon advice that the king of *Ava* intended to give a passage to the emperor of *Pandalu*'s troops, ready to invade his dominions, marched with a numerous army to attack *Prom*, a city belonging to *Ava*, and governed by a king or regulo, who was married to him of *Ava*'s daughter. The *Barmas*, by treachery, became masters of the city, which they demolished, after exercising unheard of cruelty against the king and queen. From thence the victor proceeded to *Meleytay*, a fortress twelve leagues distant, which he took, after defeating the prince of *Ava*; and then went up the river with his forces in barks, with design to attack the city of *Ava*; but finding it in a very good posture of defence, and hearing that a powerful assistance was coming to it from the mountains of *Pandalu*, he returned to

^a HAMILT. p. 46. & seqq. ^b See PURCH. pilgr. vol. iii.
p. 158, & seq. ^c VERTOMAN ap. Willes's collect. p. 402.

Prom, and put off his enterprise against *Ava* till he had strengthened himself by an alliance with some other powers^c. A. D. 1553.

PARRA Mandarà, after this, being engaged in other wars, no farther attempts were made against *Ava* during his reign. But as soon as his successor *Chau-migrem* was settled in the throne, which was in the year 1553, he formed in his mind the conquest of all the neighbouring kingdoms; of which, no doubt, that of *Ava* was one of the first, although the precise date of this event is not marked by authors. However, it must have been precedent to his expedition against *Jangoma* and the *Laos*, which latter was performed in 1556, or 59 at farthest^d. and conquer Ava.

UPON the death of *Chau-migrem*, in 1583, the king of *Pegu* *m-Ava*, who was his brother, and uncle to his successor *Pran-jinoko*, refused obedience to his nephew; who thereupon invaded and slew him in single combat. After this, *Ava* remained in subjection to the crown of *Pegu* during the life of this monarch: but, at his death, the kingdom of *Pegu* being quite ruined, and the monarchy dissolved, the king of *Arrakan* took possession of *Pegu*; and it is not to be doubted but that, at the same time, *Ava* became independent, under a sovereign of its own. Who this new king was, does not appear from any of the authors before us. *Naydu*, eldest son of *Pranjinoko*, and king of *Ava*, we are told, deserting his father during the siege of *Pegu*, in 1599, was slain by order of his aunt, the queen of *Tāngu*. There were, indeed, two other sons, named *Shimi Kolia* and *Markettām*, prisoners at the court of *Arrakan*; one of whom might have been advanced to the throne of *Ava* by the king of *Arrakan*. But if so, it was not till after the expedition against *Sirian* in 1603 or 4, in which those princes accompanied the prince of *Arrakan*: and it is not likely that the throne of *Ava* should have been vacant so long. Besides, if that had been the case, it may be presumed that the king of *Arrakan* would have obliged his captive to have relinquished his title to *Pegu*, as a condition of his advancement: whereas we find him no more acting as lord of *Pegu* after the year 1607.

HOWEVER that be, the king of *Ava* was a *Barma*, and, in *Recovery* all probability, of the *Pegu* line. He was likewise a prince of courage, and had begun already to extend his dominions. It is probable that the king of *Arrakan*, seeing him grown powerful, yielded up the kingdom of *Pegu* to him, without disputing his title: after which he turned his arms against

^c See before, p. 76. also before, p. 92.

^d See PURCH. pilgr, vol. iii. p. 168.

A. D.
1613.



the king of *Tangu*, and obliged him to become tributary. The next, and indeed only farther transaction of this prince, which occurs in our authors, is his expedition against *Sirian*, which yielded to his arms, after it had more than once baffled the united forces of the king of *Arrakan* and his confederates. The taking of *Sirian* happened in 1613: and, two or three years after, *viz.* in 1615 or 16, we find the kingdom and city of *Jangomay* or *Jangoma* recovered by the king of *Ava*, from him of *Siam*, who reduced it about 1604.

Royal seat
removed

THIS, from his martial spirit, we take to be the same king with him who had before subjugated *Tangu*, and reduced *Sirian*. We are told that he was nephew to the former king, whom he succeeded, in prejudice to that prince's children. From whence it appears that *Ava* had two kings, since the great revolution of *Pegu* in the year 1600, unless we suppose this victorious prince to have been a nephew of *Pranjinoko*, last king of *Pegu*. However that be, it is certain that he removed the imperial seat from the city of *Ava* to that of *Pegu*, which began to flourish again after its late destruction: for in 1619 the *English* found him there with his court*. Since that time it is probable, that the kings or emperors of both those dominions have resided sometimes at one capital, sometimes at another; but it is uncertain when they transferred it last to *Ava*, where it at present is, and seems to have been fixed for above a century past: possibly because being more towards the centre of the empire, the king is nearer at hand to keep the conquered countries in obedience.

to Ava
city.

HOWEVER that be, the court seems to have been at *Ava* about that time: for we are told that the *Lanjans*, or *Laos*, who had been carried into *Pegu* by the *Barma* conqueror, in process of time took arms, and forced their way home, with the destruction of all the *Peguers* who opposed them. Hereupon the king of *Ava*, perceiving it difficult to reduce them again by force, designed to surprise them under colour of amity; but died in 1647, before he could execute his intentions: and, to prevent his successor, they invaded his dominions, committing great spoil on the frontiers of *Pegu*, which they carried away without any opposition from the king of *Ava*; who, being hated by his subjects, feared they might take that opportunity to revolt. Notwithstanding this, they must have been obliged to submit shortly after: for in 1652 we find them tributary to *Ava*, as will appear in our account of those people†.

* See before, p. 112.
568.

† MARRINI descr. Tonquin, &c. p.

C H A P. VI.

The Country or Kingdom of Jangoma.

IT hath been already observed, that *Europeans* know little *Situation.*
 or nothing of the dominions of the *Avan* empire, from *Extent.*
 its capital northwards, to the borders of *China*, either as to
 the different kingdoms and states it contains, or even the
 country and inhabitants. We only find, in general, from the
 journal of the four *Chineses* above-mentioned, that after they
 passed out of the provinces of *Yun-nan* they met with nothing
 but desarts for five days together : but from thenceforward
 the country put on another aspect ; and they found plantations
 along the river every day. Whether this be the condition
 of the country along the frontiers of the two empires of *China*
 and *Ava*, as far as the territories of the *Laos*, which bounds
 the latter eastward, we cannot determine, for want of suffi-
 cient information. We only know, in general, from the ob-
 servations of the latitudes made at the capital of *Ava*, and
 along the borders of *China*, joined to the surveys of *Tibet* and
Yun-nan, communicated by the Jesuits, that there must be a
 large space of country within the above-mentioned limits ;
 and that, according to the tradition of the *Siamites*, the *Laos*
 and the other neighbouring empires, it was formerly inha-
 bited by a very powerful people, who had formed a domini-
 on of vast extent.

Country
between

Siam and
China.

THESE people were named *Tay-yay*, that is, *the great* *The great*
freemen, or *Franks* ; so they are called at present, both by *Siams.*
 the *Chineses* and *Siameses*. They were situated to the north
 of these latter ; who acknowledging themselves to be descend-
 ed from them, take the name of *Tay-noc*, or *the little free-*
men. Their country is called by the *Chineses*, *Ko-sang-pye*,
 and was, according to them, three months journey in length,
 and governed by priests ^a. These people were probably
 called by the *Peguers*, *Sions* or *Siams* ; which, in their language,
 we are told signifies *tree* : and from them, doubtless, the
Portugueses took the name of *Siam*, for it is not known in
 the country itself. It is probable, likewise, that the *Laos*
 are descended from the same people ; and hence they might
 have gotten the name of *Sions*, or *Siams Maons* ; and the
 rather, as the *Siamites* are alleged to be derived from the
Laos ^b.

^a LOUBIERE relat. Siam, p. 7. DU HALDE's descr. China, vol. i. p. 62.

^b LOUBIERE, ubi sup.

Situation. HOWEVER that be, we think we may here find the original of *Mendez Pinto's* two mighty empires of the *Siamon* and *Kalaminham*, which he places in the region in question. *Extent.* He had heard some reports concerning the *Sions Maons*, or *the great Siams*; and of a country governed by priests: and, from these slender notices, has formed two mighty empires out of his own fertile imagination, as existing at the time when he was in *Pegu*^c. But not knowing the just distance of *China*, and other bordering countries, has made them larger than is consistent with the at present tolerably well known limits of this part of the *Avan* empire. *Their vast dominions.*

PERE Du Halde, from the circumstance of this country being governed by priests, takes *Tay-yay* for *Lassa*, and *Ko-sang-pyi* for *Barantola*, where the Grand Lama of *Tibet* resides^d. But there is no manner of occasion for removing *Tibet* out of its place, in order to account for this singularity; since it is enough to suppose that one of the *Khûtuktûs*, or deputies of the Great Lama, resided formerly in these parts: and indeed the religion professed all over the farther peninsula of the *Indies* is evidently derived from that of *Tibet*.

Now a desert. THE *Chinese* memoir places *Ko-sang-pyi*, or the country of the *Tay-yay*, to the west of *Leng*, one of the northern provinces of the *Laos*; and says that it is, at present, no more than a vast forest, contiguous to that of *Pahima Pan*, which lies to the west of the other^e. Whether this be fact, or only agreeable to the imperfect ideas which those strangers may have conceived of these parts, we know not: but this is certain, that *Jangoma* is the only country, in all the large region in question, which travellers have brought us acquainted with.

Jangoma kingdom. THE kingdom of *Jangoma*, or *Jangomay* (A), lies in the most south part of the above-mentioned region, directly north of *Siam*; having the territories of the *Laos* on the east, and the kingdom of *Ava proper* on the west. As to its extent we are quite at a loss, no traveller having mentioned it. However, we may conclude it not to be very inconsiderable, from the number of forces which we are told its king could raise; namely, ordinarily 350,000, and, upon occasion, one million^f.

^c See before. p. 58 & 76.

^d DU HALDE ubi sup. p. 62.

^e Ibid.

^f HAYES de reb. Japon. &c. p. 748.

(A) *Pinto* writes, *Janguma*; *Meishold*, *Zangomay*; some *Jagoman*, and *Jangoman*.

MENDEZ Pinto pretends, that, in the year 1545, he passed thro' the kingdom of *Janguma*, in his fictitious journey to the court of the *Kalaminhan*: but we have more reason to believe our *Fitch* was there, who, in 1587, travelled from the city of *Pegu*, shaping his course north-east, through many fruitful countries; and, at the end of twenty-five days, with the *Karawân*, arrived, at the city of *Jamahey*. He found the country very flat, and full of rivers. Wild buffaloes and elephants were numerous: and the houses in the villages very ordinary, being made of canes, and covered with straw.

Cities. Inhabitants.

THE city of *Jamahey* is very populous, fair, and large: *Jamahey*, the houses built with stone, and the streets very wide^s. This is all the account *Fitch* gives us of this city, which we conceive to be the same called by *Mendez Pinto* and others *Chiamay*. According to the *Siameses*, this last is situated on the river *Menân*, which crosses *Jangoma*, as well as *Siam*, from north to south, about sixteen days journey more north than the frontiers of that kingdom: but, as the journies are by water, and against the stream, *Loubiere* computes the distance to be between sixty and seventy leagues at most^h. However, we reckon the distance to be much exaggerated by these foreigners; and, deducting for the windings of the river, judge *Chiamay* to lie north from *Siam*, in a direct line, not above ninety miles; nor to exceed the latitude of twenty degrees thirty minutes (B).

MENDEZ Pinto, and *Le Blanc* after him, makes a lake of the same name, called also by him *Kunabettee* and *Singapamor*; from whence he derives the *Menan*, which he terms *Ventrau*, and other great riversⁱ: but the *Siameses*, who had been at the taking of *Chiamay* about 1657, knew nothing of the aforesaid lake.

FITCH says that *Jamahey* is in the country of the *Lanjeyannes* (or *Lenjeyans*), whom *Europeans* call *Jangomas*; by which he would intimate that these are different names for the same people, which may possibly be the case: but we may rather suppose them two different nations: for *Jangoma*

The inhabitants.

^s FITCH ap. Purch. pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1740 ^h LOUBIERE ubi sup. p. 3.

ⁱ PINTO's voy. p. 49 & 165.

(B) This is as much, we think, as can be allowed for its latitude; since then it will lie mid-way between the frontiers of *Siam* and *Yun-nan* in *China*. Whereas *Loubiere's* map puts it

in twenty-five degrees; which is three degrees more north than the borders of *Yun-nan*, under the same meridian with *Chiamay*, really are.

lying

Inhabitants.

lying between two great powers, those of *Ava* and the *Lanjangs*, who are a branch of the *Laos*, has sometimes been subject to one, sometimes to the other. Before it was conquered by *Chau-migrem*, king of *Pegu*, about 1556, it had probably been, for a long series of years, in the hands of the *Lanjans*, who might have become more numerous than the old possessors, or even extirpated them. But whether *Jangomas* be the name of the old inhabitants, or only an appellation given to the *Lanjangs* by the *Peguers*, *Siamites*, or some other of their neighbours, this is certain, that *Jangoma* is a different country from that of *Lanjang*; and the city of *Jamabey*, or *Chiamay*, 200 miles, perhaps, distant from its capital, which bears the same name^k.

Dress and diet.

THE inhabitants of *Jamabey*, or *Chiamay*, are well-set and strong. Their dress is very simple, consisting only in a cloth wrapped about them: and they wear bells in their privy members, like the people of *Pegu* and *Ava*. They go both with their head and feet bare; for, in all these countries, they wear no shoes. The women are fairer than those of *Pegu*. Provisions are exceeding plenty: but they make use of rice-cakes instead of bread; there being no wheat in all those parts.

Their funerals.

WHEN any are sick in these countries, they make a vow to offer meat to the devil in case they recover. On which occasion they then prepare a banquet, and invite their friends, who bring presents of fruit: and while they are dancing to the sound of drums, pipes, and other instruments, they offer meat to the devil, accompanied with much shouting, in order to drive him away. During their illness a *Talepoy* or two sit by them every night, and sing, with a view to soothe the devil, that he may not do them hurt. When a person dies, his corpse is carried on a sort of frame-work, made of canes, with a covering at top, which is gilt all over. This machine, carried by fourteen or sixteen men, is preceded by several sorts of music, and accompanied by the male friends of the deceased; in which order being conveyed to a place out of town, it is there burnt. On this occasion the priests have a present of mats and linen. After the funeral is over, a feast is made, which is kept for two days: and then the wife of the deceased, attended with all her she-friends and neighbours, go to the place where the body was burned, and there lamenting, while they pick up the pieces of bones which remain unburned, bury them. This is all their mourning, excepting that both men and women shave their heads, in

^k FITCH ubi sup. p. 1740.

case the defunct be some very dear friend ; otherwise not, for Trade.
they are very fond of their hair ¹. History.

PIMENTA says the country of *Jangoma*, (of which we suppose *Jamahay* or *Chiamay* to be the capital) abounds with Trade and
musk, pepper, silk, silver, gold, and copper ^m. But Fitch commodi-
confines its native commodities to copper and benjamin : how- ties.
ever making the rest to be brought in by the *Chineses*, who
trade thither ⁿ. In 1613 *Floris* sent goods from *Siam* to *Jan-*
gomay, to try the trade there ; and, in 1615 or 16, one
Thomas Samuel was sent thither from the same country, upon
the same account : at which time the king of *Pegu* and *Ava*
invading *Jangomay*, conquered it from the king of *Siam*,
and carried *Samuel*, with all other strangers, prisoners to
Pegu ^o.

JANGOMA, or *Jangomay*, was formerly an independent History of
kingdom ; but when it first became subject to some of the *Jangoma*.
neighbouring powers, does not appear from history. It seems
to have been under a prince of its own in 1556, when *Chau-*
nigrem, the great *Barma* king of *Pegu*, reduced it under his
dominion, before he subdued the *Laos* ^p. It continued in
this state during the reign of that monarch and his successor,
whose brother was made governor of it, with the title of
king, probably in the reign of their father, as we find ano-
ther of his sons was, at his death, king or regulo of *Ava*.
In the midst of the distractions which afflicted *Pegu* in 1598,
the king of *Jangoma* was persuaded by the priests to dethrone
his brother *Pranjinoko* : this he might easily have done, if, as
it is said, he was able to bring into the field 350,000 men,
and even a million in case of necessity ^q. But while he delay-
ed putting his design in execution (if, in reality, he had form-
ed it), the kings of *Tangu* and *Arrakan* joining their forces,
took the work out of his hands, and destroyed the kingdom
of *Pegu*. However, to be revenged for the disappointment, as
well as get share of the spoil, he, in the year 1600, joined
with the *Rajah Api*, called the black king of *Siam*, against
him of *Tangu*, whom they invaded together ^r. But it does
not appear what was the issue of that war. Possibly the king
of *Tangu* bought his peace, by giving them part of the plun-
der, as he did the king of *Arrakan*.

Not long after this, the king of *Siam* falling out with *Osten*
him of *Jangoma*, who, on the destruction of *Pegu*, was be- changes
masters.

¹ Fitch ubi sup.

^m Ibid. p. 1746.

ⁿ Ibid. ubi sup.

^o New collect. voy. vol. i. p. 441.

^p Da Cruz ap. Purch.

vol. iii. p. 168, & seq.

^q PIMENTA ap. Hayes, de reb. Ja-

pan. &c. p. 748.

^r Ibid.

*Bounds.
Extent.*

*Present
state.*

come independent, conquered his country, and also that of *Lanjang*. This must have happened between the years 1600 and 1605, in which last *Rajah Api* died. *Jangoma* continued as a province of *Siam* during the reign of his successor, who died in 1610; but, in 1612, we find the king of *Ava* and *Pegu* attempting the recovery of those countries¹; and about three years after got *Jangoma* into his possession¹. What changes have happened afterwards in this country we are not sufficiently acquainted with: we only know that, about the year 1657, the king of *Siam* took *Chiamay*, and carried away the inhabitants; with whom it was soon after re-peopled by the king of *Ava*². But, in 1690, we find it in the hands of its old masters the *Laos*; since we are told that *Lanjang* and *Chiamay* were then their two principal cities³.

C H A P. VII.

The Kingdom of Lawhos, or Laos.

S E C T. I.

The Bounds, Name, Mountains, Rivers, Provinces, and Cities. Errors of Geographers.

*Bounds
and extent.*

THE country of *Lawhos*, *Lao*, or of the *Laos*, of which *Jangoma* was originally, or by conquest, a part; taken in its largest sense, is bounded on the west by the dominions of *Ava* and *Siam*; on the north, with the province of *Tun-nan*, or *Jun-nan*, in *China* (A); on the east, with *Tong-king*; and on the south, with *Kamboja*. It is situated between the 15th or 16th and the 22d degrees (B) of latitude, and between the 110th and 122d degrees of longitude; so that the territories of the *Laos*, taken all together, may extend in length from south to north about 420 geographic miles, and in breadth from west to east about 180 (C), although most geogra-

¹ FLORIS, ubi supr. p. 439.
vol. v. p. 1006.
KEMPF. p. 26.

² METHOLD. ap. PURCH.
³ KEMP. ib. ⁴ LOUBIERE, p. 3.

(A) *Marini* places on the west *Pegu*, on the north *Ava*, with the province named *U and Lu*; extending it still more north, to the borders of the people called *Gnay*.

(B) *Marini* makes it extend from 14° to 22° 30', the space of 500 geographic miles from south to north. *Marini* hist. de *Tung. et de Lao*, p. 320.

(C) That is 483 *English* miles
one

geographers make it scarce half so much. It is surrounded *Mountains. Rivers.* on all sides by mountains covered with forests (D), which serve as ramparts to secure it, and break the force of rapid torrents which descend from thence into the plains^a.

THE name generally given by travellers to this region is *Name*. *Lao*, or the country of the *Laos*; by some, as *Pinto*, written *Laubos*, or *Lawbos* (E). *Da Cruz* says^b, the *Laos* are by some (but whom he nameth not) called *Siones Maons* (F); and *Marini* says, that this country is more properly called the kingdom of the *Lanjens*, than of *Lao*^c. But we apprehend that this is giving to the whole, what belongs only to a part, which has for its capital *Lanjan*, or *Laujang*; as the northern part, or perhaps the whole, has for its metropolis *Leng*. With regard to the name of *Siones Maons*, it seems to be given to the *Laos* on account of the great *Siams*, called *Tay-yay*^d, who possessed the country to the west of *Lao*, and of whom the *Laos* probably are the remains.

THE country of *Lao*, or of the *Laos*, seems to be for the *Mountains* general flat, and to have scarce any hills or mountains but *and rivers*. those which encompass it on all sides, and serve as barriers against the potent kingdoms with which it is inclosed. From these mountains descend infinite rivulets, which drain into one large river, that crosses the whole region from north to south (G). The source of this river has been but little known to former geographers; but the Jesuits, of late, have fixed it with great precision. According to their map of *China*, it rises in the north-west borders of the province of

^a MARINI hist. Tunq. & Lao, p. 331.

vol. iii. p. 168.

^c MARINI, ubi supr. p. 329.

^b Ap. PURCH.

before, p. 135.

^d See

one way, and 203 the other; its extent northward, along the borders of *China*, is marked in the Jesuits map at about one degree and a half.

(D) *Kempfer* says, it is separated from the neighbouring states by forests and desarts. *Voy. to Japan*, p. 26.

(E) The *Chinese* call them *Lau*, and their country *Lau Chwa*, or the kingdom of *Lau*. *Lao* is the *Portuguese* pronunciation.

(F) From this name, possibly,

Pinto has made his *Siamon* and *Mons*, as before has been observed. *Sion*, is the *Portuguese* way of pronouncing *Siam*.

(G) Much after the same manner that the *Nile* does *Egypt*, to which this country bears some resemblance, excepting that the *Menan Kong* does not overflow the neighbouring lands. Hence it is perhaps, that, as *Kempfer* observes, the soil, being a fat clay, is so hard in summer that they thresh their rice on it.

River Me-Yun-nan (H). Near its source it is called *Lan-tjan Kyang*; *nanKong*. and where it enters the kingdom of *Lao*, within ten miles of the east border (I), it bears the name of *Ku-long Kyang*. The *Laos* call it *Menan Kong*; in its passage southwards it washes the cities of *Lé*, *Kyang-kong*, *Kyang-feng*, and *Lan-chang* (K) (or *Lan-jang*); afterwards it enters the kingdom of *Kamboja*, which it crosses, and falls into the sea at *Bonsak*.

The Me-nanKong. FROM *Kyang-kong*, downwards to its mouth, it carries large barks; but from *Lé*, upwards, it bears none; so that one is obliged to travel from thence to *Yun-nan* by land*. Although such a number of streams fall into this river, yet, we are told, that it never overflows, by reason of a causey, fifteen or sixteen feet high, which runs along its banks, and prevents inundations, even in those years when the rains have fallen in the greatest abundance. As soon as this river enters *Kamboja*, its waters seem to change their qualities; so that the fish, which pass the frontiers, die immediately: in like manner, such as ascend the stream from *Kamboja* into *Lao*, feel the same effect; which surprising circumstance has given occasion to the proverb, *Each in his own kingdom*. The rivers usually swell with the heavy rains, which begin to fall in *May*; and sometimes with the quantity of snow, when it melts on the mountains of *Tibet*, which are seen from *Lao*. This great increase of water continues commonly from *September* to *January*, yet without interrupting commerce, or the transportation of merchandizes. It is true, that they who are obliged to ascend the stream are extremely incommoded, not only on account of haling the bark along, but also from the rays of the sun, which cast a heat like that of a furnace.

Strange
effect.

Navigation
dangerous.

FOR all this, it is much safer to sail against the stream than with it, for the current is so rapid, that the bark seems to fly as swift as an arrow out of a bow; and, by the violence of the motion, is often overfet, or sunk downright, and all the goods lost. For this reason, when they arrive at the place which separates the two kingdoms, it is necessary to unload the bark, destroy one part of it, and make use of waggons to convey the commodities for the space of three miles over land; while the barge-men employ ten days in haling up the residue of the vessel through the falls by force of arms. A missionary

* DU HALDE descript. China, vol. i. p. 63.

(H) Latitude 27° 30' Long. from *Paris* 96° 40' and 27° 20' west of *Peking*.

(I) Lat. 21° 40' Long. 99°

(K) Afterwards, p. 64. a different river is said to pass by *Kyang Kong* and *Lanjang*. But the memoir, whence our account is taken, is not very exact.

proposed

proposed to remedy this inconvenience by means of sluices; *Provinces.* but the king would not consent to destroy what he deemed a *Cities.* strong barrier.

TRAVELLERS have fallen into errors, with regard to the *Errors* course of this river, misled, doubtless, by the reports of the *about it.* people in these parts. *Marini* says, that a few leagues beyond *Lao* it begins to carry boats, and divides into two great branches (L): one, running west, passes through *Pegu* into the gulf of *Bengal*; the other, forcing through rocks, spreads in several channels through the kingdom of *Lao*, and divides it from north to south^f. On the other hand, *Kämpfer* tells us, that a branch of the *Ganges* runs through this country, and falling into the river of *Kamboja* renders it navigable^g. But the map of the Jesuits, above-mentioned, discovers these informations to be false, no less than that of *Mendez Pinto*, who derives all the great rivers of this peninsula from a fictitious lake.

WE meet with very little in authors touching either the *Provinces* cities or provinces of this kingdom. *Marini* indeed tells us, *and cities.* that it contains seven provinces^h; but mentions not the name of one. As to cities, besides *Jamahay*, or *Chiamay*, the capital of *Jangoma*, we find the names of several others; with an account of some of them, and their distances one from another, in a journal of some *Chinese* merchants, of the road they took from *Siam* to *China* in the year 1652. Whether all the names of places are those used in the country, or by the *Chinese* only, we cannot resolve; but, as that journal contains nearly all which we have relating to the geography of this region, we shall give our readers some extracts from it.

THESE merchants set out on horseback from *Kyang-hay Journey* (M), or *Kyau*, on the borders of *Siam*, and in seven days got *through* to *Kyang-seng*; in seven others they came to *Kemerat*; and *Lao* in eight more to *Leng*, capital of *Laos*. The way hitherto

^f MARINI, ubi supr. p. 333, & seq.
Japan. p. 27.

^g KÄMPFER hist.

^h MARINI, p. 359.

(L) Mention is made of other rivers in *Lao*, as the *Menan Tay*, or *Lay*, which is full of rocks; rises in a mountain near the *Kemerat*, and falls into the *nan Kong* near *Bankiop*. 2. The river of *Siam*, rises in mountain. The *Kyang* is the prim-

nan. *Du Halde* China, vol. i. p. 62.

(M) In the journal, the word *Meang* is prefixed to the name of each place; but as it signifies no more than city, or colony, we have omitted it. This word is variously written by authors. *Meang*, *Meang*, *Meang*, &c.

provinces. was full of woods, rivers, and settlements, for the most part
inim. impassable for waggons (N); but free from either wild beasts
 or robbers. From *Leng* they were seven days going to *Lé*, and
 eleven more on the road to *Meng*; in all forty stages: here
 they turned northward to get into *Yun-nan* (O), from whence,
 in a short time, they arrived in *China*¹. Here then we have
 an account of a road almost through the whole extent of *Lao*,
 from south to north. It is true, that this itinerary is defective,
by some inasmuch as the situation neither of *Kyang-hay* nor *Meng* (the
Chineses. two terms of the journey) is fixed, by their distance being
 marked from some known place. For all that it is of consider-
 able use, as the positions of the intermediate places are in
 good measure ascertained; the rather as we find two of them,
Lé and *Kyang-feng*, are seated on the *Menan Kong*. To these
 may be added *Kyang-kong*, lying between those two cities,
 and *Lan-chang* (or *Lan-jang*), standing lower down than *Ky-
 ang-feng*, upon the same river. More than this, we have the
 latitude of *Lan-jang* (if it may be depended on) to regulate
 the position of the whole. So that, by means of these ma-
 terials, joined to the description which is given of the above-
 mentioned places, we may be said to know more of the inland
 parts of *Lao*, than of any other country in the farther penin-
 sula of *India*, *Siam* and *Pegu* excepted.

Lao But, before we proceed farther, it will be necessary to say
wrongly something farther with respect to the situation and dimensions
-exhibited of *Lao*, which the geographers seem to have been much mi-
 staken in. Mr. *De L'Isle*, it is true, has given this country
 its due extent from south to north; but has reduced its
 bounds from east to west to a narrow gut of land. He has
 likewise placed *Lanchang* in twenty degrees of latitude (P);
 in consequence of which situation *Kyang-feng*, *Leng*, and
 other cities, are placed too much northward; and the distance
 between *Kyang-hay* and *Meng*, which is forty days journey,
 is reduced to less than half that measure. This was owing
 to his relying too much on *Loubiere's* map of *Siam*, which
 places the northern borders of that country in twenty-three

¹ Du HALDE, ubi supr. p. 61.

(N) *Kampfer* observes, p. 26. (O) In the original *Pi-nan*,
 that the road from *Siam* to *Lao* which, with the *Pi* reversed,
 is troublesome by land, on ac- makes *Yun-nan* by

of the high mountains; (P) Mr. *Halde* is incorrect. But
 of the *Siam* country, the amount
 exact.

of latitude; and conſequently near one degree more northward than the ſouthern bound of *Lao*. *Belin*, in his late map (Q), has given *Siam* the ſame extent; but, that the frontiers of the two kingdoms might appear to break-in upon each other, he has taken care to make thoſe of *China* give way, by removing them two or three degrees more eaſtward than they ought.

THIS procedure in Mr. *Belin* is the more ſurpriſing, as in the he could not but know that the bounds of *China* had been determined both by meaſures and aſtronomical obſervations (R); whereas it does not appear that thoſe of *Siam* towards the north were at all regulated mathematically, or that the map, publiſhed by *Louberé*, was drawn with any accuracy; on the contrary, that author declares himſelf, that he does not think it correct. Methinks therefore Mr. *Belin* ought to have taken the contrary courſe; and, inſtead of altering the bounds of *China*, as laid down in the Jeſuits map, have placed thoſe of *Siam* three or four degrees more to the ſouth. By this way only room can be made for inserting the places mentioned in the *Chineſe* journal; and, in this caſe, *Lan-chang* muſt be removed lower. Which ſhews that the latitude of eighteen degrees, given to it by *Marini*, muſt be much nearer the truth than that aſſigned either by him or Mr. *De L'Isle*.

THE country of *Lao*, conſidered at large, is commonly repreſented as ſubject to a ſingle monarch; and *Marini* expreſſly affirms as much, informing us farther, that *Lao* contains ſeven provinces; that the royal ſeat was at *Lanjan*; and that the proper name of *Lao* is *Lanjans* *. On the other hand, we find by the journal of the *Chineſe* merchants, who travelled through the country much about the ſame time when the miſſionary was there; that there were two kingdoms within the region of *Lahos*, or *Laos*, namely, *Kemerat* and *Leng*; which latter, they tell us, is more properly called *Lahos*; and that its chief city is the capital of *Lahos*; and a third author names a fourth kingdom, named *Thiem*, with a certain wild people called *Ke-moy*, who have neither king nor religion; both bordering on *Katchingina* to the north-weſt¹. To reconcile theſe different accounts, we muſt ſuppoſe the follow-

* *MARINI* hiſt. Tunq. & Lao, p. 329, 359.
voy. de Siam, p. 563.

¹ *CHOISY*

(Q) Mentioned in the foregoing note.

the time of Mr. *De L'Isle*, he is the more excuſable.

(R) As the map of the Jeſuits was not publiſhed till after

(S) The *Chineſes* in about 1652, and *Marini* in 1657 or 1658.

that *Marini* assumes to the whole what only belongs to the parts of the country: that it is divided into several distinct kingdoms or parts: that it is inhabited by several nations; different, at least, in name and interest: that the *Lanjans* are, in this sense, a distinct people from the *Lao*: although originally they might have been all the same people, going under the name of *Lahos*, or *Laos*, till they came to be divided under different princes.

very defective.

MARINI is not the only traveller who has applied to the whole what only belongs to a part. *Kempfer*, speaking of the *Laos*, informs us, that their two chief cities are *Lanjang* and *Chiamay*^m. But if *Lao* was here to be understood in its full extent, we should imagine *Leng* would have been joined with *Lanjang*; and not *Chiamay*, which is a city of *Jangomay*, a province or part belonging to the jurisdiction of *Lanjang*. It is evident from hence, that *Kempfer* knew nothing of the provinces of *Lao*, to the north of *Lanjang*; and although *Marini* extends the country of *Lao* as far as *China*, yet he supposes the whole to be under the jurisdiction of the king of *Lanjan*; and to be inhabited by *Lanjans*. At the same time both these authors acknowledge *Lanjan* to be inhabited by the *Laos*; only the latter says, that the name of *Lanjans* more properly belongs to them.

Division of Lao.

THE defects of *European* travellers is in good measure supplied by the *Chinese* memoir: but although *Lanchang*, or *Lanjang*, is therein occasionally spoken of, it is not said to be the capital of a kingdom; nor is any mention made of the kingdom of *Lanjang*, because the author of it does not enter into the description of any place which he was not at; and therefore, there may have been other kingdoms or states in *Lahos*, besides those two specified in the journal: for this reason we shall not pretend to divide this country into its particular kingdoms or provinces, but content ourselves with dividing it into two great parts only; one called the northern, or proper *Lao*; the other, the southern *Lao*, or kingdom of *Lanjang*.

S E C T. II.

The southern Lao, or Kingdom of Lanjang.

The name.

THE kingdom of *Lanjan*, *Lanjang*, or *Lanchang*, as others pronounce it, would seem to most persons to derive its name from that of its capital city: but, we are told, it takes that denomination from the great numbers of

^m *KEMPFER*, p. 27.

elephants

elephants with which the country abounds; the word *Lao* ^{Southern} *Jeng*, or *Lanjan*, signifying properly, *thousands of elephants*. ^{Lao.}

WE cannot precisely determine the extent of this southern *Lao*, or *Lau*, from south to north, ^{as there} not having so much as mentioned any city subordinate to that of its capital; or indeed ^{its dimensions.} in the whole country, excepting *Chiamay* may be considered as one. However, upon a supposition that *Kyang-seng*, which is situated on the *Menan Kong*, to the north of *Lanjan*, belongs to the northern province, and is not far from the frontiers of the southern; this latter will extend to near the nineteenth degree of latitude, and consequently, containing almost four degrees in extent from north to south, will have the larger half of *Lao* to its share; as its breadth from west to east will be equal to that of the other: but, in case we comprise *Yangoma* within its limits, the breadth will be augmented perhaps a hundred miles, or more. Upon this footing, the province or kingdom of *Lanjan* will be near twice as large as the northern *Lao*.

THE climate of this country is somewhat more temperate ^{Climate} than that of *Tongking*, but exceedingly more healthful: so ^{very} that one meets with old men, of a hundred and a hundred- ^{healthy.} and-twenty years of age, who are as robust and vigorous as if they were but fifty.

THE soil is generally very good, being rendered fruitful ^{Soil and} by a great number of canals cut from the great river (*Menan* ^{produce.} *Kong*); which serve both to water the lands on each side, and drain-off the streams, made either by the torrents descending from the hills, or the great rains which fall at stated times, so that they never make any marshes or stagnant pools in the country. It is remarkable, that the lands on the eastern side of the river are vastly better and more fertile than those on the western side: the very animals, such as elephants and unicorns (A), are larger. The rice too is incomparable, and of a particular scent as well as flavour. The forest, and ^{Excellent} other trees are high, strait, and, for the general, incorrupti- ^{rice.} ble; qualities wanting in those on the western side, where they are ill-shaped, and the rice so hard that it is scarce fit for boiling. As soon as the rains begin to cease, certain southerly winds blow, and the lands, which had been sown with rice immediately after the harvest, produce a kind of scum, which, covering this champaign like snow for several miles, ^{Plenty of} is hardenend with the sun, and becomes solid salt. There is ^{salt.}

• MARINI, p. 337.

(A) By *unicorns*, probably, are to be understood *rhinoceroses*.

Southern Lao. so great a quantity of it produced in this manner, that not only the whole kingdom is supplied with it, at a very trifling expence, but enough is left to serve strangers, who come every year and carry away as much as they think fit. Then the new rains, which succeed this second gathering, cleanse and meliorate the soil in such a manner as gives the rice that delicious taste above-mentioned, which the rice of other countries hath not.

THE principal drugs found in this kingdom are *benjamin* and *lakka* ^b.

Benjamin. The *benjamin* is reckoned the best in the east, and is found in great abundance. The tree, from which it distils, grows mostly in the mountains. The leaves are like those of the chefnut-tree, and the flower very beautiful, being white and odoriferous like those of orange-trees. The fruit likewise is sweet-scented, of the shape and bigness of an acorn, but very ill-tasted, and degenerates when planted in foreign soils; yet, as the gum produces a great revenue to the king, the *Lanjans* are forbidden to sell the fruit to strangers.

Gum lakka. THE *lakka*, or *lakre*, which is used in making *Spanish* wax, is nothing but a certain kind of earth, found in forests round about the ant-hills, and with which those insects cover the surface of their little territories for the use of their magazines.

Ivory. THERE is not better ivory, nor greater plenty of it, in any country than this; and no wonder, since it has its name from the number of elephants found in it, as hath been already mentioned. But the unicorn's (or rather rhinoceros's) horn, is the thing most prized by the *Lanjans*; from a belief, that whoever is possessed of one may command fortune. And as some have more virtue than others, when a person is advanced to a new post, he sells the horn which he had before, and buys another, of a better kind, at the expence of several hundred crowns. His next care is to hide it so effectually that he shall be in no danger of having it stolen, and so deprived of all the good-luck which they think inseparable from it ^c.

Mines. As the forests are of great extent, and the plains enamelled with variety of flowers, they make abundance of honey, wax, and cotton. One meets also with several mines of iron, lead, and tin, in which they are at work. Gold and silver also are found here; but the inhabitants gather those metals out of certain places of the river, by means of iron nets. The utensils which are made with what they thus fish up, bring great ad-

^b MARINI hist. Tunq. & Lao, p. 332, 335, & seq.
 ^c p. 337, & seq.

Ibid.

vantages to the kingdom, but not so much as the king could *Southern* wish. From the neighbouring countries they have red amber *Lao* and musk, with which they drive a great trade. The amber comes from the kingdom of *Ava*, and is found in the forests at the foots of certain very old trees, which grow among the rocks and inaccessible places. The musk is brought from the kingdom of *Gnay* (B), and taken from a bag joining to the navel of an animal, which the *Chineses* call *ye hyang*, or the *musk bag*. The *Lanjans* make likewise a counterfeit musk, with ambergris, and the juice drawn from the body of a cat, which they call *algalia*: This mixture yields a more agreeable and mild smell than the pure musk; and this kind of musk is what first appeared in *Europe*^d.

THE *Lanjans* make great advantage of several other ani- *Animals*,
mals, particularly buffaloes and oxen; whose number is al- *fruits*,
most infinite, and which are employed in the service of the *fish*.
plains. Their garden fruit is likewise very profitable to them,
as well as their excellent rice. Their rivers abound with fish
of several kinds; some so large and heavy, that two men can
hardly carry one of them. The smaller sorts are caught in
such plenty, that a hundred-weight of them may be had for
the value of five-pence: They pickle them, as we do her-
rings, and the poor eat them with their rice; which is their
ordinary food^e. According to *Kampfer*, *Lao* produces pre-
cious stones, especially rubies; also pearls, called by the *Si-*
amites, *muk*; which that author esteems the more strange, as
the country does not lie near any salt sea^f: but probably his
surprize would have ceased, had he known of the above-men-
tioned saline quality of the land, which must needs be com-
municated to the flooding waters.

THE kingdom of *Lanjans* contains seven provinces, and *Provinces*,
several considerable cities; for what *Marini* ascribes to *Lao* in
general^g, we apply, for the reason already taken notice of, to
Lanjan in particular. But this correction, if it be one, is of
no great advantage to us, since that author neither describes,
nor so much as mentions the name of any one of them all,
excepting the capital *Lanjan*. On this occasion, we cannot
forbear censuring the negligence of travellers, especially the
missionaries, who have frequented this, and the neighbouring

^d MARINI, p. 337, & seqq. ^e Ibid. p. 341. ^f KEMPF.
ubi supr. p. 26. ^g MARINI, p. 348, & 359.

(B) The *Gnay* are a nation *Marini*, p. 331. They seem to
bordering on *China*, with which lie on the north-west part of the
they have much commerce. upper *Lao*.

Southern
Lao.
Missioners
conf. red.

countries (C); yet in their relations treat of them so superficially, that the reader is no way benefited by what they publish. Thus geography receives little or no improvement from the persons from whom only it can expect any; and is more obliged to the small journal of some *Chinese* merchants, so often mentioned, than the united informations of all the *European* missionaries, who have spent several years in travelling over the country. It is this silence of *Marini*, the almost sole author who treats expressly of *Lao* (D), which supports our division of that region into upper and lower, as well as our opinion, that his relation is to be confined to the latter only, although he would make it extend to the whole. For we impute his silence to his want of knowing the country; and, on his want of knowledge, we ground our dissent from him. However, if *Marini* has mentioned but one city, amongst a great number (for one author says, there are no fewer than thirty-eight cities^b in the kingdom of *Lanjang*); other travellers have not done more; and what gives him the preference to all the rest, he is the only one we meet with who describes it.

City of
Lanjan.

LANJAN, written also *Lanjang*, and *Lan-chang*, according to the *Chinese* pronunciation, is by *Marini*, *Choisy*, and *Kamffer*, reckoned the capital of the kingdom of *Lao*; which words we restrain however to the territories of the *Lanjans*, for the reasons already mentioned. It is the city where the king usually resides, in the latitude of eighteen degrees. It is defended on one side by good ditches, and walls exceeding high; on the other by the great river (E). The king's palace is of so vast extent that it may well pass for a city, both with respect to its magnitude, and the number of people who inhabit it. It appears to the view at a very great distance; and is admirable, as well for its structure, as the symmetry of the buildings which compose it. The royal

King's
palace.

^b DE FARIA, *Asia Portug.* vol. ii. p. 11.

(C) The like may be said with regard to his account of *Tong-king*; also *Borri's*, of *Kochin-china*; in short, the voyages of *Alexander De Rhodes*, and other missionaries, into those countries.

(D) *Gio. Philip. Marini*, a Jesuit, published several relations in *Italian*, in five books; among which those of *Tonquin* and *Lao* have been translated

into *French*, and published in 1666. From a note of Mr. *La Croze*, *hist. du Christ.* p. 51. the account of *Lao* seems to have been written by *Leria*, a Jesuit; for we have not seen the *Italian* of *Marini*.

(E) Or the *Menan Kong*; which, according to the *Chinese* journal, afterwards enters *Kamboja*, as if at no great distance.

apartment is adorned with a magnificent portal, and a great number of beautiful chambers, accompanied with a grand salon or hall: the whole, built with incorruptible wood, is adorned both, on the inside and outside with excellent bas-reliefs, all so delicately gilded, that they seem to be covered rather with plates, than leaves, of gold.

FROM the king's apartment you enter into very spacious courts, where you behold a long series of houses, all of bricks, and covered with tiles, in which usually dwell his wives of the second class; and beyond them another range of buildings, equally neat and uniform, for the officers belonging to the court. It would require a volume, says *Marini*, to give an exact account of the riches, gardens, and other quarters, of this sumptuous mansion.

THE houses of the grandees, and persons of condition, are very high and fair, well contrived and ornamented: but those of the inferior people are no better than huts. The priests alone have the privilege of building their houses and convents with brick or stone. People of fashion, instead of carpets and other furniture, make use of certain mats made of reeds, so very finely wrought, and adorned with figures of various kinds, that, in our author's opinion, nothing looks more beautiful or agreeable to the sight. With them they commonly hang the wall of their houses and their chambers, both within and without. Their apartments are exceeding neat; and they take more than ordinary care to keep them so.

S E C T. III.

The Northern Lao, or Laho.

WE consider the territories within these limits as the proper country of the people called *Lao*, *Lau*, or *Laho* (A), distinct from that of the *Lanjangs*, which bounds it on the south. Its extent, from south to north, is about three degrees, or 210 *English* miles; and its breadth the same with the whole country in general, already mentioned.

THE country, soil, and produce, are much of the same nature with those of *Lanjang*. However, every province seems to have something peculiar to it in those respects. The number of provinces, however, is not mentioned by authors,

^a MARINI, p. 341, & seqq.

(A) Or terminating with an language. The country itself is, *Laos*, *Laus*, *Labos*, to denote also called *Laos*. more precisely the plural in our

Northern Lao. unless we suppose *Marini's* seven to be comprehended in both the northern and southern *Lao*. All the account we have, relating to them, is contained in the *Chinese* memoir or journal, so often before cited; and that only mentions two or three large provinces at most, each of which has under it several lesser provinces or districts, whereof we find the names, with some light concerning their situations: the whole subject to *Ava*.

Kyang-seng province. THE most southern of the provinces or districts mentioned in the *Chinese* journal, is *Kyang-seng*, seven days journey from *Kyang-hay*, or *Kyay*, on the frontiers of *Siam*. This is all we meet with relating to this province, excepting that, as to its situation, it lies north of the province or district of *Kyang-hay*, and south of that of *Kemerat*. The chief city of that name also stands on the river *Menán Kong*, which from thence flows southward, into the kingdom of *Lan-chang* or *Lanjan*. The denomination of *Mohang* is prefixed to all the local names inserted in the journal, and signifies, as it is applied, either province, district, colony, or city (B): but we have omitted it, to avoid a needless repetition^a.

Kemerat province. THE province of *Kemerat* next occurs. It is bounded on the east by that of *Lé*, on the north by *Lang* (C), on the south by *Kyang-seng* and *Kyang-hay*. After this account of its bounds there is subjoined another; for, we are told, *Vay*, *Rong*, *Ngong*, *Lahi*, *Maa*, and *Laa*, lie to the east; *Hang*, *Kroa*, *Loey*, *Jang*, and *Pen*, to the north. Possibly the first bounds respect the province of *Kemerat* in general, and the latter relates to the district of *Kemerat* in particular; for it is added, that these eleven cities or colonies are in the jurisdiction of *Kemerat*. We are farther informed, that it is one day's journey from the city *Hang* to *Kroa*; and the same from *Loey* to *Jang*. This province of *Kemerat* is said to be 400 *senes* (D) in compass, and eight days journey in length: its capital city, of the same name, seven days journey from *Kyang-seng*, is situate on the river *Menán-tay*, or *Menán-lay*, which falls into the *Menán-kong* towards the town of *Bankiob*; lying, as we judge, to the south-east from *Kemerat*, and between the cities of *Kyang-kong* and *Kyang-seng*. When the *Chinese*s

The capital
city.

^a DU HALDE, ubi supr. p. 61.

(B) *Miang*, *Mohang*, *Mubang*. or *Mong*, signifies also kingdom sometimes, in the language of these countries.

(C) By *Lang*, perhaps, is to be understood *Leng*.

(D) This must be but a small circumference, and no way consistent with the length of eight stages; since we are told these *senes*, or cords, are but of eight fathoms each.

passed through it, a king resided there, named *Prachyau Northern Otang*, who was tributary to *Hawa* or *Ava*, and sent ambassadors thither every year with his acknowledgements, consisting of two small shrubs, one having its leaves and flowers of gold, and the other of silver.

In this country they have the use of fire-arms, great and small cannon, muskets, *zagays* (or darts), and cross-bows. While the *Tartars* were subduing *China*, in the last century, a great number of *Chinese* fugitives out of *Yun-nan* (E) fell upon, and reduced, the neighbouring territories, among which was *Kemerat*, whose inhabitants abandoned the city. Before the *Chinese* drove those people out, they went every year to trade with them, carrying velvets, and other silks, camblets, carpets, hair, blue and black callico, musk, quicksilver, kori shells, and bonnets (or hats); kettles, and other utensils of copper; precious stones of a green colour, emeralds, gold, silver, and china-ware. In exchange for these commodities they returned with cotton-thread, ivory, an earth or medicinal paste called *zhadam*; a sort of medicinal wood named *ingo* by the *Portugueses*, and *maha ing* by the *Siameses*; likewise opium; *ketso*, a kind of medicinal root so called; and white linen cloth. All these commodities were brought from *Ava*; and the *Chinese* repaired to *Kemerat* in the three first months, in order to carry them home in April.

THE kingdom of *Leng*, or more properly *Labos* (F), has on the south *Kemerat*; on the east *Luan* and *Rong-faa*; on the north *Put*, *Pling*, *Ken*, *Kaam*, *Paa*, *Saa*, *Boönoy*, *Ning-neha*, *Kaan*, and *Ghin-tay*, cities all depending on it; on the west it is bounded by *Ko-sang-pyi*, the country formerly possessed by the *Tay-yay*, or great *Siams*; and farther west is the great forest of *Pahima-pa*. They reckon eight cities or places in this kingdom, each containing a garrison of 1000 men.

THE country of *Leng* produces rice in abundance; buffaloes, stags, and other animals, are common, and their flesh cheap; but fish is scarce. Five days journey north from *Mohang Leng*, there are mines of gold, silver, and copper; also a kind of red sulphur, which has a very stinking smell. Two hundred fenes or cords from the city, on the same side, is a pit

^b MERINI, p. 62, & seq.

^c Ibid. p. 64, & seq.

(E) If this be not an interpolation of the missionaries, *Vi-nan* must be a different province or district from that of *Yun-nan*.

(F) According to this expla-

nation, the name of *Labos*, or *Laos*, is peculiar to this province; and from thence extended to the whole country.

Northern
Lao.

Mines of
gold, sil-
ver, ru-
bies.

or mine of precious stones, full 100 *senes* deep, out of which they get rubies, some of them as big as a walnut; also emeralds, or green stones, of which the king of *Labos* has one as large as an orange. There are stones likewise of other colours: and a brook, which runs through the mine, carries several down its stream, which sometimes weigh two or three *mas*, that is, a quarter or third part of an ounce. The king draws from the silver mine above 360 *katis* annually. They are *Chineses* who work in, and direct, it. The merchants of *Kemerat*, *Lé*, *May*, *Teng Maa*, *Meng*, *Daa*, and *Pan*, repair to this mine, which is inclosed by mountains, 300 *senes* in height, covered with grass, preserved continually fresh and green by the dew.

THERE is found here a medicinal root, called *tong-quey* by the *Chineses*, and by the *Siameses* *kot-wha-bwa*. Also a tree named *vandez-hang*, which bears flowers about the thickness of one's finger, of a very agreeable smell, and of various colours, as red, yellow, white, and black. The fruit, when come to perfection, has the shape of a duck; and the dew falls in greatest quantity in the parts where the trees most abound.

Trade and
commodi-
ties.

THE inhabitants of *Leng* traffick with their neighbours, who come to fetch their commodities, consisting in precious stones, gold, silver, tin, lead, sulphur, both red and common; cotton spun and unspun, tea, lack, japan, or brazil-wood, and the medicinal root above-mentioned. The merchants of *Mohang* (G) bring them elephants; the *Chineses* raw and manufactured silk, with white hair, as fine as silk, and civet. Of this hair, taken from a certain animal (H), the great tufts are made which adorn the elephant's ears, on which the king of *Siam* rides, and hang down to the ground; also the tufts worn by the *Chineses* on their bonnets. The western merchants from *Tay-yay* and *Pama-hang* (or *Ava*), bring iron, yellow and red sanders, linen, chints, or painted calicoes, venison, a kind of red medicinal paste, opium, and other commodities of *Hindustán*; which they exchange for gold, silver, precious stones, &c. Lastly, those of *Kemerat* and *Kyang-hay* bring cows and buffaloes, to barter for silver, tin, and sulphur^d.

^d MARINI, p. 62, & seq.

(G) The name of the city or province is here omitted; but what it should be we cannot determine, excepting perhaps *Lan-chang*, the country of elephants.

(H) Perhaps the oxen; which, of the country of *Koto Nor*, between *China* and *Tiber*, are famous for their fine hair.

THE city of *Leng*, capital of the *Labos*, is eight days journey from *Kemerat*, and situated on both sides of the river *Menán Tay*, or *Menán Lay*, which runs thence to *Kemerat*. It has neither walls nor fortrefs; being inclosed only with palisades; and in circuit about 400 fenes or cords, each twenty *Chinese* fathoms. Rice is so plenty in this city, that one may have fifty or sixty pounds of it for a few halfpence. Fish, indeed, is scarce; but, to make amends, the markets abound with the flesh of buffaloes, stags, and other animals. The months of *May*, *June*, and *July*, are the season for fruit, of which all sort may be had there, found in the kingdom of *Siam*, excepting the *Thárian*, or *Dúrian*, and the *Manghstan*. The king of *Leng*, or *Laos*, is tributary to *Hawa*, or *Pama-hang*; Tributary and an ambassádor is sent annually from this capital to pay to *Ava*. the tribute. This does not hinder the *Labos* (1) from appointing a successor, when their king dies; but they are obliged to notify it to the king of *Hawa*, or *Ava*. The king of *Labos* employs but one minister of state; and, for his revenue, besides 360 *katis*, which he receives yearly from the mine, to the north of *Leng*, he raised 860 more out of the rest of his territories.

THE *Chinese* memoir gives no account of *Lé*, and its province or district, farther than that the city is seven days journey distant from *Leng*, towards *China*, and situate on the *Menán Kong*°. According to our estimation it seems to lie north-eastward from *Leng*.

THE next place mentioned in the journal is *Meng*, eleven days journey from *Lé*. This, we are told, is the capital of a particular province (K), which has on the west *Pan* and *Kaa*, on the south *Tse*, and on the east *Chiong* and *Kú*, both dependent on *Vinan*, or *Tun-nan*. It is seventeen days journey in length, from north to south, and about seven from east to west. The whole country is without the tropic; for the inhabitants never see the sun directly over their heads. A river crosses this province, which rises from a mountain in the north, and falls into the *Menán Kong*. They reckon in it eighteen cities, which depend on the capital.

THE soil of *Meng* produces all sorts of fruits which are found in *Siam*, excepting the *Dúrian* and *Manghstan*. There are mines of *kalín*, or tin, on the west side; of silver, cop-

• MARTINI, *ibid*.

(1) It is observable, that the *Labos* are no-where called *Lan-jan*; through all this journal.

(K) There seems to be some mistake here; for there is not room for so large a country in these quarters.

Northern
Lao.

Musk ani-
mal.

per, and iron, towards the north; and on the south side there is one of salt. The musk animal is found in this province, but chiefly about *Pang, Chay-daw, and Kong*, all three depending on *Vinan*. Many also are caught in the district of *Tay-yay*. It is as big as a young goat, with a purse under its belly, three or four inches thick; which, when cut, seems to be a piece of fat, or bacon. They dry it till it may be reduced to powder; and then sell it in the country for its weight in silver. The natives being prohibited from selling the true bags to strangers, they make counterfeit ones, which they fill with its blood, rotten wood, and other ingredients. The peasants bring great quantities of them to *Meng*, which they exchange for things of small value: but the buyers sell them again to foreigners at a pretty dear rate.

This is all which is contained in the *Chinese* memoir or Journal relating to *Lahos* or *Laos*, except a few particulars touching *Moang Chay*, or *Vinan*, a district belonging to a province of *China*, and probably to *Yun-nan*; if it be not, according to the missionaries, *Yun-nan* itself ^f.

S E C T. IV.

Inhabitants of Lahos, particularly the Lanjans, their Manners and Customs.

Their per-
sons.

THE *Lanjans* are well-shaped and robust, rather fat than lean, and of an olive-colour. They are good-natured, affable, courteous, and obliging ^a (A). The *Laos* resemble the *Chineses* in shape and mien, but are more tawny and slender, consequently of a much handsomer appearance (B) than the *Siameses*. They have long ear-laps, like the *Peguers*, and inhabitants of the sea-coast ^b. They are of a very sprightly genius, and sound understanding. They are fond of strangers, and value themselves on being sincere. They are free from deceit, and of great integrity; never breaking their promise or their trust. This character they are zealous to ac-

^f MARINI, p. 63. & seq.

^a Ibid. p. 345—350.

^b KÄMPFER, p. 26.

(A) In one place, *De Faria* says the *Laos* are very good-natured; but, in another, that they are very brutal and uncivilized: he allows however that they are honest, and have no thieves among them. See *Por-*

tag. Asia, vol. iii. p. 178. and vol. ii. p. 12.

(B) *De Faria* says, their colour is white, and the women very beautiful. *Portug. Asia*, vol. iii. p. 178.

quite; and the rather, as they are subject to covet what be- *Their cha-*
 longs to another. When they see any thing which pleases *racter.*
 their fancy, they never cease importuning the owner till they
 get the whole, or some part of it. However, in case of refusal,
 they never offer to take it by force.

THE *Lanjans* are extremely honest; so that there are no *Their vir-*
 thieves to be met with throughout the whole kingdom. In *tues.*
 case there is any report of a robbery or murder being com-
 mitted on the highway, all the enquiry imaginable is made after
 the criminal: because, if he be not found, the neighbouring
 towns or villages are obliged to indemnify the parties injured;
 and thus both the lives and goods of people are secured
 throughout the kingdom of *Lao*. But the cities are not al-
 together so free from these inconveniencies, which our au-
 thor wisely ascribes to the power of forcerers; who, by their
 art, can throw the people of any house into a dead sleep, and
 keep them in that condition till they have robbed it ^c.

As the kingdom of *Lanjan* enjoys a very wholesome air, *Very nu-*
 and abounds with the necessaries of life, it is very populous, *merous.*
 and the inhabitants live to a very great age. In a numberment
 which was made of them about the middle of the last cen-
 tury, there were reckoned above 500,000 able to bear arms,
 without taking in the old men; who are so numerous and
 robust, that even out of those aged 100 years, a very con-
 siderable army might be formed, for the defence of the king.
 For all this the *Lanjans* are not of a warlike disposition, nor
 expert in the use of arms: which may be owing to the ad-
 vantageous situation of their country, inclosed with moun-
 tains and steep precipices; serving as so many natural fortifi-
 cations, sufficient to defend them against the insults of their
 enemies: and should any such break through those ramparts,
 they have a way to get rid of them, by poisoning their rivers.
 It was thus that the king of *Tong-king* was obliged to retreat,
 after having lost a great number of his army, with which,
 about the year 1659, he proposed to annex this monarchy to
 his own. Before this, several petty kings joining their forces
 with the same design, against the inhabitants of *Lao*, lost so
 many of their men and beasts, by drinking the water of a ri-
 ver along which they encamped; that they were at last com-
 pelled to retreat, without daring to cross the stream and fight
 their enemies, who insulted them on the other side of it ^d.

IN effect, the *Lanjans* are very slothful, and averse to bu- *Their*
 siness. They apply themselves to nothing but agriculture *vices.*

^c MARINI, p. 345, & seq.

^d Ibid. p. 343, & seq. *

*Manners,
customs.*

and fishing. They quite neglect all arts and sciences: so that they lead an indolent life, without troubling themselves about matters which require any great attention of the mind. They are much addicted to women (C), which is the bane of many. But their belief in witchcraft and magic is still more pernicious, especially as it prevails among people of rank. Some great men have a notion, that if the head of their elephant be rubbed with wine, in which a drop or two of human gall be put, the beast will become more robust, and themselves more courageous: so that ever after they may assure themselves of victory, either in war or on any other occasion. In this ridiculous conceit the governors sometimes, though but rarely, employ desperate fellows, who, for twenty-five or thirty crowns, will go into the forests to hunt men; and the first they meet with, of either sex, whether young or old, priest or layman, open his belly and stomach while alive; and, taking out the gall-bladder, cut off his head, to convince the more savage purchaser that he has not deceived him. In case the assassin does not perform his engagement in the limited time, he is obliged to kill either himself, his wife, or a child, that his employer may take out the gall of the unhappy victim. The *Lanjans* would be an almost faultless people, and free from reproach, could this most horrid and cruel practice be once rooted out of the country: but although the king had used all means imaginable to effect it, he had not been able to succeed when our author wrote, because the most considerable people of his kingdom, and even the magistrates themselves, were addicted to that stupid, as well as execrable, superstition.

*Men
hunters.*

Their diet. THE diet of the *Lanjans* consists in rice, fish, divers kinds of legumes, and the flesh of buffaloes. This is their usual meat; for they seldom eat any other sort, not even veal or poultry. They kill animals designed for food by knocking them on the head with sticks or clubs, and not by cutting their throats: for they hold it very barbarous and criminal to shed the blood of living creatures, and take away their lives in that manner. They make four meals a day; and roast their fowls, which they have in plenty, with all their feathers on; notwithstanding the insufferable stink arising

(C) We are told by our author, p. 451. that sodomy, the great vice of *Asia*, is quite unknown to them; and yet some authors, as *Fitch*, who was among the *Lanjans*, assure us

otherwise; and that they wore bells inserted in their privities, like the *Peguans*, and other neighbouring nations, in order to prevent that crime. But this story of the bells is suspicious.

from

from that kind of cookery (D). They have, indeed, excellent stomachs; but much cannot be said in praise of their cleanliness: for the vessels they keep their water in, and even those they drink out of, are commonly hung up in their smoky chimnies^e.

Manners,
customs.

THE *Laos* wear gowns close to their bodies. They go with their feet bare, and the head commonly uncovered. Their hair is clipped round, and short, like a lay-brother's; excepting one lock on the temples, which is left to grow, and run through holes made in the ears for that purpose^f. One author says, their bodies are adorned with blue figures, made with hot irons, down to the knees^g: another, that they paint their legs from the ankle to the knee with flowers, and branches of trees, like the *Siameses*, as a badge of their religion and manhood. The women wear pieces of gold in the holes of their ears, until they are married; after which they lay them aside: but the men wear none at all^h.

Their
drefs.

THE *Lanians* approve of having only one wife; and say, that a man ought not to marry any more: but this they do rather from a principle of covetousness, to avoid charges, than of virtue. Accordingly they, in their songs, rally the magistrates, and officers of state, who are content with only one wife. Nor is this so great a piece of self-denial, since they make their she-slaves subservient to their pleasures, maintaining great numbers of them, according to their quality, as well for sake of indulging their passions as for grandeur. The king who reigned in 1658 had two hundred women; but there is only one of the number who is named the principal, as being the first with whom the man is contracted; and the rest are considered only as second wives. Their marriages are for life, and performed in this manner. They choose out the oldest married couple they can find, who have lived in perfect agreement together, and promise, before them, to do the same till death. But often these fair promises are not long binding; and the parties have recourse to very frivolous reasons to separate, and marry with others. This conduct is, in good measure, owing to the loose education given their children, whom they abandon to their own inclinations; permitting even the boys and girls to live toge-

Their mar-
riages.

^e MARINI, p. 347, & seqq.
p. 178.

^g Ibid. vol. ii. p. 12.

^f DE FARIA, vol. iii.
^h KÆMPFER Japan.

(D) De Faria tells us, that on that account. *Portug. Asia*, they eat vermin; and that the *ubi sup.* people of *Tong-king* despise them

Kingdom of the Lawhos, or Laos.

*Manners,
customs.*

ther, and frequently visit one another, without considering the consequences which may arise from such familiarities. The most dangerous opportunities are the rendezvous's, which continue for a month in the house of a new lain-in woman, where all the family and relations meet, to divert themselves with dancing, and other kinds of merriment; in order to drive away the forcerers, and prevent them from making the mother lose her milk, and the child from being bewitched by them, as they often are, says the sagacious Jesuit, to such a degree, that they die¹. These revels are the more dangerous, as fornication is tolerated among the laity. But a woman convicted of adultery becomes a slave to her husband, who treats her in what manner he thinks fit; and may even oblige her to pay a sum of money².

*Their bu-
rials.*

WHEN any of their relations die, they make a feast also, which holds for a month; and celebrate their funeral with great magnificence. The corpse is put in a coffin, daubed over with a kind of bitumen, to hinder any offensive smell from getting out. None are invited to wake the dead, but the *Talepoy*, or priests, who attend less to weep over the corpse, than for the sake of good cheer. However, they employ a great part of the time in repeating certain hymns, adapted to the occasion; by means of which the soul, as they say, is taught the way to heaven, to the end it might not stray in those unknown regions. When the month is expired, they raise a curious pyramid, according to the quality of the defunct, set-off with an infinite number of ornaments, and elegant bas-reliefs. Then, after they have deposited the corpse therein, they set fire to, and reduce it to ashes. These ashes, being carefully gathered up, are carried into one of their temples, which is filled with very sumptuous monuments; in erecting which, wealthy persons spend several thousands of crowns.

*State of
the soul.*

AFTER this ceremony is over, the relations think no more of the defunct, nor ever name him: because, according to the doctrine of the transmigration, which is received in the country, they believe the soul is gone to the place destined for it, and consequently belongs no longer to them. It is certain that they would willingly avoid those great expences, if they were not obliged to conform themselves to an ancient custom, and afraid to offend their *Talepoy*; who, to secure the gain arising from thence, have inserted it in their ceremonial, as an indispensable law, to be observed by all. And the people are

¹ MARINI, p. 351, & seqq.

² Ibid. p. 351.

the rather inclined to comply with this usage, as they are told *Manners*, that, by neglecting to render the last duties to their predecessors, their survivors may be induced to refuse paying the same honour to them¹. *Customs.*

WE have already taken notice of the trade and commodities, both exported and imported, of the particular kingdoms or provinces into which the upper and lower *Laos* or *Laos* are divided. It remains only to observe, in general, that the commerce of these countries has passed into different channels, according to the vicissitudes of affairs. We are told by *Da Cruz*, that musk and gold were carried to *Sion* (or *Siam*), before the *Bramas* (or rather *Barmas*), conquered *Pegu*^m: after which it was removed thither. The trade with *Siam*, in process of time, was restored: but the king of *Siam* having invaded the *Laos*, and taken a province from them, which yet he kept not long (E), ruined the good understanding, which had subsisted between the two nations, and caused the trade to be removed to *Kamboja*; whither the *Laos* carried their benjamin and lak, which meets with a good vent there, because better than the kinds which grow in the countryⁿ.

THE language of the *Laos*, or *Lanjans*, as well as their *Language* characters, are much the same with those of the *Siameses*; and *cha* who, they say, have had the art of writing, and their sacred *ra* characters. language, from them: but they cannot pronounce the letters *l* and *r*. They write on the leaves of trees, like the *Peguers* and *Malabars*; and in the manner which the *Siameses* write their religious books. But matters relating to civil affairs are inscribed on a sort of coarse paper, with earthen pins^o.

S E C T. V.

Religion of the Lanjans.

§ 1. Primitive Religion, Providence, Origin of things, &c.

THE religion of the *Lanjans*, and probably of all the *Their pri*. *Laos* or *Laos*, is the same at bottom with that which *mitive re*. prevails in all the countries comprised in the farther peninsula *ligion* of the *Ganges*. They lived a long time in form of a republic, and observed the laws of nature, rather than those of the

¹ MARTINI, p. 354, & seq.
vol. iii. p. 168.

^o Ibid.

^m DA CRUZ, ap. Purch.
^a KÆMPF. Japan. vol. i. p. 26.

(E) This perhaps was *Tan-goma*; which was taken about the year 1672 by the *Siameses* from the *Lanjans*, to whom this remark more particularly relates.

Their religion. *Chinese* their neighbours, which they, in part, followed, before they had kings, and were subject to their empire. The worship of images was, in those times, unknown to them; uncorrupted as they were with the superstitions of other nations. The open sky was their temple; and they adored one being, whom they esteemed above all things, under the name of *commander*. They had some imperfect notions touching the origin of things: but held that this inferior world would be renewed; and that there were sixteen other worlds or kingdoms under heaven, one subordinate to the other.

corrupted by Shaka. IN this simple and uncorrupted state the *Lanjans* continued, till such time as the disciples of *Shaka* began to spread their doctrines over the east. Some will have it that they received this polluted religion from the *Chinese*; but our author rather follows those who think they had it from *Siam*. However that be, the Jesuit speaks of it as a most impious and idolatrous religion; not considering, at the same time, that it is the very counterpart of his own. Presently after the disciples of *Shaka* arrived in this kingdom, the *Lanjans* saw themselves surrounded with temples consecrated to idols, and priests named *Talapoy*, destined to their service. These priests, soon getting the ascendant over the minds of the people, prescribed laws to them; and introduced books written in *Indian* characters, which the *Lanjans* did not understand: in order to render their doctrines the more mysterious and sacred, for appearing in their original dress, as coming from the hands of *Shaka*^a.

Notion of providence. HOWEVER, this new religion could not so thoroughly root out the old, but that the *Lanjans* still preserved the first impressions which they had received, concerning the immortality of the soul; and a particular providence which continually directs affairs in this life: for they hold that the commanders, or intellectual beings, who are above all the sixteen worlds, direct and govern this lower world which we inhabit, as a part dependent on them. Yet these tenets, being mixed with opinions of the different sects, are much corrupted, and far from appearing in their original simplicity.

Their schools. THE schools of those who pass for doctors, and heads of their religion, consist in three principal classes, which are filled with laymen, as well as clergy. The doctrines taught in the first class concern the origin of the world, of men, and the gods; mixed with a thousand fabulous and ridiculous

^a MARINI, p. 376, & seq.

circumstances, which extravagances are substituted in place of the antient law. In the second class they treat of the religion of *Shaka*, which passes for the new law. In the third they are employed to reconcile the opposite principles, to solve doubtful passages, with the opinions of those who have written about them; and to square the antient doctrine with the new.

THE authors of this third class assume the title of *illuminated*; and their authority is revered by the name of *concord*, although nothing is farther from it than their writings: in which the sense of words is so strained and distorted, to make contradictory doctrines and opinions agree, that this third decretal is full of obscurity, confusion, and unintelligible explanations^b.

ACCORDING to this new theology, the *Lanjans* believe that the heavens are from all eternity; and that, perpendicularly under them, lie sixteen terrestrial worlds, containing all the pleasures of life, which, in the highest, are in greatest perfection. They hold likewise that this earth, which we inhabit, is eternal; but that, after a certain revolution of years, fire will descend from heaven, and reduce the whole mass to water. Yet things are not to continue in this state: for they who dwell in the first heaven, and of whose care this earth is the peculiar object, will re-unite the scattered parts together, and establish it in the condition it was before. In effect, they hold that it hath already undergone a great many such revolutions.

WITH regard to the original of the present world or earth, which had its beginning 18,000 years before the age of *Shaka*, they say, that, having been reduced to water after the manner above related, a commander, or divinity (F), descended from the first of the sixteen worlds, armed with a simitar; and perceiving a flower floating on the water, cut it in two. Immediately there springs out a beautiful maiden, with whom being enamoured, he longed to marry her, in order to get a brood of children, to people the earth: but the innocent maid preferring her chastity to the quality of a mother, rejected his courtship. Although he burnt with amorous flames, yet, judging it to be unbecoming a man of his condition, descended from the gods, to use force, he gave over the pursuit, and took another method to obtain children by her, to answer his design. To effect this, he placed himself at a

^b MARINI, p. 378, & seqq.

(F) Named *Pon, Ta, Bo, Ba, Mi, Swan*.

Their religion. certain distance from her, that they might reciprocally look at each other ; infomuch that, by the intense glances from his eyes, she at length conceived, and became a mother, without losing her virginity^c.

How people. By this contrivance they had soon a numerous issue : but as cares and uneasiness are the usual consequences of a great many children, the commander, though a god, found himself violently attacked by them. To free himself, therefore, from these disquietudes, he resolved to make use of his power, and supply his family with all the conveniences of life. In order to this, he furnished the earth with mountains and vallies, spacious plains, and agreeable hills. He likewise created trees, bearing various kinds of fruits ; and rivers, abounding with all sorts of fish. Nor were mines of precious stones and metals forgotten. In short, nothing was omitted, which might contribute to the benefit and delights of life. Yet for all he approved of what he had newly created, and had made this earth a most delicious mansion, of which he was the lord, he could not resolve to continue here : but panting after the etherial abodes which he had quitted, and were vastly preferable to this inferior world, he determined to return to heaven ; without having foreseen, that he could not get thither with the same facility which he came from thence. In a word he was obliged to remain without : where he suffered so severe a penance, that the other commanders, or sovereign divinities of heaven, were at length moved with compassion, and admitted him into their society, to enjoy with them the highest kind of beatitude.

Whence the blacks. THE *Europeans* have another opinion concerning the peopling of the earth. They say that the inhabitants of heaven, having divided themselves into two parties, on account of the women, began a furious war, and fought several bloody battles. At length one party becoming victorious, to punish their enemies, they banished them into the great desert island, which was the earth : and as it was, at that juncture, reduced to water, they dried it, so that it became firm land again. The worst of it was, there were no women to be found. To supply this want, they got upon the highest mountain in the island, and, from a tree of prodigious height, called out to their wives : who, to testify the affection which they bore to their husbands, came down from heaven to them. But as the number of women exceeded that of the males, each of these latter took several of the former ; by which means their offspring, in a short space of time, multiplied to such a de-

^c MARINI, p. 380, p. seqq.

gree, that, taking up arms, they went about to extirpate cer- *Their reli-*
tain black men, who were demons, and had by force lain *gion.*
with several of those white women, whose children were as
black as their fathers. Nay, those whom afterwards they had
by their white husbands, were as sooty as those begotten by
the demons. And thus the blackmoors became so numerous
in several parts of the earth ^d.

SOME account for the origin of black people another way. *Another*
They say that the commanders (or divinities) of heaven, hav- *opinion.*
ing shut themselves up in a great stone which was upon this
isle, the angels and demons, who heard that there were men
within it, were resolved to know if it was fast. Accordingly
the demons made a great fire round the stone; that being
softened by the heat, the angels might enter it with greater
facility. On the first impressions of the fire, some of the
commanders rushed out, but as black as charcoal: whilst others,
who were not in such a hurry, escaped, without being in-
commoded by either the fire or the smoke. After this, fall-
ing in love with women, whom they had never conversed
with before, the black commanders associated with black
women, who were the wives of demons; and the whites
with white women, whom the angels loved. To compass
their design, after levying troops, they made war on the an-
gels and demons, whom they drove out of the island; and
obliged the women, who remained behind, to surrender at
discretion.

THE *Lanjans* have a third tradition for the origin of the *A third*
white and black people, not more romantic than either of *tradition.*
the two former. They tell us, that formerly a buffalo, one
of the most deformed creatures which ever was seen, lame, ill-
shaped, extremely fearful, weak, and apt to start, fell from
heaven into the sea; where, by the mere strength of imagi-
nation, he conceived a monster, and soon after brought forth
a gourd full of white and black men.

§ 2. Government of the world. Reign of Shaka.

THIS is the substance of the *Lanjan* belief concerning *Govern-*
the origin of the world. With regard to the govern- *ment of the*
ment of it they relate, that, 18,000 years before the renewal *world.*
thereof, there were four gods; three of whom, after they
had governed the space of fifty years, being weary of so
great a trouble, retired into a very high and spacious pillar,
situated towards the north, where they enjoy all the sweet-

^d MARINI, p. 382, & seqq.

Their religion.

Reign of Shaka.

ness of life, which a man who loves his ease can desire. At present, they say, the god *Shaka* governs the world, and is to reign 5000 years, of which 3000 are yet to come. That, after he had raised himself to a degree of perfection, greater than any person ever can attain, he resolved to pass to a still higher degree, never heard of before, which was to annihilate himself. But for fear this perfect state of *nothingness*, to which he was arrived, should be attended with any bad consequences, and the world suffer inconveniences by being deprived of his protection; he, before his annihilation, commanded temples to be erected in several kingdoms, and an infinite number of statues to be made (A) in brass and marble, with a design to honour them with his presence on solemn festivals, where-ever great numbers of people should be assembled; and, by blowing on them before all the congregation, communicate to them his divinity, which might supply his place, by assisting them who should pray to him in their necessities. For all this, says *Marini*, it is certain that the breath of *Shaka* has never animated those images; and that they are at present dumb, unless some demon makes them 'speak': which is, in effect, to confess the fact which he denies.

His successor.

AFTER the 5000 years of *Shaka's* government are expired, the *Kanjans* expect another god, whom they name *Fa-mit-Tay*. This deity, says our author, like an *Antichrist* against *Shaka*, will demolish all the temples which he finds standing, throw down and break in pieces the images, burn the books, persecute and prohibit the exercise of all religions, particularly that of *Shaka*: he will also prescribe new laws, opposite to those of his predecessor; promulgate other sacred books; choose other *Talapoy*; in one word, change and reform every thing a-new.

God of Christians

In a conference held with the *Romish* missionaries, some *Talapoy* advanced an odd kind of theology, possibly invented to mortify the Jesuits. They said that, 5000 years before the birth of *Shaka*, the world had been governed by the god of the missionaries; who finding himself very old, when his successor appeared, and no longer able to discharge so many cares, began to think seriously of the course he had best take for his interest. As he could not dispense with obeying the orders of this new god, from whom he apprehended some violent treatment; and was desirous to avoid the re-

* MARINI, p. 385, & seqq.

(A) Almost the same thing *Siamese*. See hereafter the history of that lawgiver.

proaches due to his ill conduct, for having used some with *Their reli-*
too much lenity, and others with too much severity, he as-*gion.*
sumed the form of a very poor and despicable person, in or-
der to move *Shaka* to compassion. In this abject condition he *quits the*
presented a petition, by which he begged leave to continue *east,*
one year longer in discharging the functions of his office. *Shaka*,
who was very benevolent and generous, signed the peti-
tion in a very obliging manner; but under this condition,
that the missionaries god should quit the rich and pompous
kingdoms of the east, to retire into those of the west, which
are miserable and barren. By this division of the empire and
sovereign power, the jurisdiction of each god was much weak-
ened, but that of *Shaka* infinitely surpassed the other in beauty
and wealth ^b.

ACCORDING to this agreement, the god of the missionaries *removes to*
left the east, in a very poor habit, accompanied with only a *the west.*
small number^a of people, his followers being very few. He
was so confounded on this occasion, that, from thenceforth,
he began to perform such extraordinary things, as manifested
his greatness: so that he entered his kingdom of the west with
an equipage suitable to his merit; and appeared as rich as if he
had found immense treasures, or opened mines of gold and
silver: This great and sudden change in his condition, made
the inhabitants of the east conclude him to be some notorious
robber, who had acquired so much wealth by unjust means.
To discover the truth of this, they hired some about him,
as spies, to observe all his motions; till such time as having
detected him in some theft, they should put him to death for
his crimes. He was accordingly watched, and often caught
in the very fact; but the moment they were about to arrest
him, he vanished out of their sight. However, in revenge
for this disappointment, they seized his only son, and put him
to death on a cross, instead of his father, who had merited *His son,*
the same punishment, for withdrawing into heaven. Not-*crucified.*
withstanding all these disgraces, the occidentals cease not to
render him worship, and acknowledge him for a god: because
that, in voluntarily delivering himself up to death, although
innocent, to expiate the transgressions of his father, he, by
such great submission, shewed himself to be more than man,
and that his father, as well as he, deserved to be adored as
deities.

It is thus the *Lanjan* priests treat the god of the Christians, *His law*
as represented to them by the *Romish* missionaries; and turn in-*defensive.*

^b MARINI, p. 388, & seq.

Their reli- to ridicule the history of the birth and crucifixion of Christ. They add, that, after the coming of *Shaka*, the Christian law, which had prevailed over the east for 5000 years before, ceased to be practised : and that it is defective, because those who profess it can expect from it neither gold nor silver, nor prosperity, nor the enjoyment of pleasure, nor several women (B). On the contrary, it seems to draw advantage from confusion and affronts ; to consider poverty as real wealth, and death as the greatest of all goods. But because *Shaka* is an enemy to such rigours, and the course which he prescribes is very commodious, broad, and accompanied with all the delights of life ; therefore his sectaries have him in infinite esteem, and consider him as a more indulgent deity *.

§ 3. State of the Soul, Hell, and Paradise.

*Ancient
doctr: ine of
Souls.* **ALTHOUGH** the *Talapoy* have had some knowledge of hell, yet they do not care to speak of it, for fear of disturbing the thoughts of their followers, immersed in sensuality, with the consideration of those dreadful and eternal pains. They who still adhere to the doctrines of the antient law, and deny the transmigration of souls, say, that those of the wicked are annihilated at their death : but that the souls of good persons assume a body of air, as pure and simple as the light of the sun. After this, passing through the sixteen heavens, where they enjoy all the pleasures with which they abound, they return at length, very happy, to re-unite themselves with their bodies, and become men, in the same condition which they enjoyed before ; but so replenished with goods of every kind, as, by their means, to obtain the rank of kings.

*The present
doctr: ine.* On the contrary, the followers of the doctrine of *Shaka*, and the fabulous histories of the priests, hold that the souls of bad men have no retreat after this life but hell, where they must expiate their crimes by suffering inconceivable torments. Their hell is divided into six wards, where there are so many degrees of punishments ; and is situated under that vast column of the sixteen worlds, which are the paradises of

* MARINI, p. 389, & seqq.

(B) If they cannot have these things by the indulgence of their religion, they find ways to obtain them ; and by their licentious way of living become odious to the orientals, as hath been often remarked from the writings of the missionaries themselves : so that our author may be suspected, as to what he says here, and in other places, upon the same subject.

the

the blessed. They, who are condemned to go thither, languish in torments for the space of some ages; after which they return to this world. But before they re-animate a human body, they are obliged to enter those of animals, beginning with the most contemptible, and gradually transmigrating into the more noble, till at length they assume a human shape, as before, but yet in the most deplorable circumstances; in hopes, however, of being raised to a more prosperous state, provided they give liberally to the *Talapoy*. In this case, when they come to die a second time, they shall obtain a pass to be admitted into one of the sixteen paradises, without being obliged to do any farther penance. From thence likewise, when tired with delights, they may return to this world; not indeed in the form of deified men, but infirm and imperfect like those who are here at present: however with these advantageous circumstances, that they shall be caressed and honoured on account of the riches they shall be possessed of both in this world and in heaven, which will shower down gold upon them in profusion, to answer the several occasions of life.

BUT whereas losses, disgraces, and other misfortunes, attend their most zealous devotees and benefactors, no less than others; to solve this difficulty, they pretend that such afflictions are the punishment of the crimes committed by them in a former life, although they have no remembrance thereof (C). These impostors likewise promise a mansion in the sixteenth heaven to those who shall be charitable to them: on the other hand, they declare, that the evils which happen to those, who either cannot or will not bestow alms on them, as well as to infidels, are a just punishment for their avarice; and because they have preferred riches to the joys of heaven, therefore the idol begins to chastise them in this life: but let a man be ever so vicious, dishonest, or wicked, all is well, provided he is but charitable, and gives alms to the priests.

WE must not omit another superstitious conceit of the *Lan-jans*, which is, that the souls, after their separation from the body, retire into a corner of the house; and that the heirs are severely punished, in case they fail to render them the honours due to their quality, such as making a pompous

7 MARINI, p. 391, & seqq.

(C) Is this worse than the relief, to solve the objection, evasion of *Papish* priests; who, pretend it is because they had when the diseased people, after not faith. praying to their saints, find no

feast,

Their religion. feast, and performing other ceremonies, established by the antient customs. On the contrary, they who acquit themselves punctually, with regard to these duties, shall receive great temporal rewards. As the *Lanjans* are very fond of life, and afraid to die, when they find themselves in the least out of order, they immediately implore the assistance of these souls, making them presents; and setting victuals of several kinds before them, they invite them to eat with them, and talk to them, as if they understood and saw every thing which is said or done. The entertainment is accompanied with music and singing, which continues day and night, till the sick person either recovers or dies. They do all this, in a belief that, by such means, the souls lodged in the house are appeased; and that, if they do them no good, they will at least do them no harm. The people of this persuasion believe nothing, says our author, either of hell or paradise, angels or devils; but live in the most dissolute manner imaginable.^a

Polygamy a future reward.

ON a certain day several of the most understanding *Talapoy*, or priests, of different sects, meet in presence of one of the missionaries, in order to reconcile so many various opinions, and bring people to one way of thinking. After a long conference, they came to this decision: that there was, for certain, another life; that the reward to be expected in it was a plurality of wives, and the punishment to be feared consisted in not having any. The Jesuit hereupon asked them, if a charitable man was to be rewarded with several wives, how many husbands was the woman to have, who gave considerable alms? These learned doctors of the law, it seems, were so non-plus'd with this unforeseen question, that they went back to their convents, and turned over their books: but not meeting with any thing to the purpose, came to this resolution among themselves; that such a woman, for her reward, would be changed into a man; and that they who were covetous, would become the wives of devils, or of some *Talapoy*, black, filthy, old, and deformed; in short, more horrible than the devil himself.

Gain to the priests.

THESE imposing priests promise those who are kind, and assist them in their necessities, that they shall have as many wives as all the alms which they had bestowed on them during their lives, were able to purchase: and that the particulars of their good actions, recorded in the book of life, should be made known, when it came to be opened. The *Lanjans*, charmed with doctrines so agreeable to their sensual inclinations, think they can never give their priests too much: and

this intatuation so universally prevails, that the good mission-*Their reli-*
 ers, who took a great deal of pains to open their eyes, could *gion.*
 never dissuade any of them from squandering their money in *such ill bestowed charities.*

FOR all the *Talapoy* have no conversation with women, *A shame-*
 from whom, by the rules of their profession, they are obliged *ful doc-*
 to abstain; yet they affirm, that such of their order as ob-*trine.*
 serve continence in this life, will have the power to create,
 and produce from nothing, as many women as they have a
 mind, and dispose of them at pleasure: while they, who in
 this life are addicted to the sex, shall, after their death, be
 doomed to hell torments, and not have the disposal of any
 women. As if what is a vice on earth, could be a virtue
 in heaven; or that men could be rewarded there, for what
 they are punished here. When these things are objected to
 the priests, and they are asked how they can condemn, as
 a shameful practice in this world, that which is tolerated as
 a commendable action in the other, their answer is: that altho'
 the incontinence of a *Talapoy* be a crime in this life, and a sin
 against the divine precept, yet God dispenses with it in hea-
 ven; and that chastity, which is a meritorious action in this
 world, is, in the next, the punishment of the damned. A
 theology and doctrines which *Epicurus* himself would be
 ashamed to publish².

§ 4. *Their Priests, Orders, Habits, Exercises.*

ALTHOUGH the priests of *Lao* are called *Talapoy*, a *Priests*
 name borrowed from *Pegu*, yet, in the language of the *their*
 country, they are named *Fé*. This class of men are reckoned *name.*
 the most perfidious in all the kingdom, as well as the very
 dregs of the people. A lazy, slothful race, and the sworn
 enemies of industry. Their convents, says our author (but
 it is a priest of another religion, though not much different
 from theirs, who speaks), are so many seminaries of very pro-
 fligate men, retreats of vagabonds and drones; in a word,
 schools of all sorts of wickedness and abominations. The
 baser their extraction, the more proud and insolent they be-
 come, when raised to that dignity. They are hard-hearted
 and inhuman beyond expression; more merciless and cruel
 than the wild beasts. But what can be expected from men,
 who sacrifice every-thing to their interests, and devote all
 their wit and vigour to debauchery³. This is the picture of

² MARINI, p. 395—399.

³ Ibid. p. 341.

Their religion. the priests of *Lao*, painted by the Jesuits, exactly like that which the protestants draw for the priests of *Rome*.

The novices THE *Talapoy* begin to embrace a religious life in their most tender age, and inure themselves to the rigours of the profession, during their noviciate, which continues till they are twenty-three. After this they are examined on the subjects of their theology, and ceremonies, by persons appointed by the community, who, on their report, receive the novice into their body, by majority of voices. The first thing the new *Talapoy* does, is to seek out some magistrate who is rich, and well related, to assist him in quality of godfather. Although this office is expensive, yet as it is reckoned an honour to be applied to on that account, nobody refuses it. On the contrary, the invitation is received with great complaisance; and the person who accepts it, always acquits himself with the greatest pomp, in order to gain the applause of the people, as well as the approbation of the *Talapoy*.

how become professed; IN the first place, the magistrate, chosen godfather, presents the novice, who is going to be professed, with rich habits. Then, on the day appointed, he orders his best trained elephant to be pompously harnessed, and, with a little house on his back, led to the convent: where the novice, bloated with vanity, mounts the animal, and issues forth, at the head of the principal lords of the city, richly dressed, followed by several regiments of foot, and a multitude of people. In this order they march through the principal streets, to the temple, where the novice is to make his profession; the ceremony often lasting till night. After this, a feast is made in the temple, whose altars serve for tables, on which are served the costliest viands; and, for three days, nothing passes there but revelling. During this time, all distinction of persons is laid aside; and a man of quality makes no difficulty to eat off the same plate with a mechanic. This expence, though exceeding great, does not come up to that which the present costs, made by the magistrate to the new-professed.

may quit the convent, and return. WHAT is very singular on this occasion, the person, after making so solemn a profession, may, if he has a mind, return to a secular state; as many do who marry, and live with their wives, so long as the substance lasts which they gathered while *Talapoy*s; and, when their stock is out, quit them, and retire again to their convents, where they are admitted without any opposition by the elders, who perhaps had experienced the same indulgence themselves. And this they do as often as they please.

THE *Talapoy* wear a short cassock of yellow linen, which *Their reli-* reaches to their knees, and is girt about them with a red cloth. *gion.* They go with their feet and the right arm bare, carrying in their hand a fan, with some device, to denote their rank. *Their ha-* They shave their heads, even to their eye-brows, twice a *bit.* month, on the first days of the new and full moon^b.

THEIR convents, where they live in community, are like *Their con-* those of the *Chartreusians*, and *St. Romuald*, among the *Rom-vents,* *isb* orders. All the cells are separate, in which they have several little apartments, made with boards: whereas the superior's cell is built with bricks, and the chambers very magnificently furnished, as well as decorated with curious ornaments, finely gilded. His throne stands very high, and is set off on the sides with curtains of very costly silk. This *of- and super-* ficer is always chosen from among those *Talapoy* who are of *riors.* an established reputation, and have devotees of both sexes; who cram them with necessaries, and never let them want for any thing.

THESE religious rise at a certain hour; and, before the *Their em-* sun is high, walk out by two and two, very modestly, and *ployments,* with profound silence: then separate to beg alms in different parts of the city. This they do by signs; and, at their return, laying up the daintiest morsels for themselves, give the rest to their servants, or send it to the prisoners, after throwing a part to feed the poultry. When this distribution is over, they break silence, and each repairs to his cell, where he breakfasts. After this, they go to sleep for three hours; and then repair to the common refectory, where they find a table covered with all sorts of provisions, which are generally well dressed. As they live at the expence of others, they usually dine on small birds, fowl, and game. If the victuals which their friends send them do not please them, they break *and meals.* the plates; and have the insolence to threaten them, in very injurious language.

AFTER dinner they sleep for an hour; then rise, and go to their respective exercises. The novices fall to study their ceremonies; the scholars to read and write. This they do in two languages: one the vulgar or common language of the country; the other peculiar to the *Talapoy*, and may be called the learned language, as *Latin* is in *Europe*. The rest apply themselves to other amusements. Some learn to sing; others pass their time in conversation, at the door of the convent, where they receive visits, and learn the news of the town. Towards evening they make a light supper, without

^b MARINI, p. 401, & seqq.

Their religion. candles; and, having said grace, repair all to the temple, none daring to be absent. There they sing certain prayers, which sometimes they contract, or hurry over, that they may go take the air after sun-set: because then they are at liberty to do what they please ^c.

Pride and arrogance. THEY exert as much authority over the people, as if they were their subjects. They always appear very serious; and affect a proud disdainful air, with a great deal of gravity. They behave very haughtily to those who are not liberal to them, scarce deigning to look at them. They are extremely ambitious of honour; and very desirous of having much respect paid them, without returning any. Their eyes are in perpetual motion; and their brows being shaved (A), adds to the severity of their looks. When they want anything, they do not civilly ask, but imperiously demand, it: for with them the virtue of humility is reckoned meanness, and civility subjection. They pretend to lord it over others, and expect a blind submission to their opinions; considering the least objection as want of the respect due to them.

Instance of cruelty; IN a word, they surpass other people in nothing but pride and wickedness. A young man being in great haste to finish some affair of importance to him, happened to pass unawares before a *Talapoy*, without alighting, as is the custom; which so enraged the priest, that he sent persons to seize him, and had him so cruelly bastinado'd in his presence, that he died of his wounds next day. What is more shocking, when this outrage was complained of, many had the insolence to take the part of the *Talapoy*, and engage the judge to determine the matter in their favour; praising the murder as a generous action, done by the priest in defence of his religion and order. Thus the more mischief they do to others, the more they are feared and respected.

beau punisshed. THE *Talapoy* who are in their convents are not suffered to commit any debauchery: but if any of them is convicted thereof, especially of having solicited and attempted to force a woman, a strict enquiry is made into the affair, and the aggressor punished according to the nature of the offence. As all matters relating to this insolent rabble are brought before the king, the accused appears at his tribunal: and however positively the crime may be proved upon him, yet if he has any thing at all to say in his defence, the king readily acquits

^c MARINI, p. 405, & seqq.

(A) This was customary among the Roman priests, according to the sarcasm of *Cicero*: *Capite et superciliis semper ostensus, ne unum pilum bene viri habere dicas.*

him, in order to engage those religious in his interests, as *Their religion* having so great an influence over the people. But in case the crime be so flagrant and notorious, as not to admit of any palliation, the offender is condemned for life to serve the elephants, which is the most infamous of all employments. Was his majesty to punish with equal severity all those who are caught in the fact, there would not, in a little time, be left one *Talapoy* among the *Lanjans* : but as he calls himself their protector, and bears the title of general of their order, he is not willing to destroy the jurisdiction, which he has over their sanctuary : besides, he is afraid, in case he should not be favourable to them, that they would raise a rebellion against him ^d.

AMONG other rules of the *Talapoy*, they are obliged to go to confession fourteen days in every month. Their manner is like that observed in the *Romish* convents. They assemble in a great hall, where being seated, according to their rank, the oldest leave their places one after another, and going into the midst of the company, on their knees, declare aloud the faults which they have committed in the preceding month, with regard to eating, drinking, diversions, anger, doing injury to others, speaking untruths, or the like. Absolution immediately follows the confession, each of them having power to give it : but where the satisfaction is so easy (B), they never scruple repeating the crimes.

THEY likewise make a kind of holy water : but our author is at a loss to know how that usage came among them ; unless from *Ethiopia* or *India*, by means of the disciples of *St. Thomas* (C). They send it to the sick, as a sovereign remedy, and keep good store for the purpose ; because, in return, they get so many bottles of good wine. But although the people receive no benefit from it, they have great faith in its virtue (D).

THE honour which they give to the idols or images, does not consist in sacrifices : they only offer flowers to them, accompanied with perfumes, and a little rice, which they lay upon the altars ; where solely on such occasions they light

^d MARINI, p. 408, & seqq.

(B) May not the same be applied to the *Romanists* ? borrowed this, and many other ceremonies, from thence.

(C) This is not probable, since the religion of *Shaka* was in the world 1000 years before *Christ* : more probably therefore, that the church of *Rome* author is reflecting on those of his own religion ; since this is as much the case with them, as the *Lanjans*,

Their religion.

Beads.

Talapoy of the woods.

up tapers. They carry in their hands certain bracelets, consisting of 100 beads strung together like rosaries : these the monk over, standing before the image, and continually repeating their hymns.

WHAT has been said relates to the *Talapoy* who reside in the towns : but there are others who lead a more solitary life, in caves made in the woods and forests ; the horrors of which, according to our author, are proper to conceal the enormity of their crimes (E). They retire to such places to pursue their debauched inclinations with more freedom : and, by degrees, the resort of women has become so great, that the solitude of these hermits is at present become a populous colony, and the deserts may be said to vie with the cities ; with this difference, that, in the latter, the children know their parents, which is not the case of those who are born in these solitudes. These hermits receive more alms than the *Talapoy* of cities. They admit a fast of three months,* to dispose them to celebrate their *Easter*. I would say, says our author, that they have three months of *Easter*, with two feasts a day : one of flesh, which is eaten in private, and cooked in the house ; the other of fish, which is sent by their friends, and eaten publicly.

Lao an university.

OUR author passes over several other particularities, because they are either the same, or very little different from those mentioned in several relations, and in the history of the Bonzas of *Japan* ; who, according to some authors, say they are the disciples of the *Talapoy* who were the followers of *Shaka*, and passed thither from *Lao* or *Siam*. However that be, at present they of *Siam* go to *Lao*, as into an university, there to learn the maxims of *Shaka* ; which are at least more in reputation than the ancient doctrine, if they are not intirely conformable to it.

Talapoy knavery.

To conclude, the number of these *Talapoy* is so greatly increased, that, fearing they shall in time fall short of necessities, they learn all sorts of trades, and work at them in their convents, which seem to be changed at present into so many shops of mechanics and merchants, whom they even circumvent in their business. For if an artisan in the city has contrived any extraordinary piece of work, or invented some new fashion, they labour secretly to get the model and draught ; and, having effected it, give themselves out for the

* MARINI, p. 412, & seqq.

(E) This Jesuit draws a frightful picture of them ; as it were to exceed what is reported of the *Romish* monks and hermits, in these parts of the world.

inventors.

inventors: so that when the author thinks to surprize the town with something new in its kind; they produce the model, to shew they were beforehand with him; and in case the true proprietor disputes the invention with them, the king is sure to ascribe it to the *Talapoy*.

THE great credit which the *Talapoy* have acquired in *Lao*, The king's is owing chiefly to two causes, their skill in magic, and the king's protection. His majesty, who is, as it were, the general or grand-master of their religion, loads them with honours, and, at the same time, takes care to govern them. He continually admonishes them to observe their rules, and sets before them the obligation of monthly confessions. He appoints the days for fasts and festivals; the ceremonies of which are regulated by him. He resolves all doubts, and reconciles the different scriptures; explains the difficulties found in their book; and never suffers any-thing to be printed (F), without his approbation. He likewise corrects the faults of such pieces. In a word, he is the sovereign judge of what-
 • ever relates to the conduct of the *Talapoy*, and punishes them for their offences: but, as if there was something sacred in them, suffers none to vex them on any account.

• WHENEVER the king sees any of them, his majesty salutes him first, by raising the right hand, which is the usual mark of civility. He makes slaves of his vassals, and obliges them to serve in their temples, in lieu of the tribute due to him. He sometimes gives up whole towns and villages to them, obliging the inhabitants to maintain the convents within their precincts; which they always submit to with reluctance, on account of the insatiableness and insolence of such masters: for they would choose to be slaves to others, rather than be dependent on them. However, the king, for the reasons above-mentioned, takes care to preserve their friendship, and overlooks many of their transgressions. In 1640 a *Talapoy* and his disciples, having been detected in coining and uttering abundance of false money, the informations were carried before the council: but the king caused the indictment to be quashed by an order, in which, after taxing the laity with avarice, he praised the piety of the *Talapoy*; who, for want of being relieved in their necessities, and finding their temples to be quite deserted, had been obliged to invent a way of relieving themselves, by coining money, and, out of a little, making a great deal.

* MARINI, p. 415, & seq.

(F) *Marini* does not explain what sort of printing is in use with the *Lanjanis*.

*Religion,
priests.*

*Instance in
an assassin.*

*who es-
capes pu-
nishment.*

*Pretend to
magic.*

*Abuse the
credulous.*

But this piece of lenity was infinitely more excusable than that which he shewed on another occasion. A *Talapoy* having cast a covetous eye upon the gold bracelets which two young ladies, who were sisters, wore upon their arms: under some pretence got access to them, about nine or ten at night, and, thinking they were alone, murdered them both with a dagger. After this he fell to romage the chamber: in doing which, to his surprize, he found a servant girl hidden in a corner; and, to prevent a discovery, aimed to dispatch her also: but the maid, having made shift to avoid the blow, got out of the window into the street, and gave the alarm. The villain hereupon thought it time to withdraw: but was seen in his passage by three other servants, who, next morning, along with the girl, went to a magistrate, and gave evidence of the horrid fact. On this information the *Talapoy* was cited before the king, in the hall of audience: where, on protesting his innocence, and offering, in test of it, to undergo the ordeal trial, his majesty commanded, that he should remain seven days in the woods; and if, in that time, he received no hurt, either from the wild beasts or venomous serpents, he should be declared innocent. The assassin accordingly repaired to the woods; but took care to engage a company of slaves to attend him as his guard; so that he came off unhurt. Upon this the king, though convinced of his guilt, said, that the devil, in shape of a *Talapoy*, must have been the author of that execrable deed; in malice to those priests, that they might no longer be considered as fathers and masters. After this acquittal, the murderer, to be revenged on the poor girl who was his accuser, prosecuted her so violently, that she was condemned to lose her liberty: nor did the king interpose in her favour.

As to magic and forcery, the other means by which the *Talapoy* have gained authority and reputation, our author represents them as greatly skilled therein. He says they do things which seem miraculous; yet blames the credulity of the people, who, on that account, think them to be more than men: that they make use of their art to hurt people, and often merely to divert themselves: that they catch and tame wild elephants, by means of a plaister or ointment put on the back and crupper of a female, whom they follow from the forests into the cities, without doing any harm; and that, as soon as the plaister is taken off, they grow wild again, till make tractable by management and confinement: that they do not scruple to exercise their forcery on their benefactors,

in order to obtain more by that means, than they could hope *Religion*, from their liberality; and frequently bewitch those who as-*priests* sist them, as well as those who do not, to oblige both parties to have recourse to them for relief: that when any person is seized with any distemper or sickness, the *Talapoy* is sent for, who cures him, only by taking off the charm. Our author is so weak as to believe all this stuff; and tells of a great man, no less silly than himself, who, after taking medicines for some disorder without effect, fancied himself bewitched, and applied to the *Talapoy*. Those magicians, it seems, recovered him: but, as he was extremely liberal to them, they laid the spell on him, from time to time, in order to make their farther advantage of him.

WHEN a poor man is sick, they agree to cure him for his *Impose on* weight in rice; and then send him one of their cast-off ha-*the sick* bits to wear, as a sovereign remedy. As they believe there is something sacred in the very touch of a *Talapoy*, the patient often sends a new garment for the priests to sanctify, by putting it on his back: but, instead of returning it, the priest sends him one of his own old ones; assuring him, that there is no remedy comparable to their tattered gowns. And, as daily experience shews that those sorts of relicks do not work miracles; the *Talapoy*, to save their credit, ascribe the cause to the poor man's covetousness, and want of faith^b.

OFTENTIMES the chief officers of state do not disdain to *Served by* serve the *Talapoy* in the most servile offices. They go in win-*noblemen* ter into the woods, fell timber, carry it on their shoulders to the city, and through the streets, to the convents, in order to let the people see, that it is an honour to serve those religious men; and that the sure way to recommend them to the favour of the king, is to imitate their own example. During the great heats, these great men carry also to the *Talapoy* vessels full of medicinal waters; accompanied with simples, and choice perfumes, for their use, when they go to bathe themselves.

THE principal revenue of the *Talapoy* arises from the offer-*Festival or* ings which are made in honour of *Shaka*, in April, which is *jubilee*. the month of their jubilee, and plenary indulgence. On this occasion the idol *Shaka* is exposed to view upon an eminence, in a great court, accompanied with *Talapoy*; who receive the immense offerings which are made of gold, silver, rice, cloth, stuff, and all sorts of necessaries. Nor does our author doubt, but that the priests, who are appointed to guard the statue, purloin a large quantity of gold and silver, without

^b MARTINI, p. 416, 421, & seqq.

Religion,
priests.



being missed; the sums which they receive are so prodigious great. All these alms and offerings are hung up in the temple; so that when the inferior *Talapoy* come to sweep it, they take a good share, over and above what they find on the ground.

Shaka's
statue.

OUR author learned from a *Tong-king* lord, who was ambassador at the court of *Lanjang*, in the time of this great solemnity, that he observed a tower in the middle of the temple, about 100 cubits high, pierced on all sides, and adorned with many large windows, for the better view of *Shaka's* statue; which is placed in the middle, and surrounded with numerous leaves of fine gold, like tinsel, which hang about it, and, with the gentle motion of the air, make such a sweet and agreeable harmony, that one would imagine it was a concert of several musical instruments: they were hung there to serve as so many little veils, to hinder insects from getting to the idol. The ambassador informed *Marini* likewise, that the great altar was decorated with two pillars of solid gold, ten cubits high, and proportionably thick, which were always exposed to view, without danger of being stolen: although a missionary, from whom our author had a great deal of what he relates, never mentioned that particular.

Piety of
the Lan-
jans.

NOTHING is more surprising than the piety and devotion of the *Lanjans*; who are so far from the thoughts of robbing temples, that they exhaust themselves with making presents, without desiring any thing more than to have them acceptable to their false god, as they are assured by the *Talapoy*: whose words are as firmly believed as an oracle, or a revelation from heaven, out of a persuasion that it is impossible their priests should deceive them in an article of so great importance¹. A persuasion which prevails no less among the *Romanists*; and almost every-where else.

§ 6. Preaching and Commandments.

Art of the
Talapoy.

THEY preach every day in the temple, during this month, to multitudes of people, and never change their text; which is to endeavour to persuade their auditors, that there is no time in the year so proper to render themselves worthy of the benefits both of this life and the next. In this hope they make every day a holiday: all business, as well public as private, is laid aside; and people mind nothing but to make presents, and visit the temples, which, at that time, are always open. To render the visit more agreeable, and draw

¹ MARINI, p. 427, & seq.

even those whom devotion could not move, the *Talapoy* provide all sorts of diversions in the courts and porches of the temple, which are finely adorned. There the people are entertained with comedians, who recite verses, and act very agreeable farces. Others expose to view several sorts of workmanship. And, in short, every one does what pleases him most: some sing; others dance, or play on instruments; all in view of *Shaka*, annihilated. *Religious priests.*

To put an end to this feast with more pomp and magnificence, one of the most famous preachers among the *Talapoy* mounts the chair; where, having recapitulated all which had been advanced on the subject, during the whole month, he adds an elegant discourse. The way of preaching here, as well as in *Tong-king*, is to stand up, motionless, like statues, the arms across the breast, held in that posture with great modesty (A), and never once stirring them. On these occasions they endeavour to persuade their hearers to renounce the world, and take the *Talapoy* habit, in order to preserve religion in its splendor, and prevent its ever failing. It is incredible how many advantages they promise, as well as how much fervour and zeal (B) they express on this occasion, so far as to load, with grace and benedictions from *Shaka*, the families which sacrifice their children, by devoting them to their convents. To excite them to this, they instance the example of their most ancient and pious *Talapoy*; who, when they have neither brothers nor nephews of the order, buy children of their nearest relations: that so their family may not want the imaginary blessings of *Shaka*, and may always boast of having one belonging to it in his service. *Way of preaching.*

TOWARDS the end of the sermon, the preacher exhorts his auditors to an exact observance of the law, which consists in five negative precepts: 1. Not to kill any-thing which has life. 2. Not to commit adultery. 3. Not to lye (or deny the truth). 4. Not to steal. 5. Not to drink wine. But however obligatory these commandments may be, there is none who keeps them: and the *Talapoy*, who assume the power of giving dispensations, sell them at no small rate to *Commandments and dispensations*

(A) This, which the *Romish* clergy would have pass, and, among the laity, does pass, as almost an infallible proof of the holiness, both of the priest and his religion, in their church; is here treated, by the Jesuit as it ought to be, that is, no proof at all,

(B) Yet remember, for all these signs of religion and piety, that they are idolatrous priests, and of profligate morals: so that a sanctified outside may be consistent with a wicked heart, and is no proof of goodness.

*Religion,
priests.*

such as solicit them, in order to avoid the guilt and punishment of breaking the commands. But the crafty priests never grant them for more than one precept at once; and that only for a certain term (C): so that when the time is expired, they are obliged to apply for a new licence to sin. These instruments, issued from this chancery, are written with an iron style, on palm-tree leaves, in characters which none, perhaps, can read, but he who traces them.

*Alms reduced
to charity.*

In one word, all the fruit of the *Talapoy's* preachment turns to the profit of him and the convent; never to the advantage of the auditors: because reducing the five precepts to one, the infamous priest, says our author, returns to his first lesson, and insists on the necessity of doing alms, from which there can be no dispensation. To enforce this the more, these cheats are continually telling the people, that if they will not observe this single precept, which is so easy to be performed, it is a sure sign that they do not believe in *Shaka*: that it is indifferent to them whether their holy faith and religion be preserved in the kingdom, or whether there be any *Talapoy* there to teach it, and pray for them. So that the poor *Lanjan* laity, to avoid such reproachful imputations, as well as the wrath of *Shaka*, pay to the priests, under the title of alms, not only yearly, but every month, the tithe of all which they get by the sweat of their brows.

*Arts of
Talapoy's*

That better to secure themselves, and augment such considerable revenues, they have introduced a custom, seemingly to do honour to their benefactors; but, in reality, the more effectually to pick their pockets, and suck the very blood of the people. The day before the full moon, from whence they begin their month, according to their rubriks, is always consecrated to offerings, which, pursuant to their infamous policy, they accompany with the following ceremonies: first, they require, that every one should carry his present on his head, so that all may see it; and, as the people assemble on that occasion, the *Talapoy* send persons to sound the trumpet, and play on several other instruments: in order, as they pretend, not so much to do honour to the people who make the offerings, as to solicit the governors of heaven to receive them as alms given the *Talapoy*, in honour of *Shaka*. When they are going to offer them, they must raise them three times upon the head, to signify, 1. that both their mind and eyes are turned towards heaven: 2. that they implore aid from the ministers of its justice: and 3. that

*no force
alms*

(C) The *Romish* priests are more indulgent, and give much more extensive dispensations.

they.

they pray to them not to refuse their protection, but to be *Religion*, kind to them in necessity. Lastly, they deliver the offering *idolatry* into the hands of the *Talapoy*; and then retire perfectly well satisfied*.

We have dwelt the longer on this subject, to give our reader as full an account as we could of the religion of *Shaka*, known, in the hither peninsula, by the name of *Budda*; in *China* by that of *Fo*, or *She-kya*; and in *Tibet*, whence it had its original, by the name of *La*. For although this religion is spread over the farther peninsle, it flourishes in no part of it so much as it does in *Lao*, or among the *Lanjans*; and our author *Marini* is the only one who has spoken of it in any detail, though neither so particularly, nor with such exactness, as could be wished. We shall therefore, before we quit it, add a few remarks more.

THE *Indians*, that is, the original inhabitants of all the *Religion of* countries and islands eastward of *Persia*, as far as the oriental *the Lamas* ocean, seem to be divided between two religions, each of very great extent. For distinction sake, we shall call one that of the *Brammans*; the other that of the *Lamas*. That of the *Brammans* prevails over *Hindústán*, and the hither peninsula: where, although the *Mogols* are become almost wholly masters, yet it is computed that, in *Hindústán* itself, there are at least 100 idolaters, or image-worshippers, to one *Mohammedan*; consequently their numbers must be much greater in the peninsula, several countries of which are yet entirely under the dominion of the *Rajahs*. On the other hand, the *vastly ex-* religion of the *Lamas* is the established religion of *Tibet*, of *tended* all that part of *Great Tartary* called *Western Tartary*, of the whole farther peninsula of *India*, and of *Japan*. It has likewise spread over most of the oriental islands: and although it is not the established religion of *China*, yet it seems to be embraced by much the greater part of its inhabitants. So that the religion of the *Lamas* may be said to be extended over three or four times as much ground as that of the *Brammans*.

THESE two religions, though agreeing in the moral pre-*Differ-*cepts, the doctrine of the soul's transmigration, and the use *from the* of images (D), yet differ in several essential points: as the *Bram-* distinction of people into tribes, eating of flesh, frequent *man's* washings, and the like; but especially in the article relating

* MARINI, p. 430—436.

(D) See the conformity more at large in *Loubers's* relation of *Siam*, p. 135.

Religion,
idolatry.

Origin
from Ti-
bet.

to the supreme being (E): for the *Lamas* hold, that God himself assumed flesh, and actually dwells among them in a human shape; whereas the three incarnated deities of the *Bráhmans* are inferior and created beings. Not but the sects which hold *Wyshtná* or *Isburen* to be the supreme god, seem, in this point, to differ but little from the *Lamas*.

WE have already spoken of the original of the *Bráhmman* religion, in our description of the hither *India*: as to that of the *Lamas*, it seems to have had its rise in *Tibet*, where it has, at present, its principal seat. For there, we are told, that God himself, as the head of this religion, reigns in a human shape; so that the inhabitants of *Tibet* may be said to live under a real *theocracy*, according to their own belief. This god, in human form, is, in *Tibet*, named *La*; in *China* *She-kyá*, and also *Fo*; which name he assumed after his apotheosis, or deification: he is, in his own country, called *Lama-Konjú* (or *Konchok*), that is, *the eternal father*: he is also stiled *Dalay Lama*, or *the grand Lama*, that is, *high priest, pope, or head*, of the religion^b.

Its several
branches.

FROM this fountain all the other gods, or founders of religion, in the several countries professing the same, seem to be derived: as the *Budda*, or *Boutta*, of the hither *Indians*; the *Shaka* of *Laho*, or *Lao*, and *Japan*; the *She-kyá* of *China*; *Thikka* of *Tong-king*; and *Sommona Kodom* of *Siam*. Some of these gods, or legislators, seem to be acknowledged the same with him of *Tibet*, particularly *She-kyá*, or *Shaka*: the account likewise which is given by authors, of their origin and doctrine, internal and external, is nearly the same. It is true, none of those nations seem to acknowledge him for their god, who is at present adored in *Tibet*; although they derive their gods from some part of *India*, west of *China* (F): but rather consider him as coming from a distant country, and taking up his abode among them. Thus the *Hosbang*, or priests of *China*, called, by *Europeans*, *Bonzas*, do not recognize the god of *Tibet* for the head of their religion; and bear a great enmity to the *Lamas*, whose footing in *China* they strenuously oppose. The worshippers, therefore, of *She-kyá*, or *Shaka*, must look on the great *Lama* of *Tibet* as an impostor, and not as the real *Shaka*, whom they adore: for

^b See new gen. collect. of voy. and trav. vol. iv. p. 461.

(E) Mr. La Croze says, they differed in this point only.

(F) Alex. de Rhodes thinks, *Shaka* came from *Siam*; *Nava-rette* says, from *Ceylon*.

it does not appear, that they hold him to be existing any-
where on earth visibly, and in a human shape.

Religion,
Idolatry.

WITH regard to *Budda*, and *Sommona Kodom*, who seem to be the same, their votaries refer his original to the island of *Seylan*, or *Ceylon*; if they are not rather at a loss from what country to derive him. According to a *Balli* book, cited by *Loubere*, the father of *Sommona Kodom*, called also *Pouti Sat*, that is, lord *Pouti* (*Bouta*, or *Budda*, as we conjecture), was a king of *Seylan*^c; whence it may be presumed, *Kodom* himself was a native of that island: although the *Chingalasses* of *Seylan*, who worship *Buda*, or *Budda*, as an inferior deity, say he was not born in that island, and that he died on the continent^d.

Budda, the
same

BUDDA and *Sommona Kodom* seem to be the same, for two reasons: first, that the latter is, by the *Siameses*, called also *Pouti Sat*, or lord *Pouti*, which is doubtless the same with *Budda*: for, as Mr. *La Croze* well remarks, throughout the *Indies* his name is given to *Wednesday*; which, in the *Sanskret* or *Sanskrotam* language, is called *Boutta-varam*; in that of *Seylan*, *Bouda-dina*; in that of *Siam*, *Van Pouti*; and in the *Malabâric*, *Boudèn Kirúmei*^e. The second argument (which we are surprised to find has escaped Mr. *La Croze*), is taken from the prænomén *Sommona*, which, in the *Balli* language, signifies a religious man of the woods^f; and answers both in term and signification to *Sammanin*, or *Shammanin*, a sect formerly in *Malabâr*, and other parts of the hither peninsula, who dwelt in woods, and adored *Budda*, or *Budda*.

FROM what has been said in the preceding paragraph, it may be inferred, that *Sommona Kodom*, is not only the same with *Budda*, of the western *Indians*, but that his worship was brought into *Siam* by the *Sammanins*, possibly on their expulsion out of the hither peninsula, whence they were driven by the *Brammans*, about 500 years ago g.

His origin.

AFTER all, our knowledge of the *Indians*, and their histories, is so very imperfect, that we cannot determine whether *Budda* be the very same person with *Shaka*, and the god of *Tibet*; or whether he was not a different person, pretending to the same divine extraction, who possibly came out of *Tibet*, and introduced the religion of that country among the western *Indians*. However, this is certain, that his origin is of great antiquity: probably long before the birth of *Christ*. For, not

Budda's
antiquity.

^c Relat. of Siam, p. 136. ^d KNOX, hist. Ceylon, aliquo loco. ^e LA CROZE Chret. des Ind. p. 500. ^f LOUBERE, part i. c. xxii. p. 130. ^g See LA CROZE, ubi supra.

Religion, idolatry. to mention what authors say from the tradition of these eastern countries, we find him spoken of by several of the ancient writers, particularly *Clemens Alexandrinus*; who calls him *Boutta*, or *Butta*, and says he was worshipped as a god by the *Sarmanes*^b. *St. Jerom*, and others, writes *Bouda*, or *Budda*; and says he came into the world through the side of his mother, who still remained a virgin^c: in the same manner as the *Indians*, at present, relate of him, of *Shaka*, and of *Fo*.

The Shammanes. THAT this *Butta*, or *Budda*, was not a person newly sprung up in the days of those primitive doctors, appears from hence; that, according to the first of them, he was worshipped as a god, on account of his holy life, by the *Sarmanes*, of whom he gives the following account: "There are two kinds of *Indian* gymnosophists, or philosophers, one called *Sarmanes*, the other *Brachmans*. Those of the *Sarmanes*, who are termed *solitaries*, neither dwell in cities, nor make use of houses; but cover themselves with the barks of trees, and feed on fruits. Water is their only liquor, which they drink out of their hand. They abstain from marriage, and live after the manner of the *Enkratites*^k (G). They obey the commandments of *Butta*, and honour him as a god, on account of his holy life." These *Sarmanes* are the same with the *Germanes*, mentioned by *Strabo*^l, after *Megasthenes*, however the name came to be corrupted; for he speaks of them in nearly the same terms.

Their warning. THIS is a remarkable testimony of the antiquity, as well as eminency, of the sect of *Sarmanes*, in the hither *India*; and a confirmation of what the *Indians* of *Malabâr* relate concerning the *Shammanes*, or *Shammanins*, who, without dispute, are the same people. These *Shammanes*, according to the *Malabâr* authors, were the ancient inhabitants of *India*, and anterior to the *Brâhmans* in the hither peninsula. They were skilled in arts and sciences; which the *Malabârs* had from them. Several of their books, still remaining, are in great esteem; and quoted by the modern *Indians*, in the same manner as the *Greek* and *Roman* authors are with us.

Their sects. THE *Shammanes* were divided into two sects, *Buddergueuls*, that is, the adorers of *Budda*, and *Shammanergueuls*. They openly blasphemed the religion of *Wishnú* and *Isburen*:

^b CLEM. ALEX. STROM. l. i. p. 529. edit. Potteri. ap. LA CROZE, p. 492. ^c Lib. i. adv. Jovin. ^k CLEM. ALEX. ubi supra. ^l Lib. xv.

(G) Who are the followers of *Tatian*, and *Justin Martyr*.

they detested the sacred books of the *Brâmmans*; and compelled the *Malabârs* to embrace their doctrines^m. This accusation, perhaps, is brought to justify the proceedings of the *Brâmmans* against them. However that be, it is certain, that these latter, by degrees, gained over the *Indians* to their way of worship: and, as soon as they found themselves the stronger party, began to persecute the *Shammanes*, whom they at length drove beyond the *Ganges*, into the farther peninsula of the *Indies*. On this occasion, doubtless, it was, that the *Brâmmans* have invented the fable of *Wishtnû's* sixth incarnation, into the *Brâmmân Vegoud Dova Avataram*, who, by means of twelve disciples, destroyed the two above-mentioned sectsⁿ (H). But we learn from another quarter, that this great revolution was brought about by the *Brâmmans*, who, in several kingdoms of *India*, stirred up the princes to make a horrible massacre of them^o. Considering that the *Malabârs* have no regular cycle of years, and that their history is so blended with fables, it is hard to determine when this bloody tragedy happened: but, as it appears by the books of the *Shammanes*, that 500 years ago there were yet some remains of them, on the *Choromandel* coast, it is probable that the idolatry of the *Brâmmans* hath not had the absolute dominion in that country above five centuries. However that be, we are told the religion of the *Shammanes*, at present, is to be found neither there, nor on the coast of *Malabâr* ^{Religion, idolatry.} ^{Extirpated by the Brammans.}

ALTHOUGH, from the name of *Sommona Kodom*, chief lawgiver and idol among the *Siameses*, we are inclined to believe, that he was a *Shamman*, from the coast of *Malabâr*, or *Choromandel*; yet his arrival in *Siam* is not to be dated from the expulsion of the *Shammanes*, by the *Brâmmans*: for the *Siameses* place his death from whence their æra is computed, about the year 544 before *Christ* (I). Neither must we conclude, although he established the worship and law of *Budda* in *Siam*, and seems to bear the name of *Budda* in that of *Pouti Sat*, or lord *Pouti*, as hath been before observed, that

^m ZIEGEN BALG. ap. La Croze Chret. des Indes, p. 493, & seqq. ⁿ Ibid. p. 497. ^o PONS ap. Lettr. Ediff. tom. xxvi. p. 247. ^p LA CROZE, ubi supra, p. 497, 499.

(H) It seems not a little odd to us, that the end of *Wishtnû's* sixth incarnation should be to preach down the religion of *Budda*, and yet that he should personate him, or assume his form, in the ninth, as if he found no fault with *Budda*, but his worshippers.

(I) Mr. *Loubers* informs us, in his relation of *Siam*, chap. iii. that the year 1689, beginning in December 1688, was the 2233 from *Sommona Kodom's* death.

Government. he was really *Budda* himself: for *Budda* seems to have been worshipped in the hither *India*, many centuries antecedent to that æra; and his religion settled in that peninsula long before the *Brâmmans* entered the country. It must, therefore, be thought, either that the name of *Puti Sat* was given to him, on account of having introduced the doctrine of *Budda* into *Siam*; or that he pretended to be *Budda*, regenerated in the person of *Sommona Kedom*.

S E C T. VI.

Government and History of Lanjang.§. 1. *Government of Lanjang.*

Chief officers. THE country of *Laos*, as hath been already observed, is divided among several kings; concerning whom we meet with nothing more than what hath been related, excepting him of *Lanjang*.

THE principal dignities and offices of this kingdom are eight. The first is that of viceroy-general, who manages one part of state affairs, and assists the king in all matters which concern the government. On the demise of his majesty, it is his business to assemble the council, convene the states, and, in short, take on him the quality of regent, until the successor is enthroned; all other officers or ministers being obliged to obey him. And, because the kingdom is divided into seven provinces, there are appointed seven other viceroys, with equal power, for the government of them: but they reside continually at court, as the king's companions in office, and his counsellors, where they enjoy the revenues, and other benefits, of their respective departments, which they commit to the care of their lieutenants, or deputy-governors. Besides the provinces, there are other lesser governments, which depend on the greater, in respect both to civil and military affairs.

EACH province has its own militia, consisting of both horse and foot; whose officers depend on the viceroy or governor, he on the prime viceroy, and this last on the king. The troops subsist on revenues assigned them in each province, and are obliged to serve, on that consideration, on all occasions which the kingdom may require.

Their state. THE governors appear with large retinues, and often oppress the people, seizing by force whatever they take a fancy to, especially of foreign merchandize; nor dare any oppose

* MARINI, hist. de Tunq. & Lao, p. 358, & seq.

such violences. However, the king does not countenance *Govern-*
such acts of injustice; and they are punishable by the laws. *ment.*
His majesty, far from abusing his power in that manner, as
soon as he is informed that a merchant has brought any curi-
osity into his kingdom, which he has a mind for, imme-
diately orders him not to expose it to sale, and sends the full
value of it, to prevent the ruin of commerce; the duties aris-
ing from which are of great advantage to his revenue^b.
What is still more barbarous in these governors, they often
enter into measures to destroy particular men: for, being in-
fatuated with the belief in magic and witchcraft, they hire
assassins to hunt and kill men in the woods, in order to procure
their gall, for making charms^c, as hath been before related.

WITH regard to laws, the *Lanjans* have very few; nor *Laws few:*
need they many, where they have the customs of the country
for the guide and rule of their conduct. Besides, the will of
the king stands in place of laws, where they are wanting:
nor does he exert that authority to the detriment of his sub-
jects. And, in matters of dispute between the people, the
opinion of the judges in former cases is made use of, as pre-
cedents. There is one custom almost peculiar to this coun-
try; for, though tolerated in *Siam*, it is not established there:
this is, a certain subjection and dependence which every fa-
mily has on one person, as the chief or superior: so that all
the *Lanjans*, excepting the *Talapoy*, who do not descend in a
right line from the principal branch of any family (be their
condition what it will, dignified or not, rich or poor), must
depend thereon during their lives, without ever having it in
their power to free themselves.

WHEN they, who issue directly from the main branch, *Subjection*
come to marry, the family divides itself in such sort, that the *of families*
male descendants follow the degree and branch of the father,
the female race those of the mother. This dependence or
subjection is very strict and incommodious. First, they are
obliged, twice a year, to pay their acknowledgements, and
make presents, to the head of the family: secondly, they are
obliged to serve their chief in whatever he commands them,
whether he wants to build a house, to celebrate an idol-feast,
or take a journey, they are obliged to attend him at their own
expence, to obey his orders, and contribute to the expence of the
work. On the road some must serve him as soldiers, for his
guard, and others as his domestics. This custom proves of
great use to the king; who, in a short time, may raise *to their chief.*
a considerable army: for he has nothing to do but to gain over

^b MARINI, p. 346, & seq.^c Ibid. p. 349.

Government.

the chiefs of families. The worst of all is, that, by the same custom, if the chief happens to be convicted of any enormous crime, all those who, in the least degree of affinity, belong to him, are, at the same time, stripp'd of all their rights, and become more miserable than ever; for they are destined thenceforth to serve the king's elephants, to gather herbs for them every day, to keep them clean, and watch them in the night.

Justice how administered.

JUSTICE is not altogether well administered; and, because crimes are very rarely committed here, many laws are not required: however, they have a few, which prove sufficient to preserve peace and union among them. The severity, for instance, with which not only blows, but angry words, are punished, is a great means of keeping people in awe. With regard to civil matters, justice is in a very languid state. They have no comments to explain their laws: so that they are all subject to the interpretation of the judges, who are not without their prejudices, and may, on the slightest grounds, condemn the parties; who cannot appeal from his sentence, but must suffer the penalty which custom has established^d.

The king.

THE king of *Lanjan* is an absolute independant prince; and acknowledges no superior either in temporal or spiritual affairs. The property of lands lies wholly in him; who disposes at pleasure of the effects belonging to his subjects: nor can any family in the kingdom inherit or possess any thing left them by will.

No nobility.

ONE here meets with no kind of nobility; nor is it to be acquired either by birth, riches, or virtuous actions. Employments, honours, and wealth, depend solely on the king, who confers those benefits on whom he pleaseth; and resumes them at their deaths. The most he does in favour of their children, is to leave them in possession of the moveable effects: as for houses and lands, money and arms, they all return into the exchequer. No man can say he is master of one foot of land; only the *Talapays* can dispose of such spots as are inhabited: but as for the rest, the king distributes them among the governors and commanders, to some more, to others less. These farm them out for three years only to persons, who agree to give one half of the third year's produce to the king.

Viceroy.

EVERY viceroy has a very numerous retinue: but the court of the king, whose splendor is vastly set off by the magnificence of these grandees, appears chiefly in the incredible number of pages who compose it. These are always at hand

^d MARINI, p. 370, & seqq.

to solicit for vacant places, to which they are promoted according to the years which they have served : but, generally speaking, they are advanced through favour, more than merit, as is the case in other countries. Besides the above-mentioned officers, there is an infinite number of others, who have their different occupations. The rank of all courtiers is distinguished by certain gold or silver boxes, which their pages carry after them where-ever they go. The prime viceroy has the privilege of riding upon an elephant richly harnessed, whenever he goes abroad ; but the rest are allowed only to be carried in little chairs, adorned with cloth of gold, and accompanied with several footmen in handsome liveries. The other officers, let their quality be what it will, are obliged to go on foot ; and although they have their boxes also, yet they must not be carried after them exposed to public view.

WHATEVER other monarchs may think of the king of *Lanjan*, he thinks them all his inferiors ; nor will yield the superiority to the emperor of *China* himself. To inspire his subjects with the greater veneration for his person, he appears but seldom in public ; and daily withdraws himself more and more from the eyes of his subjects, as if he was of a species something more than human. He is distinguished from others only by the holes made in the fleshy part of his ears, which are of an extraordinary size : they are made so wide by stretching the holes with pipes, putting in a larger every month, till at length the tips of his majesty's ears touch his shoulders. He wears no crown, but such as the ancient emperors used, which is a gold band or ribband, which serves also to bind his hair.

HIS *Lanjan* majesty shews himself but twice a year to his subjects : who, in return for that honour done them, strive all they can to divert him, by means of elephants trained to do a thousand little tricks ; and wild beasts, whom they set a fighting. They have also wrestlers and gladiators on this occasion, who exert their strength and utmost skill to please the king.

BUT the time to see the court in all its splendor, is when the king goes to visit some temple ; on which occasion all the magnificence of the kingdom is display'd in the dress and equipage of the officers, as well as of his majesty himself, mounted on a lofty elephant most richly accoutred. The king is preceded by his chief officers, and followed by a multitude of horsemen, armed with muskets, and in good order. The cavalcade is closed with several beasts loaded with presents,

Their history. which his majesty, in behalf of his people, is to make to the idol; whose temple, on that occasion, resembles an exchange, rather than a place of devotion. On this day the women are not permitted to stir out of their houses: but, when the king passes by, they appear at the windows, and sprinkle both him and his presents with the perfumed waters of *Nasse*; which wetting is very agreeable to him. His majesty is met at some distance from the temple by the *Talapoy*, dressed in their most pompous habits, who attend him through the ceremony, and, at the end, divide the most valuable offerings among themselves.

His audiences.

The magnificence which appears in this festival exceeds that which is displayed at court, when an ambassador is to have his audience, or the petty kings, who are his tributaries, come to pay him homage. On this occasion he receives them in a great hall, sitting on a very high throne, and dressed in his robes of ceremony. He returns their compliments by the mouth of his chancellor; and never speaks to them but by an interpreter.

§. 2. History of Lanjang.

Ancient state,

WE meet with very little in authors concerning the history and affairs of the *Lanjans*. It has been already remarked, that they were, many centuries ago, in subjection to *Cfina*; as were all the other countries of the farther *Indian* Peninsula: but, after they had shaken off the yoke, and were powerful, they formed themselves into a kind of republic, which continued till the year of *Christ* 600, when their state became a monarchy.

*free and
ent.*

For the country having become more populous by the great resort of *Siameses*, who, for that end, had leave to settle there; the *Lanjans*, to secure the power to themselves, elected a chief or commander, whom they invested with all the authority, and acknowledged for their sovereign. But factions arising among them, through the intrigues of the *Siameses*; these latter, having had a powerful party, procured one to be raised to the throne, who was of the family of the kings of *Siam*. From this prince the kings of *Lao*, or rather *Lanjan*, have been lineally descended, for above a thousand years; inasmuch that they still retain both the language and dress of their ancestors. From this time, likewise, they seem to have continued independent, although some authors report

* MARINI, p. 361, & seqq.

that they pay tribute to the king of *Tong-king*^a. But that is *Govern-*
a mistake, arising from a circumstance which they were not *ment*.
sufficiently acquainted with, and is as follows.

THE governor of a province of *Lao* having usurped the so-*Subject to*
vereignty, the king of *Tong-king*, to whom that province for-*Ava*.
merly belonged, invaded and obliged him by force to pay him
tribute. This he did for some time : but, towards the end
of the sixteenth, or beginning of the seventeenth century, the
king of *Ava*, after conquering *Pegu* and *Siam*, made himself
master, not only of that province, but of all *Lao* (or *Lan-*
jan), whose inhabitants he carried to *Pegu*, in order to peo-
ple that country. The *Lanjans*, who bore their captivity
with the utmost impatience, at length formed a general con-
spiracy, to recover their liberty ; and rising on a day ap-
pointed, put the *Peguers* to the sword, where-ever they met
with them. Their enterprise was attended with so great suc-
cess, that, had they pursued their good fortune, they might
easily have reduced the whole kingdom under their subjection :
but the desire they had to return to their own country made
them hasten thither, from whence they quickly expelled their
enemies, who had it in possession. The news of this revolu-
tion coming to the ears of the natives, who had fled for shel-
ter into the neighbouring mountains and forests, they pre-
sently returned, and re-peopled *Lanjan*, the capital of this
kingdom, which soon recovered its former splendor, under
its legitimate king.

THE king of *Ava* and *Pegu* not being able, at that junct-*Throw off*
ture, to revenge the insult, dissembled his resentment, and *the yoke*,
the better to compass his design by fraud, pretended to re-
linquish his right to the kingdom, and make an alliance with
the *Lanjans* ; contenting himself with a very small acknow-
ledgement on their side. Mean time he, under-hand, made
great preparations for war : but his death, which happened
in the year 1647, frustrated his intentions. However, his suc-
cessor, pursuing the same scheme, sent ambassadors to the *Lan-*
jans, with rich presents, and very obliging letters ; by which he
demanded, but in very moderate terms, a yearly tribute of only
one choice elephant, and a beautiful maiden. The king of
Lao, far from agreeing to the proposal, was so provoked, that
he caused the ambassadors and their equipage to be seized as
spies. At the same time he sent some of his best troops to-
wards the frontiers of *Pegu*, where the king of *Ava* had his
magazines filled with warlike stores, ready for his intended en-
become in-
dependant.

^a MARINI, ubi supra, p. 356.

Name,
Bounds.

terprise : but as he left them unguarded, in order to take off all suspicion, the *Lanjan*s came on them by surprise, and burnt them to the ground. This unexpected blow ruined all the measures of that formidable monarch, who durst neither attack them, nor pursue their retreat, as well for want of ammunition, as for fear of a rebellion, knowing that his subjects hated him ^b.

THIS is all the account we are able to give of the affairs of *Lanjan* ; as having received very little information from that country, since the middle of the last century, when the missionaries found it impracticable to propagate their religion among the inhabitants, who were too much under the influence of their *Talapoy*, or priests.

CHAP. VIII.

The Kingdom of Siam.

SECT. I.

Name, Extent, Mountains, Rivers, Soil, and Produce.

Its name.

THE name of *Siam* came into *Europe* by the *Portugueses*, who write also *Sion*, and had it probably from the people of *Pegu*, or the *Malayans*, who call it *Tsiam* ^a. This is not the appellation given to the country by the natives : but as *Tsiam* or *Siam* signifies *Free* in the *Peguan* language, it seems to be a translation of the indigenous name of the inhabitants, which is *Tay* : and hence the country is called *Moyang* or *Muang* (A) *Tay*, that is, *the kingdom of free men*, or *Franks*. They also call themselves *Tay-noe*, *the little Tay*, or *Siams* ; to distinguish them from the *Tay-yay*, or *great Siams* (B), who inhabit the northern mountains, and are reputed savages ^b. *Pinto* says, the true name of *Siam* is *Sornau*, or the empire of the *Sornau* ^c : but we do not find that what he asserts has been confirmed by any traveller since his time.

^b MARINI, p. 366, & seqq.

^a KÆMPFER hist. Japan. p.

25.

^b LOUBERE hist. Siam, p. 6, & seq.

^c MENDEZ

PINTO's voyage, ch. 47. p. 269.

(A) It is also written *Meü-ang*, or *Mewang*, *Moang*, *Moan*, *Mong*, and the like. *Gervaise* says, p. 42. that *Meüang Thay*, signifies a country of great strength; they call it also *the circuit of the visitations of the Gods*. *Kæmpfer Japan*, p. 25.

(B) Of these an account has been given before, p. 135.

SIAM is surrounded by high mountains, which, on the east side, separate it from the kingdoms of *Kamboja* and *Laos*, or *Laos*; on the west from *Pegu*; and on the north from *Ava*, or, more properly, from *Jangoma*, which is subject to *Ava*; on the south it is washed by the gulf of *Siam*, and has the peninsula of *Malakka*; the north part (C) whereof is under its dominion.

THE general situation of *Siam* has been determined by the observations made in 1688 by the Jesuit missionaries, at the city of *Siam* and *Louvo*; but its dimensions are uncertain.

The *Abbe Choisy* promised to draw an exact map of it^d; and we are told, the king of *Siam* would have engaged the missionaries to have made a map of his own and the neighbouring kingdoms, but they were obliged to proceed for *China*.

However, Mr. *Loubere* has published one at the head of his description of *Siam*, made by an *Englishman*, who went up the *Menan*, as far as the northern frontiers^e; which, according to this map, are placed in the latitude of 22° 30'.

This *Mr. De l'Isle* has followed in his maps; and Mr. *Bellin*, in his map of the farther peninsula (D), extends them to the 23d degree.

But the late map of *China*, published by the Jesuits, shews this to be a very great error: for in that case, instead of leaving room for the kingdom of *Jangoma*, and other provinces of *Ava*, which lie to the north of *Siam*, between it and *China*, its northern borders will be carried one whole degree within those of *China*.

To avoid this error, Mr. *Bellin* has run into another, equally injurious to geography, by contracting the bounds of the province of *Tun-nan*, in *China*, above four degrees from west to east.

Would it not have been better to make *Siam* contiguous with *China*? Since *Loubere's* map is not to be compared with that of the Jesuits for accuracy? On the contrary, that author confesses, that the person who made the map of *Siam* was not skilled enough to give the positions entirely exact.

He should have gone farther, and said he had not taken any latitudes; at least he observed none on the northern frontiers, the situation of which, above all things, ought to have been settled.

^d *CHOISY* voy. de *Siam*, p. 552.

^e *TACHARD* voy. de

Siam, p. 265.

^f *LOUBERE*, p. 3.

(C) In consequence of this, it may be said to be washed on the west side by the gulf of *Bengal*; where it has some good ports, as *Mergny*, *Junsaalem*, &c.

(D) Inserted in the *Histoire generale des voyages*, tome ix. under the title of *Cartes des royaumes de Siam, Tunquin, Pegu*, &c.

*Moun-
tains.*

*Loubier's
map faulty.*

LOUBERE places the southern borders of *Siam* in thirteen degrees of latitude; by that means curtailing it more on that side than he has enlarged it on the other. *Joost Schuten* (E), with more propriety, extends it northward only to the eighteenth degree, and southward to the seventh; where it confines with the kingdoms of *Patane* and *Queda*, which are its tributaries. However, we make its northern limits to touch the nineteenth parallel; nor durst we venture to give them a greater elevation; since, in so doing, we leave no more than three degrees for the countries lying between *Siam* and *China*. According then to our computation, *Siam* is situated between the seventh and nineteenth degree of latitude, containing twelve degrees, or about 834 *English* miles in length from south to north; and between the 115th and 121st degrees of longitude: so that its greatest breadth from west to east is about 400 miles; but, towards the north, it is not much above half that breadth.

*The moun-
tains*

*which sur-
round it.*

SIAM being, as hath been already observed, surrounded with mountains, and having very few hills within the intermediate country, may be said to be one wide extended plain, with a great river, and its branches, running through it from north to south. It is remarkable, that these great mountains, which make two huge chains, one on the west and the other on the east side, diminish gradually as they advance southward. That on the west side, having passed along the borders of *Pegu*, runs through the middle of the peninsula of *Malakka*, and terminates at the cape of *Sinkapura*, the most southern point of all *Asia*, which separates the gulf or bay of *Bengal* from that of *Siam*. The eastern chain, which divides *Siam* from *Java* and *Kamboja*, terminates at the cape of this last name, which makes the most eastern point of the gulf of *Siam*. The kingdom of *Siam* extends on each side of the gulf like a horseshoe, beginning on the east side at the river of *Chantabon*, which divides it from *Kamboja*: on the opposite side it reaches as far south as *Quedah* and *Patana* in the territories of the *Malayans*, of which *Malakka* was formerly the capital. Thus the coast runs about 200 leagues along the gulf of *Siam*, and 180 along that of *Bengal*, affording great conveniency for trade to the kingdom.

SEVERAL rivers, descending from these chains of mountains, fall into both gulfs, and render the coasts inhabitable.

* See LOUBERE, p. 3 & 7.

(E) He was director of the *Dutch* company in those parts, and wrote in the year 1636.

Hence

Hence the coast of *Siam*, in the gulf of *Bengál*, has ports and *Rivers*.
roads, which the opposite coast of *Choromandel* wants^b. *Menâm*.

THE principal river of all *Siam* is called *Menâm*, *Menân*,
or *Meynâm*, that is, *the mother of waters*, by way of excel-
lency; *Menâm* being an appellation given to all great rivers
through the farther *Indian* peninsle. The source of this river
is either unknown to most of the inhabitants of these parts,
or they misrepresent it, in order to magnify its origin. Hence
travellers have given such different accounts: some, as *Mendez*
Pinto, say, it rises in a lake called *Chiamay*, near a city of
that name, several days journey to the north of *Siam*; but
Loubere could not hear of any such lake¹. *Gervaise* says, it
probably has its source in a great lake, discovered some years
since in the country of *Laos*^k; which, if there be any such,
may be the lake of *Chiamay*. According to *Kämpfer*, the
Siameses derive it from the high mountains of *Imaus*; and re-
port that it divides into several arms, which run through
Kamboja, *Siam*, and *Pegu*, into the sea. They farther pre-
tend, that these arms are joined by other smaller branches,
not only among themselves, but also with the *Ganges*, rising
in the same mountains, if they are not rather to be deemed
branches of this last river; and hence a passage might be
opened for vessels to go from *Siam* into *Bengál*. But our
author will not vouch for the truth of this account¹; and
is in the right of it, for it is contrary to experience.

As some make it a branch of the *Ganges*^m, so others de- *Its origin*:
rive it, still more extravagantly, from the *Indus*ⁿ. But we
are told that Mr. *Le Clerc*, a missionary, who ascended the
Menâm as far as the frontiers of *Lao* (F), found it there very
narrow; and the inhabitants assured him, that three days
higher it was no more than a small brook descending from
the mountains^o. This seems to be the most likely account of
its origin; and agrees with what Mr. *here* relates, that it
is so small at its entrance into the kingdom of *Siam*, that for
fifty leagues it carries only little boats, holding no more than
four or five persons^p.

Its course is from north to south, through the whole *Its course*:
country of *Siam*. As it advances towards the sea, it is in-

^b LOUBERE, *ibid*.

¹ *Ibid*. p. 3.

^k GERVAISE relat.

de *Siam*, p. 8.

^l KÄMPFER, p. 43.

^m CHOISY voy.

de *Siam*, p. 526.

ⁿ See GERVAISE, *ubi sup*.

^o CHOISY,

ubi sup.

^p LOUBERE, *ubi sup*.

(F) Rather perhaps *Yangoma*, then probably dependant on
Lao, or *Lanjang*, a part of *Lao*.

Rivers.
Menâm.

creased by other rivers, especially on the east side, and becomes very large at last, as it approaches the capital; from whence upwards, it is embarrassed with rocks and cataracts; but their *praws* (or large boats) may be taken to pieces, and carried by land till those obstructions are past^r. This river, descending from the city of *Chiamay* (G), and entering *Siam*, passes by the following cities: *Me-tak*, the first towards the north-north-west; then, successively, *Tian-tong*, *Kampeng*, or *Kampeng-pet* (H), which some pronounce *Kampingue*, *Lakonsevan*, *Chaynat*, *Siam* (or *Siyáthia*), *Talakoan*, *Talagueow*, and *Bankok* (or *Fon*); seven miles below which it falls into the gulf of *Siam* by three mouths, the most navigable of which is that towards the east^r.

Bar at

the mouth.

AT the mouth, by the *Siameses* called *Pagnam Taufia*^r, it is a league wide; higher up it diminishes to one fourth of that breadth; and every-where above, as far as the capital city, it is 200 paces over. Its chanel all that way is deep, and pretty equal (I), carrying up vessels of 3 or 400 tons; and was it not for the bank or bar at its mouth, which has but eleven or twelve feet water in the highest floods, great ships might sail up it; but, on account of that obstruction, they are obliged to remain in the road, which is very safe. Its course from the city downwards is very winding, making several agreeable isles: the water is very clear, light, and good.

Full of
fish.

It is full of fish, but has not such variety as the river of *France*. The chief of them is called by the *Europeans* *kaboche*, about a foot and half long, and ten or twelve thick, with a kind of flat and square head: there are two sorts; one ash-coloured, the other black; this last is best for eating. They dry them in the sun, and have a great trade for them with the neighbouring countries. The fish of this river are not like those of *France*, but then they are rather more delicious. One often meets with crocodiles of a monstrous size; and a little venomous fish, which, on being provoked, swells like a toad. It is delightful sailing on this river, whose banks are green and very populous, but one is

Overflows
yearly.

sadly tormented with gnats: in a word, its waters annually swell and overflow^r. This happens in *March*, at which

^r KÆMPFER ubi supra, p. 26.

p. 3. ^r KÆMPFER. p. 13.
7, & seqq.

^r LOUBÈRE ubi supra,

^r GERVAISE ubi supra, p.

(G) Doubtless *Jamabay*, capital of *Jangoma*.

(H) Probably the *Kapinger* of *Mendoza Pinto*.

(I) *Kæmpfer*, p. 43, says it is very deep, rapid, full, and broader than the *Elb*.

time the country is drowned for above 120 miles in circuit. *Rivers.* To this periodical event, the kingdom not only owes its Tenasserim yearly fertility, but has sometimes been obliged for its preservation : as it happened in 1587, when the vast army of Pegu, which besieged the capital city, was of a sudden surprised by the inundation, and the greater part of it destroyed.

THE map published by Mr. *Louber* exhibits another river called also *Menâm*, which rising in the mountains on the western borders of *Lahos* or *Laos*, runs southward, almost parallel with the former ; and passing through *Menang Fang*, *Pichay*, *Porjelouk*, and *Pichit*, falls into the great river at *Lakon sevan*. The journal of the *Chinese* merchants, often quoted before, mentions two rivers of this country which have their sources in the kingdom of *Laos* ; one called the river of *Siam*, which rises in the mountain *Kyang Daw*, the other *Kyang-hay*, or *Kyang-lay*, which falls into the great river : but which of these, or whether either of them, is the river passing by *Muang Fang*, we cannot pretend to determine. Other rivers

THERE are two other rivers of note which fall into the great *Menâm*, near its mouth, one on the west side, which rises near the city of *Kambori*, to the south-west of *Lakon sevan* ; and from thence descending towards *Papri*, divides into two branches ; the most northern, called *Mahapram*, joins the great *Menâm*, a little to the north of the capital *Siam* ; the other falls into the sea, near *Pipeli*, towards the western mouth of the same river. falling into it.

THE river on the east side has its source a little above the city of *Karazema*, on the frontiers of the *Laos* : and having passed by *Kanayot* and *Perion*, enters the bay of *Myittha*, near the eastern branch of the *Menâm*.

BESIDES the above-mentioned rivers, we meet with two other considerable ones, which are, at present, within the Tenasserim bounds of this kingdom. The first is that of *Tenassarim*, which comes from the mountains of *Ava*, and is of great length ; but the navigation is rendered difficult, by rocks and branches of trees, with which its chanel is full. It is likewise so rapid, that one cannot ascend it above three or four leagues a day : it passes almost due south to the city of *Tenassarim* ; and then turning suddenly to the north-west, about thirteen leagues from thence, falls into the bay of *Bengâl*, at the port of *Merghey*. That of

* See *PIMENTA* apud *Purch.* pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1746.

* *DU HALDE*'s descr. of *China*, vol. i. p. 62.

Soil, Pro-
duce.

River of
Chante-
bon.

Soil and
produce.

Useful
timber.

Mines.

Tambuk
m. tal.

THE other river is that of *Chantebon*, which, though not so large as some of those before-mentioned, carries large vessels with greater ease than any of them; and notwithstanding there is a great bank of mud at the entrance, yet you have always fourteen or fifteen feet water¹.

THE country of *Siam* may be divided into cultivated and uncultivated lands; of which latter it for the most part consists; being covered with woods of *bambú*, and other trees. The most profitable trees to the *Siameses* are those which produce cotton, oil, and varnish. These oils, mixed with plaisters, render the walls of their houses as white, hard, and well polished, as marble. Their varnish is very good, but they know not how to make use of it. The forests afford timber for building ships and houses, for wainscoting and carving. There is both light and heavy wood; some easy to cleave, others which will not cleave at all: this is called *wood Mary*, and is better than any other for the ribs of ships. Here is also the *iron wood*, very heavy and tough, of which anchors are made. It is said to have the quality of corroding iron in time. There is a wood as light as fir, and of the same colour, but more fit for carving, as it never splits under the chissel.

ABOVE all, the *Siameses* have trees so tall and strait, that one alone is sufficient to make a boat, or *balon*, sixteen or twenty fathom long. They have also the cinnamon-tree, the best next to that of *Seylan*; *Sapan*, and other woods proper for dying; the *aquila*, or aloes wood, better than what other countries produce, though not so good as the *Kalamba* of *Kodun-china*. This wood is found only in pieces; being nothing but rotten parts of certain trees. All trees of the kind have it not; nor is it always to be met with in the same part of those which have it: so that it requires a tedious search in the woods².

No country has a greater reputation for being rich in mines than *Siam*: this appears from the multitude of statues, and other cast works; great numbers of which are of gold. The wainscot also, and roofs of their temples, are gilded. However, they have of late sought in vain for mines, either of gold or silver. The king had made a metal called *tambuk*, by mixing a little gold with copper. Mr. *Vincent*, a French physician, discovered a mine of very good steel, and another of chrystal; also of antimony, emeral, and other minerals; besides a quarry of white marble, and a rich gold mine; but

¹ GERVASE, ubi supr. p. 11, & seqq.
ubi supr. p. 11, & seqq.

² LOUBERE,

concealed it from the *Siameses*, whom yet he instructed in many things, relating to the smelting and extracting metals from the ore. They have plenty of lead and tin, called *kalin*, which is sold throughout *India*. It is soft, and not well purified; but, to render it whiter and harder, they mix it with *Kadmia*, a mineral easily reduced to powder; and it is this white tin which is called *toutinague*. The *kadmia*, melted with copper, makes it yellow: but both metals become more brittle by the mixture.

THERE is a mountain of loadstone near the city of *Louvo*; and another near the city of *Jonsalam*, on the bay of *Bengál*: but the latter (and perhaps the former) loses its virtue in three or four months. The mountains afford very curious agate; and Mr. *Vincent* saw some pieces of sapphires and diamonds, with the *Talapoy*s, who busy themselves much in such kinds of searches. They have mines of iron, which they know how to smelt, but are bad forgers. They use wooden anchors to their galleys; and have neither chisfels, saws, nor nails, nor even pins nor needles: for in building they use only pins made of *bambú*. They have some iron and copper padlocks, the first good, the latter very naught; but both sorts brought from *Japan*, for they make none themselves.

THE land of *Siam* seems to be formed by the mud descending from the mountains; to which mud, and the overflowings of the river, the soil owes its fertility: for in the higher places, and parts not reached by the inundation, all is dried up and burnt with the sun, soon after the rains are over. Those parts are likewise subject to contagious distempers, and the annoyance of insects, which the overflowings destroy. However, the ants, to avoid them, make their nests in trees; and, for the same reason, partridges and pigeons, which do not perch in other countries, instructed by nature, do all perch in this. Among the insects are the white ants, the *marin-gowins*, a kind of gnats; the *millipede*, or *palmer-worm*, which carries a sting both in its head and tail. Lastly, little shining flies, with four wings: they have some light in their eyes; but their greatest splendor proceeds from under their wings when they fly.

THE *Siameses* reckon only three seasons in the year, winter, little summer, and great summer. The first, which lasts but two months, answers to those of our *December* and *January*. The second season is composed of the three following months: and the other seven form the great summer. Thus their winter happens nearly at the same time with ours;

^a LOUBERT, p. 13, & seqq.

because,

Mines,
Seasons.
Winter.

because, like us, they inhabit to the north of the line; but then it is as hot as our warmest summer: so that they always cover their garden plants against the heat of the sun, as we do against the cold in winter-nights: and yet the diminution appears to them not a little inconvenient. The little summer is their spring; but they have no autumn. And as for their great summer, they might well make two of it, in imitation of the antient authors, who speak of the *Indies*; since they have the sun directly over their heads twice during that hot season^b.

Monsoons.

THEIR winter is dry, and their summer rainy. Was it not that the sun draws clouds and rain, and that the wind blows from one pole, when the sun is declined towards the other, the torrid zone would doubtless be uninhabitable. Thus in *Siam*, that great luminary being to the south of the line during winter, the north winds blow continually, and cool the air. On the contrary, in the summer, while he is to the north of the line, and vertical to the *Siameses*, the south winds reign in their turn; and thus either cause incessant rains, or dispose the weather to be rainy. It is this constant law of the winds which the *Portugueses* call *Monções* (K); and other nations after them *Monsoons*. From hence also it is that ships can hardly get to the bar of *Siam*, during the six months of north winds: or depart from it for the other six months, in which the south winds command.

Account of
time.

THE *Siameses* have no word to express week; but, like us, they call the seven days after the planets (L), and their *Monday* corresponds with ours; but the day begins six hours sooner there than here. They begin their year on the first day of the moon in ~~November~~ or *December*, according to certain rules; and make use of a cycle of sixty years, like most of the other eastern nations, which is composed of a lesser cycle of twelve years, to each of which they give a name (M), five times repeated. Their months are twelve, consisting each of thirty days; neither of which are expressed by names, but by numbers^c.

^b LOUBERE, p. 15, & seqq.

^c Ibid. p. 18, & seq.

(K) From the *Latin motiones aeris*, according to *Ossorius* and *Mossi*.

(L) *Van Albit*, Sunday; *Van Chaw*, Monday; *Van Angkhan*, the day of Mars, or Tuesday; *Van Pout*, the day of Mercury, or Wednesday; *Van Prabaat*, the day of Jupiter, or Thursday;

Van Souk, the day of Venus, or Friday; *Van Saow*, the day of Saturn, or Saturday. *Van* signifies day.

(M) The names are those of animals, like the *Osgir*, or *Tartar cycle*; as the *little mare*, *great mare*, *ape*, *crow*, &c.

Rice, called *Kaow*, is the principal harvest, and chief food, *Grain*, of the *Siameses*: this is the produce of the low-lands; but *Flowers*. wheat grows in those which escape the inundation. These lands they water with watering pots, or by overflowing them with rain water, kept in cisterns, raised on higher grounds. *Their grain*. But whether it costs more to rear it, or is not so well liked as rice, the king only uses it; and that perhaps more out of curiosity, than for any other reason. What our author ate of the king's bread was so dry, that he preferred the rice boiled in water: however, some *Europeans* assured him, that the wheaten bread of *Siam* is good; and that its dryness might proceed from rice-flower being mixed with it.

THE *Siameses*, in their agriculture, employ both buffaloes and oxen; which they guide by means of a cord, run through the gristle of their nose, with a knot on each side, that it may not slip in drawing. It also passes through a hole or ring, at the end of the draught-tree of the plough. Nothing is more simple than this machine, which consists of three pieces of wood: one is a long beam, which serves for the draught-tree or pole; another is crooked, serving for the handle; the third is a shorter and stronger piece, which is fastened underneath, at the end of the handle. It is this which bears the share; and these four pieces are tied together with leathern thongs.

ONE meets with *Turkey* wheat in *Siam*, but it is reared *Pulse*. only in gardens. Their way is to boil or parch the whole ear, and then eat the inside. They have pease and other legumes, but different from ours. Mr. *Louberé* saw excellent potatoes of the size and shape of parsnips; which, roasted under ashes, eat like a chestnut. He likewise saw *siboules*; but neither onions, garlick, cucumbers, sitruls, water-melons, parsley, baum, nor sorrel. They have no true melons, strawberries, raspberries, nor artichokes; although they have plenty of asparagus, which yet they do not eat. They have no fellyery, cauliflowers, coleworts, turnips, parsnips, carrots, leeks, lettuce: in short, most of the herbs, whereof we compose our sallads, are unknown to them. However, the soil of *Siam* may be proper for them, since they thrive about *Batavia*.

TUBEROSES and gillyflowers, amaranthus's and tricolors, *Flowers*: are common in *Siam*; but roses and jessamines are very scarce. Excepting these, most of our flowers and plants are strangers there: nor have they so full a scent as those of *Europe*; the excessive heat dissipating the fragrant smell, as well as the rank taste, of vegetables. And hence no good grapes can be produced

Provinces, produced in this country¹. This is all which we think necessary to relate concerning the natural history of *Siam*. As

Cities.

to animals, such as elephants, rhinoceros's, and tigers, scorpions, and serpents, which last are of a monstrous size, we shall pass them over, as common to other countries; and shall only take notice of certain birds, called by the *Siameses* *Nok-tbo*, which are larger than ostriches, and whose bill is three feet long. *Tachard* saw one of a middling size, whose length, from the end of its bill to its feet, was four feet ten inches; and its wings, when extended, spread seven feet and a half. The colour of its feathers, on the neck and belly, was white; those on the back, partly inclining to grey, partly to red. The wings a mixture of grey and white, but the great feathers at the end of them were black².

*Animals
and birds.*

S E C T. II.

Provinces and Cities.

*Upper
Siam.*

THE kingdom of *Siam* is divided into ~~the upper and~~ upper and lower. The upper, which lies to the north, contains seven provinces; denominated, from their chief cities, *Porse-louk*, *Sanquelouk*, *Lakontay*, *Kampeng-pet*, *Kokonrepina*, *Pes-bebon*, and *Pichay*. Each of these provinces is subdivided into several other jurisdictions or districts; *Porse-louk* contains ten; *Sanquelouk*, eight; *Lakontay*, seven; *Kampeng-pet*, ten; *Kokonrepina*, five; *Pes-bebon*, two; and *Pichay*, seven. Besides these, there are in the upper *Siam* twenty-one other jurisdictions, which are so many lesser provinces or districts.

*Lower
Siam.*

IN the ~~lower~~ or southern *Siam*, they reckon the provinces of *Jor*, *Patana*, *Ligor*, *Tenasserim*, *Chantebon*, *Petelong*, or *Bordelong*, and *Chiay*. *Jor*, is subdivided into seven lesser provinces or districts; *Patana*, into eight; *Ligor* contains twenty; *Tenasserim*, twelve; *Chantebon*, seven; *Petelong*, eight; and *Chiay*, two. The lower *Siam* has, besides the above-mentioned, thirteen other small provinces or districts: and the city of *Siam* has a province peculiar to itself, situated in the heart of the realm, between the upper and lower *Siam*³.

*Provinces
in each.*

Choisy reckons in the whole kingdom no more than the following provinces; *Siuteya*, *Bankok*, *Porse-louk*, *Pitpri*, *Pichay*, *Kampeng*, *Rapri*, *Tenasserim*, *Ligor*, *Kamburi*, *Kourasema*, and *Loukonsevan*^b. Conformably to this account *Kampfer* says, *Siam* contains twelve large provinces; and that the late

¹ LOUBERE, p. 17, & seq.
tom. ii. p. 266.

² TACHARD voy. de Siam,
p. 82.

³ CHOISY, p. 523.

king had added a thirteenth (doubtless *Jangoma*), taken from *Provincias*, the *Laos*; but that a few years after it was re-conquered from *Cities*. him^c.

If you will believe the *Siameses*, their country is full of *Number of* splendid cities: but, for all their boasts, *Gervaise* informs us, *cities*. that there are not more than nine in the whole kingdom which deserve the name of cities; the rest being no better than country towns and hamlets, nothing equal to those in *France*, for either size or handsomeness^d. *Choisy* reckons up eight principal cities besides the capital; namely *Tannasserim*, *Jonselang*, *Ligor*, *Pitpri*, *Bankok*, *Pourselonk*, *Kamburi*, and *Konrasema*^e. *Louberé* mentions about twenty. But these fall far short of the number reported by *De Faria y Sousa*, who, from *Mendez Pinto*, or some such romancing author, affirms, that *Siam* contains no fewer than 13,000 cities and towns, besides villages, all walled^f.

THE first city of this kingdom towards the north is *Me-Me-tak tak*, seated on the great *Menâm*. It is subject to an hereditary lord, called by some *Paya-Tak*, or *prince of Tak*; who, they say, is a vassal to the king of *Siam*.

THE next city which occurs in the same river is called *Tian-tong*, which signifies *true gold*: but lay in ruins in 1688; supposed by our author to have been reduced to that condition by the wars of *Pegu*.

KAMPENG, or *Kampeng-pet*, which signifies *hills of Kam-diamond*, although they are but of stone (for the *Siameses* affect to give splendid names to their most indifferent towns), is by some pronounced *Kampingue*. It is famous for mines of excellent steel^g. This city, which stands on the *Menâm*, is very ancient; and not inferior, for largeness, to the capital of *Siam*. It is between 50 and 60 leagues distant from *Pourselouk*, and ten days journey from the Kingdom of *Laos*. It is fortified in the best manner after the *Siamese* method; and might hold out a long siege against the *Asiatics*, though not able to defend itself half a day against the *French*^h. This is possibly the chief city of the country of *Kapimper*, mentioned by *Pinto*; who speaks of it as having no fewer than seventeen kings belonging to itⁱ.

AT *Lakonsevan*, that is, *the mountain of heaven*, the *Menâm* *Lakonse* receives another river from the north-east, as hath been said van before. This city stands about mid-way between the capital

^c KÆMPFER, p. 26.

^d GERVAISE, p. 41.

^e CROISY,

p. 5. ubi supr.

^f DE FARIA Portug. Asia, vol. iii. p. 364.

^g LOUBERÉ, p. 4.

^h GERVAISE, p. 48.

ⁱ PINTO

voy. p. 279.

Provinces, of Siam and Pitfanoulouk, corruptly called by the Portugueses Cities.

Porfelouk: a distance computed to be twenty-five days journey, for those who ascend the river in a boat; but it may be performed in twelve days with a great many rowers. These cities, like all the rest in the kingdom, are only a great number of cabbins, frequently fenced with an inclosure of wood, and sometimes with a brick or stone wall; but very rarely the latter^k.

Pitfanoulouk.

PITSANOULOUK (A) is situated on the lesser *Menan*; this is the second city in the kingdom, and its name signifies *pearl*, or *diamond enchased*. It is about 100 leagues more to the north than *Ruthia*, in a more temperate climate and fruitful soil. It was built by *Chaw, Meuang Hing*, who reigned about 250 years before *Chaw Thong*, founder of the capital, and gained many victories over the *Laos*. This city was formerly the usual residence of the kings of *Siam*, and one of their ancient palaces is still remaining. It is about one league in circuit; and the brick wall, which incloseth it, is one of the best in the kingdom. It is divided in two by the river which washes it^l.

Meuang Fang.

SOME days journey to the north of it, on the same river, and frontiers of the kingdom, stands *Meuang Fang*, which some interpret, *the city of the wood Fang*, called by the *Portugueses Sapan*: but because a tooth is kept there, pretended to be a relick of their lawgiver *Sommona Kodom*, some give it the name of *Meuang Fan*, that is, *the city of the tooth*^m.

BETWEEN *Meuang Fang* and *Pitfanoulouk*, at the distance of about forty-five leagues, but more to the east, on a river which falls into the lesser *Menam*, is *Lokontay*, or *Lokontaya*. It is the last city of the *Siameses* towards the kingdom of *Laos*, although no less than fifteen days journey distant: for the road lies through inaccessible forests and vast deserts, where scarce a hut is to be met withⁿ.

^k LOUBERE, ubi supr.
^l LOUBERE, p. 4, & seq.

^m GERVAISE, p. 47.
ⁿ GERVAISE, p. 58.

LOU-

(A) *Louberé* places it in more than 19 degrees of latitude; but, according to our computation, it must be under 17 degrees. *Choisy*, who calls it *Pourfelouk*, says it abounds with elephants, rice, sulphur, rhinoceros horns, skins of buffaloes,

tigers, stags, &c. also with red gum, of which *Spanish* wax is made, sugar-canes, onions, tobacco, wax, honey, pitch-torches, and oil; timber for ships, cotton, *Sapan* wood, &c. *Choisy*, p. 525.

ON the borders of the same country, but many days journey more to the south, stands *Korazema*, which some call *Kariffima*, a place of considerable note^a. *Choisy* names it *Korazema*, and says it abounds with elephants, rhinoceros's, eagle-wood, and other valuable commodities^b.

Provinces,
Cities.
Koraze-
ma.

ON the frontiers of *Pegu*, towards *Martaban*, is situated the city of *Kambori*, or *Kamburi*, which has the same produce with *Porfelouk*, excepting sugar-canes and onions. Likewise in the lands which lie between the rivers above the city of *Lakon-sevan*, and on the chanel which pass from one river to the other, there are two considerable cities more; one called *Sokotay*, almost in the same latitude with *Pichit*; the other *Sanquelouk*, lying more to the north. It must be noted, that almost all the cities, towns, and other habitations, of the *Siameses*, are built on the banks of rivers, or the canals of communication; the country being so hot, that it is inhabitable nowhere else^c.

THE capital of *Siam*, to which the *Portugueses* give the same name as the country, is, by the natives, called *Si-yo-thi-ya*.

Siam, or
Siyuthia,

(B), the *o* in *yo*, being closer than the *French* diphthong *ou*. Of this foreigners have made *Judia*, *Juthia*, and *Odiaq*. It is situated in an island, amidst several others, made by canals cut by the natives; which island is, at present, all inclosed within its walls. So that, unless some great alteration has been made since the time of *Mendez Pinto*, we must place his account of it to the number of his falsities: for he says, the elephants of the king of *Pegu*, who besieged the city in 1548, approached the walls so nearly, as with their trunks to beat down the palisadoes, raised by the *Siamese*, to cover themselves. It has almost the shape of a purse, the mouth of which is to the east, and the bottom to the west. The river meets it at the north by several chanel, which run into that which encircles it; and leaves it on the south, by dividing again into several streams. The king's palace stands to the north, on the canal which incloses the city: and, at the east end, there is a causey, by which alone, as by an isthmus, people may go in and out, without crossing the water.

^a LOUBERE, p. 6. ^b CHOISY, p. 526.
^c LOUBERE, p. 6. & CHOISY, ubi supra.

(B) *Choisy* writes *Sciayuthaia*; *Gerwaife*, *Menang Siyuthia* which signifies the city of *Siyuthia*.

Provinces,
Cities.

large, but
not popu-
lous.

Its longi-
tude and
latitude.

The king's
palace.

SIYUTHIA is spacious, considering the compass of the walls (C), but scarce a sixth part is inhabited, and that to the south-east only: the rest lies desert; where nothing is to be seen excepting temples, which are erected in several places. However, some amends is made by the suburbs, which are inhabited by strangers. The streets are large and strait: in some places planted with trees, and paved with bricks, laid edgewise. Most of them are watered with strait canals, which have caused this city to be compared to *Venice*; but they are covered with a great many ugly little bridges, made of hurdles, and some of brick. The houses are low, and built with wood; at least those belonging to the natives; who, for those reasons, are exposed to all the inconveniences of the excessive heats.

THE city was founded, according to the *Siameses*, in the 1894 year of their æra, which answers to that of *Christ* 1351 (D). The latitude of it was found, by *Thomas* the Jesuit, to be fourteen degrees eighteen minutes; and the longitude ninety-eight degrees thirty minutes from the meridian. ^{of} *Paris*. or one hundred and eighteen degrees thirty minutes from that of *Ferro*. This is an observation of great importance, as it serves to fix the situation of the whole farther peninsula of *India*; and is of use in settling that of the adjacent islands.

THE king of *Siam*'s palace, called *Prassat*, as well in this city as those elsewhere, has three inclosures, so distant one from the other, that the spaces between look like vast courts. The innermost, called *Vang*, contains that monarch's apartments, with some court and some garden. The *Siameses* never enter ~~any~~ out of the *Vang* without prostrating themselves; neither do they ever pass before the *Prassat*: and if the current happens to carry them athwart it, they are sure to be pelted with pease, which the king's servants shoot at them from trunks. The *French* ambassadors landed at the first entrance of the palace, and left their umbrellas there. The gates are always shut; and, behind each, stands a porter, who, if any body knocks, informs the officer who commands in the first inclosure. For, without his permission, no person either goes in or out; and he examines their breath, to see

↑ LOUBERE, p. 7. GERVAISE, p. 41.

(C) *Gervaise* says, p. 41, that the city is not above two leagues in circuit, exclusive of the palace.

(D) According to this com-

putation, it was 338 years standing in 1689, when *Louberé* wrote; *Gervaise* therefore is mistaken, who says it was built only about 200 years before.

if they have drank *arak*; as much care being taken to keep out drunken people, as those who bear arms.

*Provinces,
Cities.*

BETWEEN the two first inclosures, and under a pent-house, there is posted a small number of soldiers, but unarmed and skooting. These, named *Kenhay*, or painted-arms, are both the prince's executioners and his guards. They also row his balon, when he goes on the water. There may be about 600 in the palace, but many more through the kingdom. In the first inclosure are the stables of the best elephants and horses, to which the king gives names. In the *Vang* are some of those single halls, where the officers meet, either to discharge their functions, or to make their court to his majesty; who shews himself from a window, belonging to a higher chamber than that of audience. At the two corners of the hall, on the same side, and of equal height with the window, which is nine feet above the floor, are two doors, and two pair of narrow stairs to ascend. For the furniture, there are only three umbrellas, one before the window, with nine rounds, and two with seven rounds, on both sides of the window: the umbrella being, in this country, a mark of state, as the canopy is in *Europe*. In this hall the officers receive their orders, by the intervention of forty pages (E) divided into four bands, consisting of eleven each: two bands prostrate themselves in the hall, at the king's right hand; the other two on his left.

*Its several
courts.*

*Hall of
audience.*

THIS palace, which is built of brick, is about a mile and half in circuit. It is divided by several courts: in the two first are lodged the officers of the king's household; and in the others, there are still to be seen some old apartments of the ancient kings, esteemed as sacred places, with rows of trees before them, which render their habitation very delightful. There are likewise some old temples, which make an handsome figure. The king's apartment, which is in the innermost court, was but newly built, when the *French* ambassadors were at *Siam*: the gold, which glitters in a thousand places, distinguishes it from the other buildings. Its figure is that of a cross; in the middle whereof there rises above the roof a pyramid of several stories, which is the mark of royal houses. It is all covered with tin: nor can any thing be better done than the carved work, with which it is adorned on every side. The apartment of the prince's, his daughter's

*The king's
apartment.*

• LOUSIER, p. 96, & seqq. •

(E) The same form is observed in the other countries of this peninsula.

Provinces, ter, who, after the death of her mother, was created a queen,
Cities. was near the king's, and appeared very magnificent. Both
 looked into great gardens, well planted; whose walks were
 divided by little canals.

His plea- WITHOUT the palace, on the river, to the left hand, are
sure the great magazines, where the king's balons or pleasure-boats
barges. are lodged: they are 150 in number, all very magnificent.
 On the right lies a large park, where formerly the wild ele-
 phants were brought to be tamed; a diversion which the royal
 family took much delight in¹.

Siam often THE city of *Siyuthia*, or *Siâm*, hath undergone several
besieged. sieges by foreign forces, since the *Europeans* first went to *In-*
dia by sea. In 1548 it was besieged by the first *Barma* king
 who conquered *Pegu*, with an army of 800,000 men: but,
 after he had lain before it four months, in which time several
 furious assaults were given to the place, and 150,000 of
 his men slain, he hastily raised the siege, and returned to sup-
 press a rebellion, which had broken out in his absence².
Odiaa, or *Siyuthia*, was attacked with better success by the se-
 cond *Barma* king, who, in 1567, invested it with 1,400,000
 men³. But for all this power, we are told, he would not
 have taken it, if it had not been betrayed into his hands⁴.

SIAM revolting on the death of that king, his son and
 successor, in the year 1585, besieged the capital with 300,000
 men, 5000 elephants, and 30,000 guards. But the king of
Siâm spinning out the time, under pretence of submitting on
 conditions, till the season of the inundation, the river overflowed
 and destroyed most part of the *Barma* army⁵. Notwith-
 standing this, the king of *Pegu* made several expeditions
 against *Siyuthia*, both in person and by his generals, but with
 no better success: and at length having, about the year 1590,
 sent his eldest son *Maupa Râjah* upon the same errand, with a
 very great army; that prince was slain in single combat by *Api*
Râjah, called by the *Portugueses* the black king of *Siam*.

City of FOURTEEN leagues from the capital, if you go by the great
Louvo. river, and only nine or ten by the canals, stands *Louvo*, com-
 monly called *Noksbebourt*, which is to *Siyuthia* what *Versailles*
 is to *Paris*, or *Hampton-Court* to *London*. The ancient kings
 had here a pleasure-house; but it had been abandoned above
 100 years, when the king, who reigned in 1687, ordered it
 to be rebuilt. This city stands in a plain, of the higher
 grounds, where the inundation never reaches; and may be

¹ GERWASE, p. 45, & seqq.

² PINTO's VOY. p. 279.

³ CÆS. FREDER. ap. Purch. pilg. vol. ii. p. 1710, ⁴ FITCH
 & PIMENTA ap. Purch. ubi supr. p. 1738. 1746. See also before,
 p. 103.

about a mile and a half in length. Its figure is almost square, *Provinces* and it is inclosed with a wall of earth, strengthened with *Cities.* brick towers at certain distances. During the overflow it is almost intirely surrounded with water: at other times it is only washed on one side by a small branch of the great river, which is not deep enough for large boats. Its situation is *Charming* so charming, and the air so good, that the king spends the *situation.* greater part of the year there. The gardens and walks are extremely pleasant. It has only two inconveniences; one, that as it is very populous, provisions are dearer there than in any other part of the kingdom; the other is the want of water for four or five months, when the river is low and foul; at which time they use well-water, or that which is saved in cisterns after the inundation. The palace lately built by the king on the bank of the river, is the greatest ornament of *Louvo*; and, if it be not so magnificent as that in the capital, yet it makes a more gay appearance². Its latitude, as observed by the Jesuits, is $14^{\circ} 42' 30''$.

FIVE or six leagues east-north-east of *Louvo*, is *Prabat*, *Prabat*: remarkable for a piece of superstition, from whence the place takes its name: for *bat*, in the *Balli* (or *Palli*) language, signifies a *foot*, and *pra*, any thing worthy of veneration and respect. This relick is the print of a man's foot, ill cut upon a rock, thirteen or fourteen inches deep, and five or six times longer than the natural. The *Siameses* not only adore it themselves, but believe that the elephants, rhinoceros's, and other wild beasts, do likewise repair thither to worship it, when no person is present. The king goes once a year *Place of* with great pomp, to pay his devoirs to it. The impression *Pilgrimage.* is covered with a plate of gold, within a chapel for the purpose. The *Talapoy* pretend it was made by *Sommona Kodom*, who, at the same time, had one foot here, while the other rested on a mountain in *Lanka*, or *Seylan*, although the whole gulf of *Bengal* lies between. They report also, that, by the pressure of his foot, he made the mountain flat and level, which before rose to a great height. But as the tradition of this miracle was not above ninety years old, when *Loubere* was at *Siam*, he concludes the whole was an imposture of one of the priests of that age.

ABOUT eighteen leagues to the south of *Siyuthia*, and *Fon*, or twelve from the sea, stands the city of *Fon*, commonly called *Bankok*. *Bankok*: but whence this last name is derived, our author could not discover; although the word *ban*, which signifies

² GERVASE, ubi supr. p. 49, & seqq.

Cities, Ports. *village*, enters into the composition of many local names in the kingdom of *Siam*. From the territory of this city, as far as *Talakoan*, four leagues higher, the capital is supplied with a great quantity of fruits*. *Bangkok* is certainly the most important place in the whole country; for there is no other place on all the coast which is able to make any resistance. It is not above a mile and a half long; but its breadth is far short of that extent. It is inclosed with walls only on the east and south sides, which are washed by the great river. At the point, where that river divides in two branches (which fall by different mouths into the gulf), it is only defended by a half-moon battery, mounted with twenty-five great pieces of brass cannon, which are very well made. Opposite to it, on the other side of the *Mendâm*, there is another little fort, which seems to be of no great defence, although mounted with more than thirty great guns. These two forts, if such they may be termed, are guarded by 100 *Messizo Portuguese*, creatures without any courage. The Chevalier *De Chaumont*, the *French* ambassador, left an engineer with the king to fortify *Bangkok*†: but the fort which he raised on the east side of the river was, in the succeeding troubles, demolished‡.

Strength and situation.

S E C T. III.

Maritime Cities, and Tributary Countries.

Maritime cities. *BANKOK* properly ought to be considered among the maritime cities or ports of *Siam*, which we come next to treat of. These are situated in the peninsula of *Malakka*. Some on the east side, in the gulf of *Siam*. The first considerable port is that of *Ligor*, or *Lugor*. This city was conquered by *Rajah Api*, called the black king of *Siam*, about the year 1603^a. It is an ancient city, but not very considerable. The *Dutch* have a factory here^b; its commodities being *kalin*; or tin, rice, fruits, and, in some years, much pepper^c. *Ligor* stands in about the eighth degree of latitude; and, about one degree lower, lies *Sonkourat*, *Sangor* or *Singer*, which is large and beautiful, but otherwise not very considerable. About the year 1673 this city rebelled against the king of *Siam*; who having reduced it by his forces,

Ligor.

Singor.

* LOUBERE, p. 4, & seq.

† GERVASE, p. 57, & seq.

‡ KÄMPFER, p. 14. 42.

* FLORIS ap. nov. collect. voy.

p. 439.

b GERVASE, p. 16, & 61.

c CHOISY,

p. 524.

ordered it to be demolished ^d. It is the first town to the south belonging to Siam. Cities,
Ports.

Not far off is *Patâna*, or *Patâni*, a considerable city, formerly capital of a kingdom, governed by queens. But it was at length conquered by the black king, about the same time with *Ligor* ^e. However, it still remains in possession of the king of *Johor*, or *Joar*, who pays homage or tribute to the king of Siam ^f. Patâna.

THE principal ports belonging to Siam, on the west side of the peninsula of *Malakka*, are *Mergui* and *Jonjalum*. The first has its name from a little island, which the *Siamese* call *Migri*, and *Europeans* *Mergui*. This is one of the best and most secure ports in all the *Indies* ^g. It lies on the north-west point of the island, which is very populous; and in the mouth of an excellent river, called *Tannasserim*; from a city of that name, seated on its bank, about seventeen leagues from the sea. • This river descends from the north; and having passed through the kingdoms of *Ava* and *Pegu*, enters Siam, and falls by three mouths into the bay of *Bengâl*. The port lies between the isle of *Mergui*, and another which is to the west of it ^h; and is defended by a fort built by the king of Siam ⁱ. Formerly a good number of *English* free merchants were settled at *Merji* or *Mergui*, and drove a considerable trade; but the old *East-India* company, envying their happiness, ordered them to repair to *Fort St. George*; ^{English destroyed.} and, in 1687, sent captain *Weldon*, in the *Curtany*, to *Merji*, to threaten the king of Siam with a war by sea, if he did not either deliver these merchants up, or force them out of his country. *Weldon* behaved very insolently to the governor; and having, without any just cause, killed some of the natives, they one night designed to be revenged on him: but the aggressor escaping on board, they vented their rage on all the *English* they could find. Thus, through the villainy of one man, seventy-six others were massacred; so that scarce twenty escaped to the ship. Before this, the *English* were in great esteem at the court of Siam: one Mr. *White* was made *Shâh Bänder*, or head of the customs, at *Merji* and *Tannasserim*; and captain *Williams* admiral of the king's navy. But, after this tragical scene, they all removed to other places, where the company had factories ^k.

^d GERVASE, p. 16, & 61, & seq.

^e FLORIS voy. ap. nov.

collect. trav. vol. i. p. 439.

^f HAMILT. new acc. of E.

Ind. vol. ii. p. 157.

^g GERVASE, p. 14.

^h LOUBERE,

p. 8.

ⁱ CHOISY, p. 524.

^k HAMILT. ubi supra,

p. 63, & seq.

Cities,
Ports.

Tanasserim.

THE city of *Tanasserim*, or *Tenasser*, is a city of note; but not so considerable as it was formerly: the trade being, for the most part, removed to *Mergui*, about seven leagues distant; which often goes under its name, as the port of *Siam* for the inhabitants of the gulf of *Bengal*. This city is famous for *Nipa*, or *Niper* wine; which is a spirituous liquor distilled from cocoa-nut water, the best in the *Indies*¹. It was taken from *Siam* in 1568, by the second *Barma* king of *Pegu*, under which it continued till about 1603, when it was recovered by the black king of *Siam*^m. In 1614 it was besieged by the king of *Ava*: but he was frustrated in his design by the resistance of the *Portugueses*, who were in the placeⁿ.

Andemân
islands.

OPPOSITE to the coast of *Tenasserim* are the islands of *Andemân*, about eighty leagues distant, surrounded by dangerous banks and rocks. They are all inhabited by *canibals*, who are so fearless, that they will swim off to a boat, if the approach near the shore and attack her with their wooden swords, notwithstanding the superiority of numbers, and the advantage of fire-arms, as well as missile weapons. It is customary with them, in their *Praws*, to make a yearly descent on the *Nikubâr* islands, and kill or take prisoners as many as they can overcome. They have no notion of a Deity, according to the report of one of them, who turned *Mohammedan*, and often went from *Achin* to fetch quicksilver, with which those islands abound^o.

Jonsalam.

THE next place of any commerce on this coast is the island of *Jonsalam* (A); although there are several good harbours between it and *Merji* (or *Mergui*): but the coast is very thin of inhabitants; on account of freebooters, called *Salleiters*, who possess the neighbouring isles; from whence they make descents on shore, and carrying off the people, sell them at *Achin* in *Sumatra*. The north end of *Jonsalam* lies within a mile of the continent, but the south end is above three leagues distant. Between the island and the main is a good harbour for shipping, in the south-west monsoons; and on the west side of the isle is *Puton* bay, no less safe in the north-east winds.

¹ LINSCHOT. p. 30. CÆS. FREDERIC apud Purch. vol. ii. p. 1712. ^m FLORIS, ubi supra, p. 439. ⁿ DE FARIA, Portug. Asia, vol. iii. p. 197. ^o HAMILT. ubi supra, p. 64, & seqq.

(A) Mendez Pinto calls it *Jonsala*; Fitch, *Junsalaon*; Linschoten, *Gunfalan*; Gervase, *Jonsalam*; Choisy, *Jongelang*; and Hamilton, *Jonkeloan*.

THE island affords good masts for shipping, and abundance of tin : but few people dig it, for fear of the above-mentioned outlaws ; and the governors, who are commonly *Chineſes*, ſo oppreſs the inhabitants, that riches would be but a plague to them. Yet the villages on the continent drive a ſmall retail trade with veſſels which come from the coaſt of *Choromandel*^p. The port is very good, and a ſecure retreat for ſhips going to the hither peninſula, in the ſtormy months of *July* and *Auguſt*. Its only fault is want of depth for large veſſels ; but that defect is ſupplied by a fair road near it. In ſhort, *Jonſulm* is of great conſequence for the trade of *Pegu*, *Bengál*, and other neighbouring parts^q. *Choiſy* ſays it abounds with *kalin* (or tin) and ambergrife^r.

THE iſlands off this part of the coaſt are the *Nikubárs*, at Nikubâr the diſtance of about ninety leagues. The northermoſt cluster is low, and called the *Kar Nikubárs* ; which lying near the *Andamáns*, are but thinly inhabited. The middle cluster is fine champaign ground, and, all but one, well inhabited. They are called the *Somerera* iſlands by the *Portugueſes*, from a hill on the ſouth-end of the largeſt, which reſembles the top of an *umbrella*, as that word ſignifies. This iſland ſeems to be well peopled, from the number of villages which appear at ſea ; and the natives bring the product of their ſoil aboard of ſhips, to exchange for tobacco, which they are very fond of, alſo old hatchets, ſword-blades, and pieces of iron hoops, to make deſenſive arms of, againſt the *Andamanners*. They ſpeak a little broken *Portugueſe* ; and are exceeding courteous. The man's cloathing is about a foot and half of cloth, ſix inches broad, tucked before and behind within a ſtring, which goes round their middle. Their hair is left on the upper part of the head, and below the crown ; but cut ſo ſhort, that it hardly touches their ears. The women, on the contrary, have their heads cloſe ſhaved ; and wear a kind of ſhort petticoat, reaching from the navel to the knee.

ABOUT ſix leagues to the ſouthward of the ſaid *Somerera* Tallang-iſland, lies *Tallang-jang*, an uninhabited iſle, where an *Engliſh* ſhip was loſt in 1708 : but the men were ſaved, and relieved by the inhabitants of *Ning* and *Gouri* ; two fine iſlands about four leagues to the weſt of *Tallang-jang*, and eight to the ſouthward of the greateſt *Somerera*. They, in a very humane manner, carried them, with the little things they had ſaved, to their iſlands, and treated them hoſpitably :

^p HAMILTON, p. 67, & ſeq.
^r CHOISY, p. 524.

^q GERVAËZ, p. 15.

Cities,
Ports.

Ingrati-
tude pu-
nished.

but this compassion was soon turned to hatred, by the ingratitude and insolence of the captain, named *Owen*. This man, having laid a broken knife carelessly by, one of the natives made bold to take it, yet did not offer to hide it. *Owen* seeing it in the poor *Indian's* hand, not content to get it from him, bestowed some kicks and blows by way of punishment. This was taken very ill by the people in general, who discovered their dissatisfaction, and reproved those who brought the *English* to their islands. In effect, next day, as the captain was sitting under a tree at dinner, about a dozen of the natives advancing, discharged a shower of darts, and killed him in an instant. The rest, being sixteen, escaped by the care of their benefactors, who kept guard about their house till next morning: and then providing them with two canoes and victuals, made signs to them to be gone. One of the canoes, with half of the men, were drowned by the way. The other got safe to *Jonsalam*, where our author received them aboard.

South
cluster.

THE southern cluster of the *Nikubárs* is mountainous; and the inhabitants partake of their unpolished nature; being more uncivil and surly than those of the northern. As to the rest, their islands produce the same sorts of necessaries as the others do; that is, hogs, fowl, cocks; fish, fresh, salted, and dried; excellent yams, potatoes, parrots, and monkeys.

Quedah
kingdom.

THE next place of note to *Jonsalam*, southward, is *Quedah*, which is honoured with the title of a kingdom, although both small and poor. The town, which bears the same name, stands on the banks of a small navigable river, deep but narrow, about fifty miles from the sea. There the king resides, who shews no marks of grandeur besides arbitrary sway. The people are deceitful, covetous, and cruel: their religion is *Mohammedan*, much mixed with *Paganism*. The produce of the country is tin, pepper, elephants, and their teeth, canes, and *damar*, a gum used in making pitch and tar for shipping. The king, who is proud and beggarly, never fails to visit merchants at their coming to his port; and then must have a present: the stranger must make him another when he returns the visit, or has any business with him. His majesty, in requital, honours him with a seat near his sacred person; and having chewed a little *betel*, sends it fresh from his royal mouth, on a small gold saucer, by the hands of a page, to the merchant; who must receive the morsel with all the signs of satisfaction, as well as humility, and chew it after him.

* HAMILT. ubi supra, p. 68, & seqq.

This

This petty king was, for many years, tributary to *Siam* (B), *Cities,*
but is at present independent¹. *Ports.*

THE remaining part of the peninsula of *Malakka* properly belongs to the kingdom of *Johor*, or *Jour*, which begins at *Perah*, the next country to *Quedah* southwards. It produces more tin than any other in the *Indies*: but the inhabitants, who are untractable and rebellious, are likewise treacherous and bloody; so that no *European* nation can keep factories there with safety. The *Dutch*, having had theirs cut off the first year they settled in the place, fixed another on *Pulo Ding-ding*, an island at the mouth of the river *Perah*: but, about the year 1690, that factory was also cut off; since when, no attempt has been made to settle there. Several other places along the *Malaya* coast produce tin, of which *Salangor* and *Parjalor* are the most noted; yet but little frequented by *Europeans*, because not much more to be trusted than *Perah*². *Kingdom of Johor.*

MALAKKA is the next place which occurs on this coast. *Malakka,*
Before the *Portugueses* arrived in the *Indies*, it had been the *its ancient*
residence of the kings of *Johor*: but those new-comers, being *state,*
denied commerce in the country, resolved to obtain it by force. Accordingly, in *May* 1510, the famous viceroi *Alphonso de Albuquerque*, set out from *Kochin* with nineteen sail of ships, and 1400 fighting men, 800 of them *Portugueses*, and the rest *Malabars*. The city, at that time, stretched along the shore about three miles, in the same manner as *and situa-*
Lisbon; and was divided by a river in two parts, which were *tion.*
joined by a bridge. The palace and mosk were of stone; the other buildings of wood. It afforded a pleasant prospect to the sea, and was well secured with fortifications. As it was the great mart of all those parts, the viceroy found the port filled with ships³. The city was founded 230 years before the *Portugueses* arrived in the *Indies*, by *Paramisera*, a *Javan* prince: who having murdered his nephews, and usurped the throne, was expelled by the natives, and fled to *Sinkapura*; where, at that time, reigned *Sangasinga*, son-in-law and vassal to the king of *Siam*. *Sangasinga* gave a kind reception to the fugitive; who, in return, soon after mur-

¹ HAMILT. p. 71.
ubi supra, vol. i. p. 175, 177.

² Ibid. p. 73.

³ DE FARIA,

(B) It was tributary in 1686, according to *Choisy*, p. 523. but possibly, the kings of *Siam* always reckon as their tributaries, those states which have at

any time been so. The city of *Quedah* was destroyed by the *Portugueses* under *James de Mendez Furtado*, in 1614. *De Faria*, Portug. Asia, vol. iii. p. 197.

Cities,
Ports.

dered him ; and, by means of his *Javans*, and 2000 *Sekkati* who live by fishing and robbing, seized the kingdom : but being driven out soon after by the king of *Siam*, he went and settled on a hill called *Bitán*, near the river *Muar*, and gave it the name of *Malakka*, which signifies a *banished person*, in the *Malayan* language, and from that time took its rise.

Taken by
Albu-
querque.

THE adjacent country was subject to inundations, and full of thick woods, infested with tigers, and other dangerous animals. The men were courageous, the women wanton : but the trade of the east rendered the city rich and populous. The appearance of the *Portuguese* fleet struck the inhabitants with fear ; and king *Mahamet* pretended much kindness, the better to surprise *Albuquerque* by treachery : but the viceroy demanded leave to build a fort, and to have the charge of his expedition defrayed, as that king's faithless dealings had brought him thither. On *Mahamet's* refusal, the *Portugueses* attacked *Malakka* by the bridge ; and the second day took the city, with vast slaughter of the enemy, tho' there were employed in the enterprise no more than 800 *Portugueses*, and 200 *Malabars*. All the *Mohammedans* being killed or driven out, it was repopled by strangers, and some *Malays*. The king retired to the island of *Buntán*, leaving behind 3000 pieces of cannon, out of 8000, which he had to defend the place ; but was soon obliged to quit that post. *Albuquerque* immediately built the fort at *Malakka*, which he called *Famosa*, for its beauty^y. The victors inclosed a little hill with a stone wall, about a mile round ; and this they made their new city. The king was glad, however, to make peace with them, allowing them their fort, and as much ground round it as their cannon could sling a shot.

Attacked
by the
Dutch.

Thus *Malakka*, by its advantageous situation, as lying in the center of trade, became famous all over the known world. But the insolence of the *Portugueses* increasing with their power and riches, they became odious to their neighbours, whom they insulted and oppressed^z. Mean time the *Dutch*, having found their way into the *Indes*, began to disturb them in their possessions. In 1605 *Cornelius Matelief* appeared, with eleven ships and 13,000 soldiers, before that city ; where, having first seized four ships in the road, he set fire to the suburbs, and battered the walls for two or three months. At length a considerable fleet arrived from *Goa*, consisting of sixteen galliots, fourteen galleasses, and fourteen smaller vessels, with 3000 men on board them, which *Ma-*

^y NIEUHOFF, apud Church. collect. voy. vol. ii. p. 178, & seqq. ^z DE FARIA, ubi sup.

talief ruined. and then departed. Next year the king of *Cities* *Johor* brought an army against *Malakka*, of 60,000 soldiers, *Port.* but with no better success than the *Dutch*. However, these latter, in 1640, made themselves masters of it, after a siege of six months; and, besides a vast booty, found a great cannon, which carried a sixty-four pounder.

THE harbour of *Malakka* is one of the finest in the *Indies*; *Fine har-* and ships may safely ride in at all seasons; an advantage *bour.* which scarce any other in those parts enjoys. When the *Portugueses* possessed it, it was the richest city in the east, next to *Goa* and *Ormuz*; being the key of the *China* and *Japan*, the *Molukkos* and *Sunda* trade. What greatly contributes to this is, that all ships, passing from the north to the west, or from the west to the north, are under a necessity of sailing through the straits of *Malakka* and *Sinkapura*. Hence the *Portugueses* exacted ten *per cent.* of all vessels passing this way, which produced a vast revenue: but the *Dutch* have abolished this custom, as a very unreasonable imposition. The natives of *Malakka*, and the adjacent country, called *Malayans*, are tawny complexioned, with long black hair, *The Ma-* flat noses, and great eyes; which are quite different from those *layans.* of the *Javans*, from whom they derive their origin. They go naked, all but a piece of cloth wrapped about their waist. They wear gold bracelets on their arms, and jewels in their ears. The women wear silks, embroidered with gold and precious stones, which also adorn their hair, twisted in very long locks. They are extremely proud, and expect more ceremony than any other females of the *Indies*. There is another peculiar species of men in *Malakka*, who can see only in the night, and therefore sleep all day till sun-set, when they get up to work. They, in shape as well as complexion, resemble the *Europeans*, having grey eyes, and yellowish hair, which reaches to the women's hips; only their feet turn inwards. People of the same kind are found in some other places of the *Indies*, and also in *Africa*.

THE fort of *Malakka* is both large and strong, the sea *The fort.* washing one third of its walls; and a deep, rapid, but narrow river, the west side. The rest is defended by a broad and deep ditch. The governor's house is both beautiful and convenient. There are several other good buildings, as well in the fort as in the town: but as the shallowness of the sea obliges vessels to lie above a league off, the castle is at too great a distance from the road to protect the shipping. The country produces nothing for a foreign market but a little

Cities,
Ports.

tin and elephants teeth; yet strangers meet with several refreshments, as swine's flesh, poultry, roots, and excellent fruits; such as limons, oranges, *mangos*, pine-apples, *mangustans*, *romboftans*, *durions*, cocoa-nuts, and the like.

Monaka-
bos people.

At *Malakka* the straits are not above four leagues in breadth, and always smooth as a mill-pond, except when ruffled with wind. From a very high mountain, north-eastwards of the city, descend several rivers, and, among the rest, that of *Malakka*, which all afford small quantities of gold-dust, found in their chanel. The inland people, called *Monakabos*, are of a savage kind; and delight so much in mischief, that if the *Malayan* peasants sow grain in any ground but what is well fenced, they come and burn it. They are whiter than those who dwell in the low-lands; but so untractable, that the king of *Johor*, whose subjects they are, could never civilize them^b.

Malay
language.

THE *Malaya* tongue is formed out of the languages of the different nations which resort thither, by selecting the choicest words in each. Hence it is reckoned the most agreeable and elegant in all the *Indies*; which quality, joined to its use in trade, causes it to be learned by the remotest eastern people.

Jor, or Jo-
hor, king-
dom.

In the straits of *Malakka* stands the city of *Jor*, *Joar*, or *Johor*; giving name to the kingdom, which formerly included that of *Malakka*; but at present lies to the south of it, and of *Pahān* or *Pān*. The ancient city was very large, and magnificently built; but having been destroyed by the *Portugueses* in 1603, the king, in 1609, caused another to be built, somewhat higher up the river, which he called *Batusabar*, whither most of the chief inhabitants of *Johor* retired. The country is very fertile, abounding in fruits, pepper, cinnamon, and game. The inhabitants are naturally brave, but very lascivious, liars, great dissemblers, and proud beyond measure. Their complexion is inclinable to a light blue, with broad faces, hooked noses, and very black teeth; an ornament acquired by chewing *betel*. The common people have only a cloth to cover their members, which hangs down to their toes. The better sort wear callico frocks, of any colour, shaped like our shirts, with wide sleeves, and open before, reaching only to their knees. To complete their dress, they have two silken strings, of the same colour with their frock, one for a girdle, the other for a head-band. They paint their nails yellow; and, by the length of them, distinguish their quality.

^b HAMILT. new acc. of E. Ind. vol. ii. p. 79, & seqq.

THE king of *Johor* has many petty kings, his vassals, under his jurisdiction. Formerly they were princes of considerable power; and, even since the *Portugueses* were settled at *Malakka*, extended their authority over that city, as happened in 1609, in the reign of *John de Paratuan*. Cities.
Ports.

JOHOR Lami, before-mentioned, which is sometimes the residence of the king, has the benefit of a fine deep river, which admits of two entrances into it: the smaller, which is from the westward, is called by *Europeans* the streights of *Sinkapura*; but, by the natives, *Salletadcbrew*. It runs along the north side of the island of *Sinkapura* (between it and the main), for five or six leagues together; and ends at the great river of *Johor*. The capital
city.

THE territories of *Johor* reach from *Perâh* to point *Romar* or *Romano*, which is the most southern promontory of all *Asia*, it lying but one degree to the north of the equator, about three leagues from *Johor* river. This country is in length about one hundred leagues, and in breadth eighty.

THE inhabitants are lazy, perfidious, and cruel. The land very woody, being daily refreshed with showers and breezes. It abounds in tin, gold, elephants teeth, pepper, *agala* wood, and canes: but very little rice or other grain is sown by the natives. The inland people subsist mostly on *sagow*, the pith of a small twig, split and dried in the sun: they also rear poultry; and feed on their roots and fruits, which grow all seasons of the year. On the sea-coast their food is chiefly fish and rice, brought from abroad. The only people of industry are the *Chineses*, of whom about 1000 families are settled amongst them, besides those who drive a foreign trade. Their religion is a corrupt *Mohammedism*; and they have their priests from *Surât*. The inha-
bitants.

THE king of *Johor*, who reigned in 1695, was about twenty years of age, and very viciously inclined. Our author having presented him with a pair of pistols and a little powder; he tried, on a poor fellow in the street, how far they would carry a ball into his flesh, and shot him through the shoulder. He was a great sodomite, and had taken many sons of his *Orankayas*, or nobles, into his palace, for that execrable purpose. One day a *Moorish* merchant fled on board captain *Hamilton's* ship, to secure his son from that disgrace. Presently a guard came in a boat to demand him: but using threatening language, our author obliged him to leap into the river; and bad the interpreter tell the king, that if he offered the least violence to any who belonged to him, he would fire his palace about his ears. His *Johor* majesty, unused to meet The king
tyrannical.

*Cities,
Ports.*

He is slain.

with contradiction, much more with threats, sent for his *Orankayas*, to know if the captain was a king or not; and, by their persuasion, removed to a village twenty miles distant, till the ship's departure. A year or two after, his mother, to break him of that unnatural vice, sent a beautiful young woman to visit him, when a-bed; but he was so far from being pleased with her conversation, that he ordered his black guard to break both her arms, for offering to embrace his royal person: and next morning sent for her father's head. Not finding so much submission as he expected, he went himself in a great rage to fetch it: but, as he was entering the door, the *Orankaya* passed a lance through his heart, and so made an end of the beast ^d.

His successor's indolence.

THE kingdom remained in confusion without a king for three years: after which, in 1700, they chose another, named *Soltan Abd'ollah Jalib*, who was cousin-german of the former, a prince of great moderation and justice: so that he was beloved by his people, and trade flourished for nine years; till, leaving the government to *Rajah Moudah*, a younger brother, of a covetous tyrannical disposition, all things fell into disorder. In 1703 captain *Hamilton* calling at *Johor*, the king made him an offer of the island of *Sinkapura*, which he refused, as of no use to a private person; though every way fit for a company to settle on, as lying in the center of trade. In 1708 *Rajah Moudah* persuaded him to leave *Johor*, and reside at *Rhis*, in the island of *Bintang*, about three leagues off *Johor* river, where he engrossed the trade with more security into his own hands, buying and selling at his own prices, and punishing those who opposed his measures.

The people rebel.

AT length, in 1712, the people, no longer able to endure his oppression, broke into rebellion; on which the prince, without taking leave of the king his brother, fled in a galley, with his wives and children, to *Johor Lami*. But finding a small army of *Monakabos*, called-in by the people, were encamped there, he fled with his family to the woods; leaving his galley, and in it a tun-weight of gold, a prey to them. As he knew there could be no long safety in the forests, and despairing of mercy from the injured people, he resolved to put an end to all their miseries at once: but when he had killed his wives and children, he began to hesitate about killing himself. A page, who was but twelve years old, surprised at his cowardice, asked him, "If he chose rather to be butchered by a slave, than die like a prince; adding, "that he who was innocent, and might expect mercy, would

^d HAMILT. ubi supra, p. 92, & seqq.

" yet

"yet shew him the way to die." At the same time laying Cities, hold of a *Kris*, or poniard, he ran himself through the bo- Ports.
dy. The tyrant, shamed into courage, by the bravery of a boy, followed his example, and immediately expired. But the *Monakabos*, who came up soon after, found the boy alive, and carried him to *Johor*, where he recovered of his wound.

THE king, on the news of what had happened, came out *He is ex-* of his palace, and offered to restore the state to its former *elled.* tranquility : but the people told him he was too religious to make a good king ; adding, " that he might retire either to "*Pahang* or *Trangano* ; but that as for *Johor*, and the islands " between it and *Sumatra*, they would consider what to do " with them." The discarded king departed with his family ; and such as chose to follow his fortune in vessels, which his former subjects furnished him with : but, in his way to *Trangano*, where he proposed to fix his seat, was received by the inhabitants of the islands *Pulo Aura*, *Tinji*, *Pissang*, and *Timan*, as their lawful sovereign. He put his eldest son, a youth about twelve years old, ashore at *Pahang*, to keep that country from revolting, and went to the place designed for his new residence, where afterwards our author had the honour to see him *.

THE city of *Pahan*, *Pahang*, or *Pan*, by the *Portugueses Kingdom* called *Paon*, and by others, after the *Arabs*, *Fan*, is situated of *Pahan*. about a league from the sea, and inhabited only by the nobility, the people dwelling in the suburbs. This place, which is not very large, is inclosed with a wall made of the trunk of trees, joined close together, and about twenty-four feet in height, strengthened at each angle with a bastion, but not filled with earth. The streets are fenced on both sides with hedges of reeds, and planted with cocoa and other trees : so that *Pahan* looks more like an assemblage of gardens, belonging to a suburbs, than a regular city. The houses likewise are generally built with reeds and straw, only the king's palace is of wood : for *Pahan* was formerly the capital of a kingdom, which lay between *Johor* and *Pataney* ; but, at present, it makes a part of *Johor*. The river is very broad ; but not navigable for gallies, except at high water. The adjacent country is very low, but fruitful enough ; producing pepper, eagle and *kalambak* woods, coarse gold, nutmegs, mace, *sapan* wood, diamonds, and hog stones, reckoned more efficacious than the bezoar stones. Deeper in the country elephants are very numerous †.

* HAMILT. ubi supra, p. 96, & seqq.
ubi supra, vol. ii. p. 181, & seqq.

† NIEUHOF,.

*Manners,
Customs.*

THUS we have given our reader an account, not only of the dominions actually subject and tributary to the king of *Siam*, but also of those which were formerly subject or tributary to him, in the peninsula of *Malakka*. We shall only add farther, with regard to the numerous islands which lie upon the coasts, and have excellent ports, fresh water, and woods, fit for colonies to settle on them, that the king affects to be stiled lord of them; although never inhabited by his subjects on the continent, who are but thin; and he has not strength enough at sea, to hinder strangers from entering them^r.

S E C T. IV.

Inhabitants of Siam, their Manners and Customs.

Inhabitants not numerous :

SIAM, considering its extent, is but indifferently peopled; nor are the cities, even the capital, very populous: for it is at present inhabited chiefly along the rivers; the country being, as yet, almost intirely overgrown with woods^a; which, in all likelihood, would not be the case, were the inhabitants as numerous as they are in some of the neighbouring countries. Notwithstanding this scarcity of people, the *Siamites* hardly make one third part of the whole: for, of the three sorts of people by whom the country is occupied, *Siameses*, *Labos*, and *Peguers*, the latter are almost equal to the other two. These *Peguers* are the descendants of such as, in the distractions which for a long time formerly afflicted their country, fled hither for refuge; or who had been taken prisoners in the frequent wars which subsisted between the two nations. Besides, the king gives great encouragement to the *Peguers* to settle in *Siam*, because they are more active, and better soldiers, than his natural subjects^b.

half of them Peguers.

Siameses their origin.

As to the origin of the *Siameses*, they say their laws and kings at least came from the *Labos*, who, on the other hand, will have it that their laws are derived from *Siam*^c. *Choisy* observes, that the *Laos* are half *Chineses*; and *Methold* declares, that all the inhabitants of *Pegu* and *Arrakan*, as well as *Siam*, seem to be descended from the same fountain, their features and customs being so nearly alike^d.

Several conditions.

AT *Siam* all persons are freemen, or slaves; and may either be born or become such. One may become a slave either for

^a LOUBERE relat. of Siam, p. 7.

KEMPFER, p. 25.

LOUBERE, p. 9.

^b CHOISY journ. p. 536.

^c LOUBERE, p. 9. ^d METHOLD apud Purch. pilgr. vol. v. p. 1005.

^e Ibid. p. 111.

debt, by being taken in war, or by way of punishment. They sometimes sell themselves and children for victuals, and even for sake of eating a delicious fruit called *durian*. Their slavery is very gentle, as in cultivating of lands, tending gardens, or some other domestic services; or rather they permit them to work for themselves, paying a tribute to their masters, from about three shillings and six-pence, to seven shillings a year. A slave for debt has his liberty again, on making satisfaction; but the children born during this slavery continue slaves. A person is born a slave, when the mother is a slave. If she converses with the father, without her master's consent, all the children are his; if with his consent, they are divided, as in case of divorce. The first, and every odd number, belong to the mother's master; the rest, or even numbers, to the father, if he be free, or to his master, if he is a slave. The difference between the king of Siam's slaves and his subjects, is, that he maintains his slaves, who are continually employed: whereas his free subjects owe him only six months service in the year, but at their own expence; nor is there any service due to him from the slaves of these latter.

AMONG the freemen there are not properly two ranks or conditions of people; since nobility is nothing but the actual possession of places: and although families, who enjoy them for a considerable time, do become more illustrious and powerful than others, yet this is rare, and lasts no longer than they are in office; which being deprived of, they have nothing to distinguish them from the common people. So that often the grandson of a great lord, and sometimes his son, is seen rowing a boat. As the freemen are all soldiers, they are carefully registered, that none may avoid doing his duty. This militia is divided into men on the right hand, and men on the left; each of which great divisions is subdivided into bands, with every one its *Nay*, or *chief*: who does not always lead his band to the war, no more than to the six months service; he is obliged only to furnish out of his band so many men as may be required for those particular occasions. There are seven degrees of these *Nay*, one superior to the other, according to the number of people contained in the respective bands: as *Pa-ya*, *Ok-pa*, *Ok-pa*, *Ok-lou*, *Titles of* *ang*, *Ok-khawn*, *Ok-meuang*, and *Ok-pan*. These are so many *honour* dignities or titles by which all officers or placemen are distinguished. But how many men belong to these bands our author could not discover; only as *Ok-pan*, which is now disused, signifies *the head of a thousand men*, and *Ok-meuang*, *the head of ten thousand men*, he judges that every other title de-

*Manners,
Customs.*

notes the number of men contained in the band subordinate to its chief. There is another title without function, viz. *Ok-meuang*, which signifies *chief of a city*; and with which a person must be qualified before he can be made a governor, whom they call *Chaw-meuang*, that is, *lord of a city*. On this occasion it must be noted, with reference to the six dignities aforesaid, now in use, that there are in *Siam* six orders of cities, which anciently were determined according to the rolls of the inhabitants. Thus the most populous had *Pa-yas* for governors; the next sort *Ok-yas*; and so the rest, in proportion to the inhabitants which they contained.

THESE titles are given to all officers in the kingdom, as well as governors, because they are all *Nay*: but as the same person may have two titles, in consequence of being possessed of two different offices, and the offices themselves may change their titles, which are not inseparably annexed to any of them; this distinction, for want of being observed by travellers, has sometimes bred confusion in their relations.

*Siamefes
their cha-
racter.*

THE *Siamefes* may be pronounced good men: vices are detestable with them. They are so far from getting drunk, that every man, who is above the dregs of the people, accounts it a shame to drink *arak*. They pay great respect to age; the younger, though higher in office, yielding precedence to his elder. Children are exceeding dutiful to their parents. Begging is reckoned very shameful, and therefore the poor are maintained by their relations: but robbing is held much more ignominious than begging; and therefore they take little care to secure their doors, either in the day or night. However, it must not be supposed that the *Siamefes* never steal; and the outlaws, who withdraw into the woods for shelter, frequently rob passengers: but then they never murder them, as they often do in *Europe*. On the other hand, their fidelity is inviolable in all sorts of traffick: but usury, not being restrained by laws, is practised without bounds; for avarice is their essential vice. Yet, what is strange, they gather riches not to use, but bury them. They have very few civil suits; but many criminal causes, which arise from hatred or revenge. The *Siamefes* have naturally an aversion to blood; so very rarely commit murder: but generally their quarrels end in abusive language, or a few blows at most. They are courteous, polite, timorous, and careless. They have no curiosity, and never admire anything. Insolent to the humble, and humble to the insolent.

LOUNGER, p. 77, & seqq.

They

They have more moderation than *Europeans*; being born philosophers: but are withal given to dissimulation.^f

*Manners,
Customs.*

ADULTERY is very rare in *Siam*: which is owing, not to the husband's power over his wife, whom he may sell or kill for such an offence; but because the women are not corrupted, either by idleness (for they maintain the men by their labour), or luxury. They neither game, nor receive visits from men. Plays also are very rare at *Siam*; nor is there any public theatre for the purpose. Custom has made restraint very easy to them. They look upon a greater liberty as scandalous; and would think themselves despised by the husbands who should allow it them. The women of *Asia* have generally a high sense of modesty; and, in time of war, would rather their husbands should kill them, than let them fall into the hands of the enemy. Not but there are women here who give a loose to their passions, as well as in other places; though not so many. The *Siamese* lords are no less watchful over their daughters than their wives; and if any of them commits a fault, they sell her to a certain man, who has a privilege to prostitute them for money, in consideration of a duty which he pays the king. It was said, when our author was in *Siam*, that he had in his custody 600 young creatures, all daughters of considerable officers. He likewise purchases wives, when convicted of being unfaithful to their husbands.^g

*Learned
The women
virtues.*

THE *Siameses* are rather small than large, but strait, and well-proportioned; owing, doubtless, to their not swaddling their infants, or forcing nature as we do. Their faces are rather of a lozenge shape than oval. The cheek-bones are broad; from whence the forehead suddenly contracts, and terminates in a point, as much as their chin. Their eyes are slit a little upwards, and small; not very brisk, and the white inclining to yellow. Their jaws are hollow, as their cheek-bones are too high. Their mouths large; lips thick and pale; their teeth black, and complexion brown, mixed with red, to which the sun contributes not a little. The great men are said to affect making their legs blue, perhaps with gunpowder (A): but the women neither paint nor patch. The noses of the *Siameses* are short, and round at the end:

*Their per-
sons.*

^f LOUBERE, p. 73—76.

^g Ibid. p. 73, & seqq.

(A) *Louberé* saw one of them lord might have been a *Labe*, marked in this manner: for it or a *Berna*, who both use that is not common; perhaps only custom. coming into fashion; or that

*Manners,
Customs.*

their ears naturally larger than ours; and the larger the more handsome. Their hair is black, thick, and lank. Both sexes wear it cut short, even with the top of their ears; under this they are close shaven. The women generally raise it on their forehead; and some let it grow behind, in order to braid it. The young unmarried clip their hair very close to the crown of the head, where plucking it up in a small circle, about a quarter of an inch broad, let the rest grow down almost to their shoulders. There is only one defect in the women, that they have hanging breasts, which often reach to their navel^b.

*Dress of
the men.*

THE *Siameses* go all naked, from head to foot, only girding their reins and thighs, down to their knees, with a piece of callico or silk, about two ells and a half long, which the *Portugueses* call *pagne*, from *pannus*, *cloth*. The officers or placemen wear, besides, a muslin shirt, as a kind of vest: it has no neck-band, and is open before: the sleeves are two feet wide, without plaits, and reach almost to their wrists: but the body thereof is so tight, that, not being wide enough to slip down over the *pagne*, it sits in wrinkles. In winter some put over their shoulders a breadth of stuff, or painted linen, like a mantle or scarf, the ends of which are neatly wound about the arms. The king, in this season, under his shirt wears a brocaded sattin waistcoat, adorned with lace, whose sleeves are very tight. None must wear such a vest, excepting such considerable officers as he gives it to. He sometimes also bestows on them a scarlet vest, to be worn only in war or hunting, which reaches to the knees, and buttons before, with wide sleeves, but so short, that they do not touch the elbows. On those two occasions, the king and his retinue appear in red; the soldiers having muslin shirts given to them, dyed of that colour. They likewise wear a cap of ceremony, which is white, and high, pointed like a sugar-loaf. The king's is adorned with a circle, or crown, of precious stones; and those of his officers have several circles of gold or silver, to distinguish their dignities. They wear them only before the king, in their tribunals, or on some solemn occasion. They fasten them with a stay under the chin; and never pull them off to salute any person.

THE *Mohammedans* have introduced the use of *papushes*, or slippers, a kind of pointed shoes, without either quarter or heel; which they leave at the doors of the houses they enter, to avoid dirtying the rooms. They approve of hats for travelling; but very few of the people cover their heads

^a LOUHERE, p. 27. & seqq.

from the sun, excepting on the river, where the reflexion *Manners,*
most incommodes; and then they do it only with a piece *Customs.*
of linen.

THE men, after wrapping the *pagne* about their waist, put one end back between their thighs, and tuck it in behind; so that it resembles breeches. The other end hangs before; and, as they have no pockets, serves to tie up their purse for *betel*. The women wrap their *pagne* about their middle, and let it fall down broad-ways half-way the leg, like a kind of close coat. All the rest of their body is naked; only the rich wear a scarf, putting the middle part single over the bosom, and letting the two ends hang down behind, over the shoulders; though sometimes they wrap them about their arms.

*Womens
dress.*

FOR all the *Siameses* go so naked, yet no people in the *Their mo-*
world are so scrupulous of shewing the parts of the body *desty.*
which are covered. They have affixed infamy to nakedness; and hence modesty renders the custom of bathing in rivers almost insupportable among the women; and but few among them can resolve to practise it. They never pull off the *pagne* to lie down; and children go without it till they are four or five years of age. Their ears are no less secured against immodesty than their eyes: for, by the laws of *Siam*, obscene *Gbina* figures and paintings are equally prohibited with lewd songs. For ornaments, the people of *Siam* croud the three *Orna-*
last fingers of each hand with rings; and wear pendants of *ments.*
gold, silver, or vermillion gilt. The boys and girls of condition wear bracelets on their arms and legs, till six or seven years of age; but no longer.

THE *Siameses* are very clean and neat. They bathe three *Cleanly*
or four times a day, or oftener, if visits require it. This *and neat.*
they do, either by going into the water, or having it poured over their body with ladles, which they sometimes continue for an hour together. They, after this, perfume themselves, and put pomatum on their lips. They wash their hair with water and sweet oils; comb themselves; and keep their black teeth clean. They pluck their beard, of which they have but little: but they let their nails grow without cutting; and the dancers sometimes put on very long copper nails; for what makes them look like harpies, they esteem a beauty.

¹ LOUBERE, p. 25, & seqq.

² Ibid. p. 26.

S E C T. V.

*Their Houses, Diet, Diseases, Diversions, Carriages.**Way of
Living.**Their
houses*

THESE people are no less plain in their houses, their furniture, and diet, than in their dress. Their houses are raised on four or six *bambú* posts, thirteen feet high, and as thick as a man's leg, to avoid the inundation: across these they lay other *bambú* posts for a foundation: hurdles of split *bambú*, often not closely compacted, do make the floors, walls, and roofs: the stairs are likewise a *bambú* ladder, which hangs without, like that of a windmill. And as their stables are built in the air, as well as their houses, they have climbers made of hurdles for the cattle to ascend. The houses, which are small, and only of one story, for more privacy, stand single, surrounded with pretty large grounds, which serve for courts and gardens, inclosed with a *bambú* wall. The great officers have timber houses, in which each lives, with his principal wife, and their children: every one of the other wives, with her children, and slave with his family, has a separate apartment, yet within the same inclosure. The palaces of *Siyuthin* and *Louvo*, as well as several temples, are also of brick; which way of building seems to have been taken from the *Europeans*, *Chinese*, or *Moors*, who build here with the same kind of materials.

*and furni-
ture.*

As their houses are built of such slight materials, so they are soon finished. Three hundred, which were burnt in our author's time in the capital, were rebuilt in three days; and three others were removed, with all their furniture, in less than an hour. The furniture of the *Siamese* houses is very plain, and consists in but a few moveables. Their bedstead is a wooden frame, matted, but without either head or posts: it has sometimes six feet, sometimes none at all: but the generality have no other bed but a mat of bulrushes, laid on the floor. The bedstead is very narrow; because the man and wife have separate beds, except among the vulgar. The better sort use a mattress, but no upper sheet; the coverlid, which is a single cotton cloth, serving for it. A long pillow serves for bolster; and a curtain before the bed completes the sleeping-place. Those who can afford it have cabinets, with drawers, both for use and ornament. Their table is like a drum-head, with the edges raised, like tea-boards, but no feet. They have no chairs or seats, but

* LOUBERE, p. 29.

bulrush mats: no carpets, but what the king bestows on *Way of* them. The rich, indeed, have cushions; but they are used *Living.* only to lean on, never to sit on.

THEIR vessels are either of china or earthen ware; with *Their* some few of copper: wood, plain or varnished, *cocoa*, and *useful.* *bambú*, afford them all the rest. Scarce any have gold or silver plate, excepting some officers of the court, from whence it comes, and that very little. The king's furniture is almost the same with that of particular persons, only more rich and sumptuous. In all the entertainments at the palace, the ambassadors saw great store of silver plate, especially huge basins, round and deep, in which were large round boxes, about eighteen inches diameter: these, containing the rice which was served at table, were covered, and had each a foot to stand on. The fruit was served in gold plates: but china is more common at his table than either metal; which is a general custom in all the courts of *Asia*^b.

In some houses, built on purpose for the ambassadors, *Fires and chimnies.* (wherein hurdles laid on piles, and covered with bulrush mats, made not only the floors, but the area of the courts), the hall and chambers were hung with painted cloths, and the ceilings with white muslin, the extremities of which hung sloping. In the chambers where the ambassadors lay, tapestry carpets were laid over the mats. Neatness appeared everywhere, but no magnificence. Their hearth or chimney is nothing but a basket full of earth, supported with three sticks for feet; and they make their fires, not in the houses, but the courts.

THEIR palaces are too low to make a figure, being but *King's palace.* one story; and the temples not high enough in proportion to their bigness: nor have neither any exterior ornament, excepting the roofs, which they cover with tin or tiles, varnished with yellow. It is not in the ornaments of architecture, which the *Siameses* know nothing of, that the real dignity of their buildings consists, but in some being higher than others. Thus in the palace, the king's apartment is more elevated than the rest, which are gradually lower, in proportion as they are farther from it; so that there are always a few steps to ascend from one to another, for they all join, and stand in a row. It is this which causes the inequality in the roofs, which are all high ridged, and seem to bear one on another. But the principal ornament of temples consists in several pyramids of brick; the tallest are as high as our steeples, and the lowest not exceeding two fathom: they are all round, and

^b LOUEERE, p. 34, & 165.

*Way of
Living.*

gradually diminish as they rise ; so that each terminates like a dome. When the pyramids happen to be very low, there proceeds from the top a tin spire, very small, and sharp pointed, but proportioned to the rest^e.

Their diet. THE usual diet of the *Siameses* is rice and fish, in which they are more abstemious than *Europeans*. The sea affords admirable fish, of sorts unknown to us ; lobsters of all sizes, excellent little turtles, and delicate small oysters. Their rivers also yield plenty of good fish, especially eels : but they are not fond of fresh fish ; rather choosing that which is ill-seasoned and dry : nor are they displeased with stinking fish, any more than rotten eggs. They eat even lizards, locusts, rats, and most insects, which nature doubtless inclines them to, as being of easy digestion ; and which, perhaps, are not so disgusting as we imagine. A pound of rice, which costs but one farthing, and a little salt-fish, of no greater value, serves a *Siamese* for one day's food. Their sauce is only a little water, relished with some spices, garlick, or other herb : but that which they esteem most, is called *Kaphi* : it is liquid, like mustard, and made of crayfish corrupted (A), because ill salted ; for meats hardly take salt in very hot countries : yet the pots of it which they gave to a *French* officer had no bad smell. Instead of saffron they use *Crocus Indicus* : but as they have neither nuts nor olives, they have no oil but what comes from the cocoa ; which, though a little bitter, is very good when fresh ; but it presently becomes very strong. They use buffalo's milk, which yields more cream than that of our cows : but make no cheese, nor scarce any butter, which hardly takes any consistence for the heat.

*Provisions
plenty.*

THEY disguise dried fish many ways, without varying the the preparation : but of more than thirty dishes, wherewith the ambassadors were served, our author, tho' far from being squeamish, could not eat of one. The *Siameses* rarely eat flesh ; and, when they do, they choose the guts and intestines, which, to *Europeans*, are most loathsome. Indeed all animal food there is tough, and juiceless. Nor do they take care of their poultry. As for wild-fowl, they never eat or kill them : and are so far from destroying crows and vultures, that they feed them, even with the flesh of children, who die before they are three or four years old. Pigs flesh is the best of all in *Siam* : but so fat, that it is distasteful. A sheep is worth four crowns in the metropolis, a goat two or three,

* LOUBERE, p. 30. & seqq.

(A) The same kind of sauce is used in *Arrakan* and *Pegu*.

and

and a cow not above one; but in the country it will sell for *Way of* ten pence. A pig, in the capital, may be had for seven pence, *Living.* because the *Mohammedans* do not eat any: hens sell for twenty pence a dozen: and so many ducks for a crown ^d.

FOR all this temperance in the *Siameses*, yet, to the discredit of sobriety, faith our author, they do not live longer than *Their diseases.* *Europeans*, nor are freer from diseases. Those which are most dangerous and common among them are fluxes and dysenteries; which yet *Europeans* are more subject to on their arrival, because they cannot live sober enough. They are sometimes attacked with calentures; but other fevers and inflammations are rare, and kill nobody. Coughs, squinceys, defluxions, and rheumatisms, are as frequent at *Siam*, where it rains so much, as elsewhere. But the gout, falling-sickness, apoplexy, phthisic, and all sorts of cholic, especially the stone, are there very rare. On the other hand, cancers, ulcers, and fistulas, are very common. So are the *fresipeli*, to such a degree, * that nineteen in twenty are infected with it. There is no scurvy nor dropsy to be met with; but one hears of many of those extraordinary distempers, which people are apt to impute to witchcraft. In a word, there are some contagious diseases; and, among the rest, the venereal. But the real plague of this country is the small-pox, which often makes dreadful ravages: and then they bury the bodies, for three years at least, before they burn them: for, they say, if they are taken up sooner, the contagion breaks out afresh ^c.

WHILE the men are employed for six months by the king *Lazy life.* in all kinds of work, the wives maintain the family at home. They plough the land; they sell and buy in the city: so that when the husband returns he has nothing to do. He neither works, walks abroad, nor hunts. He does scarce any thing, but continue sitting, or lolling, eating, playing, smoking, and sleeping. His wife wakes him at seven, and serves him with rice and fish: after this he falls to sleep again: at noon he eats another meal, and sups towards night. What business he has to do, he does between the two last meals; and spends the remainder in conversation or play ^f.

As the *Siameses* have but little to do, they spend much of *Diversions.* their time in diversions, of which they have many, which are *sims.* common in *Europe*; as puppet-shews, tumbling, rope and ladder dancing, in which they far excel our artists. They have wrestling and boxing; races of oxen instead of horses;

^d LOUBERE, p. 35, & seqq.
^e Ibid. p. 50.

^f Ibid. p. 38, & seq.

Way of
Living.



and rowing of boats ; at which wagers are laid. Cock-fighting and kite-flying are in great esteem, and deemed amusements for the monarchs of *Asia*. They are very fond of plays and fire-works, which are well performed by them ; and which, with their annual feast of lanthorns, as well as other customs, seem to have come to them from the *Chineses*. Like these also they are excessively given to gaming, so as often to make themselves and children slaves. Their usual games are chess and *tick-tack*, which last they call *faka*. Smoking tobacco is one of their greatest pleasures ; to which the women are chiefly addicted.

Elephant
hunting

and fight-
ing.

THE king frequently recreates himself with most of the above-mentioned diversions : but the pastime in which he takes greatest delight, is the catching and fighting of elephants. The taking of these animals is much after the same manner as in other countries. They decoy them, by means of the tame females, into a narrow passage, between two high banks of earth, lined on each side with trunks of trees, so large, and close set, that the elephant can neither pull them up, or get between them : so that men, placed between the banks and the trees, may with safety lay ropes to catch their hind legs in running knots ; and then, entering into the narrow passage, provoke them forwards to a little inclosure, also of trees, to which they tie them. When they set elephants to fight, they do not give them liberty to close, as in the great mogul's court, but keep them at a distance, with ropes tied to their hinder feet, and fastened to great posts : so that they can hardly cross each other's trunk in the combat, much less reach the men who are mounted on their backs to animate them. Neither do they let them fight long, for, after five or six attacks, the females are brought in to part them. At *Siam* they neither expose the life of men nor beasts by way of sport.

Their car-
riages.

BESIDES the ox and buffalo, on which the *Siameses* commonly ride, the elephant is their sole domestic animal ; and their hunting to catch them is free for every body. For ordinary services they use only the females, reserving the males for war. The elephant is the carriage for every person who can take in hunting, or purchase, one. The king has a white elephant, but never mounts him ; because they say the white elephant is as great a lord as himself, as having a king's soul. Horses are scarce, and good for little here, the country not being proper for breeding them. The king keeps about 2000, which he has mostly from abroad, but seldom rides them ; as the elephant looks more grand, and is better for

defence. They have neither asses nor mules in *Siam*, but *Way of Living.* there are some camels brought by the *Mohammedans.*

THEIR chairs or sedans are square, flat seats, more or less high, which are placed on biers, carried on the shoulders *Chairs.* of four or eight men, according to the quality of the person. Sometimes these seats have a back and arms; sometimes only encompassed on three sides with a small ballister about six inches high. Some are open at top, others covered with an imperial or canopy: but, at present, only two or three lords have permission to use those chairs; and the palankin is allowed to sick persons, or diseased old men. Neither are any suffered to use umbrellas (B), but whom the king pleases; and yet all these prohibited things are allowed to *Europeans.* The umbrella granted to officers is single, or has but one end upon a staff or handle: the king's only has more ends, one above another. The *Sarkrats*, or superiors of the *Talapoy*s, are indulged with an umbrella of one round, with two or three painted cloths hanging down from it; and the *Talapoy*s themselves have umbrellas, in form of screens, which they carry in their hand, made of palmito leaves, cut round and folded. These they call *talapat*, from whence, it is likely, comes the name *Talapoy*.

BUT to return to the conveniencies for carriage: the annual *Balons, or boats.* inundation of the river renders the boat or balon the most universal voiture. It is made out of a single tree, and very narrow, though from sixteen to twenty feet in length; some of the king's balons, and those of considerable officers, have 100 or 120 rowers each, who sit cross-legged, ranged two and two on benches: those of inferior officers have only sixteen or twenty *pagayes*, or oars, according to their different sizes. This *pagaye* is a short oar, which the *pagayer*, or rower, holds with both hands; one in the middle, the other at the upper end. This he plunges directly downwards, with a motion of the arms and shoulders, which is vigorous, but easy and graceful; and although the oars can only sweep the water, yet as it is done with force, and by so many hands, the balon flies with exceeding swiftness. They strike all at once, drawing the oar towards them, so that they look towards the place they are going to. A very long *pagaye* serves for a rudder; which is not fixed to the balon, but held perpendicularly by the steersman: who only moves it sometimes to one side of the vessel, sometimes to the other,

(B) This is the case thro' all himself lord of the twenty-four the farther peninsula, particularly in *Ava*, whose king files umbrellas. See before, p. 130.

accord-

Marriage, Education. according as he would direct its course. The balons of the ladies are rowed by women slaves. The ordinary balons have a cabin in the middle, made of *bambá*; but in the balons of ceremony or state, there is only a single seat, which is higher or lower, and covered with an umbrella or canopy, according to the degree of the officer to whom it belongs. These canopies are all over gilded, as well as the *pagayes*: they are supported by pillars, and adorned with carved works in pyramids. It cannot be imagined how delightful it is to see a great number of such balons rowing together in good order; and our author confesses that he was surpris'd with the beauty of the shew, on his entering the river of *Siam*^b.

S E C T. VI.

Their Marriages, Education, Learning, Arts, Trade.

Their marriages.

THE *Siamese* women have children at twelve, and sometimes sooner, but seldom after forty; they therefore marry young. If the parents of the maid like the match, which is commonly propos'd by women in years, they consult the fortune-teller, to know if the party be rich, and the marriage will prove happy. If the answer turns out to their liking, the young man makes three visits; and at the third the relations on both sides meet, when the portion of each party is delivered to the bridegroom; who, without any more ceremony, goes to bed to his wife. The *Talapoy* have no hand in the matter; only, a few days after, they go to the house of the new-married couple to sprinkle holy water, and repeat some prayers. The wedding, as in all other countries of the East, is accompanied with feasting and shews, where hired dancers divert the guests. The greatest portion at *Siam* is a hundred *kati*, which make 15,000 *livres*. A man may have several wives; but the rich only have more than one, and that more out of grandeur than debauchery. There is always one of them who is the chief, and called the great wife, the rest are termed the lesser wives; and, though legitimate, are yet slaves, as being purchased. Marriage is forbidden in the first degree of kindred; yet a man may marry two sisters, one after the death of the other. The king of *Siam*, who reigned in 1687, married his own sister. The succession in private families is in the children of the great wife; and the heir can sell the little wives and their children, who have only

Bigamy forbidden.

^b LOUBERE, p. 39, & seqq.

what he pleases to give them, or the father, before his death, *Marriage.* thought fit to bestow on them : as to the daughters of the *Education.* little wives, they are sold to the best bidder, to be little wives themselves ; they may also be sold by the husband in his lifetime : but he can only divorce his principal wife. After this divorce, each party may sell the children who fall to his or her share, according to the division of the odd and even number before-mentioned. Widows inherit the power of their husbands, so far as relates to the children of the odd number, who belong to them ; but they cannot sell those of the even number, if the father's relations oppose it, for the children themselves dare not. Neither does the power of parents extend so far as to kill their children ; nor of husbands to kill their wives.

ALTHOUGH intimacies between freemen and women is not deemed scandalous at *Siam*, yet parents carefully watch their daughters ; nor are children allowed to dispose of themselves in marriage without their consent. The *Siameses* are too proud easily to give themselves to foreigners ; at least to invite them, as do the *Pegu* women^a living in the country, who have more spirit and vivacity than the *Siameses*. It is an established opinion in the *Indies*, that the people have more or less vigour and spirit, according as they are nearer to, or farther from, *Pegu*^b.

THE *Siamese* children have much docility and sweetness in *Education* their disposition. They are educated in extreme modesty of *of children.* behaviour ; which is ingrafted by the respect due to parents, and the six months service owing to the prince. Civility is so great through the East, that an *European*, who has lived there long, finds much difficulty to re-accustom himself to the familiarities common in the West. The *Siameses* never say any thing to displease, nor affect to appear more knowing than you, though a stranger, even in matters which relate to themselves. Parents are the more careful in the education of their children, as they are accountable for their offences ; and the son, though fled, never fails to surrender himself, when the prince has seized his father, mother, or eldest relations.

SLAVES and servants before their masters, and the common *Postures of* people before the lords, keep on their knees, sitting on their *respect.* heels ; their head a little inclined, and hands joined above their forehead. In passing by one another in the street they go upright, or stooping, with their hands raised more or less, according to the quality of the persons they salute. In visits, the inferior prostrates himself, and sits in the same manner,

^a See before, p. 53.

^b LOUVERE, p. 51, & seqq.

Silent,

Learning, Sciences. silent, till he is first spoken to. The person visited always offers his place to the visitant, and treats him with fruit, preserves, arak, *betel*, and tea. The breach of these ceremonious duties being punishable by the person offended, preserves respect, and prevents indecent behaviour, which in *Europe* produces quarrels. In short, ceremonies are as essential, and almost as numerous, in *Siam*, as in *China*.

Marks of honour. AT *Siam* the right hand is more honourable than the left. In some things they seem to break the rules of decency with us; for they make no scruple to belch without restraint; and wipe the sweat off their faces with their fingers: for they use no handkerchiefs. Yet they must not spit on the mats or carpets, but carry with them a spitting-box for the purpose. In the king's palace they neither spit, cough, nor wipe their nose. The highest place is with them the most honourable; and they avoid going under the houses which are built on piles, that none may tread over their heads. It is also the highest affront to touch any body's head, or his hair: even to handle his bonnet, if laid down any-where, is a great piece of incivility: yet to lay any-thing on one's head, which is given or received, is, in *Siam*, as well as other countries of *Asia*, a very singular mark of respect. In a word, standing is a much more honourable posture than sitting¹.

Learning. THE *Siameses* put their children, when seven or eight years old, into a convent, and make them assume the habit, which yet they quit at pleasure. Here they learn to write, and read, and cast accounts; after which they are taught the principles of their morality, and the tables of *Sammona Kodom*: but neither history, law, nor any science.

Languages. THEIR languages are two; the *Siamese*, or common, and the *Balli*, which is their learned or sacred language. The first has thirty-seven, the latter thirty-three letters, all consonants, and both are written from the left to the right. The *Siamese* resembles the *Chinese* in several respects: it consists mostly in monosyllables, and has neither declensions nor conjugations, which are supplied by four or five particles, placed either before or after the verb. They have likewise a great deal of accent, like the *Chinese*, and almost sing in speaking. In other respects, however, the two languages differ considerably: among the rest the *Siameses* have the letter *r*, which the *Chinese* want.

Arithmetic. ARITHMETIC, after reading and writing, is their principal study, in which they use ten characters, as we do. They are very quick of apprehension, and dextrous in casting ac-

¹ LOUBERE, p. 54, & seqq.

counts; presently resolving very difficult questions, through the clearness of their imagination. They imitate any-thing immediately; and, from the first day, are tolerably good workmen: but their indolence, owing to the heat of the climate, hinders all progress. They are naturally poets, but no orators; and yet our author praises the speech of the *Siamese* ambassador to *Lewis* the fourteenth, at his audience of leave, as an excellent composition.

THEY are strangers to all parts of philosophy, except some principles of morality: and have no sort of theology. They study no laws, but those of their country, and such only as relate to the employment they are advanced to: at which time a copy is delivered to them of the laws which concern it; as is practised in *Spain*, though their laws are public.

THE *Siameses* are quite ignorant of anatomy, and every kind of chirurgery, excepting blood-letting. Their whole practice of physic consists in using certain receipts, handed down from their ancestors. Their first prescription is to have the sick man trampled on by one skilled in the business: and big-bellied women get children to trample on them, to procure an easy delivery. They make use of purgatives, and highly applaud sudorifics. Their remedies are generally hot; as they find, to augment the natural heat, is beneficial to them. The sick are nourished with boiled rice, extremely liquid: but meat broths are mortal at *Siam*, because they too much relax the stomach. Pigs flesh is what is given them when they can eat any-thing solid.

THE *Siameses* understand nothing of chemistry, altho' they passionately affect it; and some boast of profound secrets, because there are credulous persons in *Siam*, as well as other countries. The father of the king (who reigned in 1687), spent two millions in search of the philosophers stone. They are likewise no less addicted than the *Chineses* to the folly of seeking out an universal remedy (C), which may render them immortal; at least proof against any kind of death but a violent one. Upon this principle, impostors have forged stories of many pretended immortals, who have withdrawn from the sight of men, to secure themselves from danger; and there are fools enough in *Siam* to believe them.

^a LOUBERE, p. 59, & seqq.

(C) The sect of *Tau*, among the *Chineses*, pretend to be masters of this secret, called the *liquor of immortality*; which some of the emperors have been so silly as to consult in.

Learning,
Sciences.

Astronomy.

THESE people know nothing of geometry and mechanics, because they can do without them; and astronomy concerns them no more than as they conceive it may be assistant to divination. They know only some practical part thereof, which they use in the horoscopes of the people, and in the composition of their almanack, which is a kind of general horoscope. It appears that they have twice caused their kalendar to be reformed by able astronomers; who, to supply the astronomical tables, have taken two arbitrary epochas, remarkable for some rare conjunction of the planets: the first refers to the year 545 before *Christ*; the second to the 638th after *Christ*. Both these served as grounds for calculating the account of the places of the planets; and the latter being found most commodious, they have left off the former, which they pretend marks the death of *Sommona Kodom*, in astronomical calculations, although they still make use of it in their dates.

*Notion of
the world.*

THEY know nothing of the system of the world, and believe, like all the East, that eclipses are caused by some dragon, who devours the sun and moon. They hold the earth to be square, on whose extremities the arch of the firmament rests, like a glass bell for covering plants. They say the earth is divided into four habitable parts, separated by seas, like so many different worlds, 84,000 *yods*, of 8000 fathom each, afunder. In the middle of the four worlds they suppose a square pyramidal mountain, from whose top, which touches the stars, to the surface of the earth, they reckon the same number of *yods*; the like number from the mountain to each of the worlds; and from the surface of the sea down to the foot of it. Now the world we inhabit, which they call *champion*, lies to the south of this mountain: and the sun, moon, and stars, incessantly turning round it, make day and night. At the top of the mountain is a heaven called *intratirasha*; over which is the heaven of angels.

Music.

MUSIC is no better understood at *Siam* than astronomy: they use no notes; and compose, as well as sing, by ear. They use violins with three strings, and very shrill hautboys; on which they play tolerably well, accompanied with copper basons, struck with a stick. They have, besides our drums, two sorts of their own; one beaten with the fist, the other founded in a very odd manner by turning a stick run through the sides of it. They are fond of our trumpets; theirs being small and harsh.

^d LOUBERE, p. 64, & seq.

THEY have no companies of trades in *Siam*, nor do arts flourish there. No person desires to excel in any business, because there is no price for ingenuity, and every one is afraid to appear rich. Besides, should any one distinguish himself as an artist, he would run the risk of being obliged to work *gratis* for life for his prince, who has already six months of his labour: they therefore content themselves with knowing a little of every kind of work, which the king employs them in. Thus they are pretty good joiners, but bad carvers and statuaries. They make excellent mortar, and understand masonry; yet their brick buildings do not last, because they never lay any foundations. They are excellent gilders, and gold-beaters; making leaves of it as thin as fine paper, on which the king's letters to other princes are written, with a bodkin. With such thin plates of gold or silver they sometimes cover their images, often of a monstrous size; also sword-hilts; but cannot polish. They know how to smelt metals, and cast some works in molds; but are bad forgers: hence their horses are not shod. Their stirrups are of rope; but the saddles deserve no better.

THEIR manufactures are very few and mean. The art of tanning and dressing leather is unknown to them. They make neither silks, woollen stuffs, nor tapestry; and but very little cotton cloth of a very coarse kind, and ill painted: but they embroider to please the fancy. They paint only in water colours, and that badly, after the *Chinese* manner, varying from nature; to follow which they deem too mechanical. The most general professions in *Siam* are fishing, for the common people, and merchandize, for those who are able to engage in it: but as the king engrosses to himself the foreign commerce, the home trade is so inconsiderable, that it is impossible to grow rich by it. In loans they give promissory notes of repayment; but neither seal nor sign, excepting with a sort of cross for a mark. The integrity of the people is so great, that, in the markets, neither the seller counts the money, nor the buyer the goods, he receives: and they were much scandalized to see the *French* buy the least things with more caution. The market hours are from five in the evening to eight or nine.

THEY use no measures in trade; because muslins and other linens are sold by the piece: but in serving the poorer sort, who want smaller quantities, they measure with their arm. In buildings, and surveying land, they use the fathom. For grain and liquors they use cocoa-bells; also a kind of bushel to measure corn, and a pitcher for liquor. They are not

Funerals. more exact with regard to their weights : but the pieces of their money are better regulated, though frequently counterfeit and light. Their silver coins are all of the same figure and impression, but of different sizes. Their *Tikal*, which weighs no more than half a crown, goes for three shillings and sixpence. Gold is a commodity, and twelve times the value of silver. They use for small money the *Kori* shells, which they call *Bia*, 7 or 800 of which are scarce the value of a penny^o.

Their funerals THE *Siameses* bury their dead bodies in wooden coffins, varnished and gilded on the outside. Sometimes they make use of leaden coffins : these they set on a high place, or bedstead, with feet, and burn perfumes and tapers. Every night the *Talapays* come to sing hymns on the occasion, in the *Balli* language, for which they are entertained, and receive some money. The place for burning the corpse is in the fields, near some temple, where a square spot is surrounded with a *hambu* inclosure, like that of an arbor. It is adorned with painted or gilded papers, representing houses, moveables, and animals, which are for the use of the deceased in the next world ; where they are supposed to become the things they represent. In the midst of this inclosure, the funeral pile is made, of odoriferous wood ; and, if the persons are rich, a scaffolding is erected of a considerable height, on which earth is laid, and on that the wood. On the day appointed, in the morning, the body sets out, under the sound of instruments, attended by the family and friends, all in white.

and interments. WHEN they arrive at the place, the body is taken out of the coffin, and laid on the pile : then the *Talapays* sing for a quarter of an hour, and so retire : after which the shews begin, set off with fireworks. About noon a servant of the *Talapays* sets fire to the pile, which burns for two hours, yet only roasts the body, without consuming it. If a prince of the blood, or a favourite lord, dies, the king himself sets the pile on fire, by a rocket sent along a rope, from the palace to the pile. The family entertain the company attending the burial, and, for three days, bestows alms on the *Talapays*. The remains of the body are again put into the coffin, and deposited under one of the pyramids which encompass some temple. The poor inter their dead bodies without burning them ; or expose them in the fields on a scaffold, where the vultures and crows devour them. The *Siameses* never burn the corpse of persons executed, infants still born,

women who die in child-bed, those who destroy themselves, *Religion,* or perish by thunder, or such extraordinary accidents; be- *the soul.* lieving that such misfortunes never happen to the innocent ^p.

S E C T. VII.

Religion of the Siameses.

AS the religion of the *Siameses* is the same, or nearly the same, with that of the *Labos*, which we have already circumstantially described; we shall here only touch upon a few particulars, relating to the *Indian* doctrine of the soul, and other matters, which have not yet been brought in view.

ALL souls appear, to the eastern Pagans, to be of the *All souls* same nature; nor do they believe, like *Christians*, that they *alike.* are physically united to the body, so as to make one with it. They are so far from thinking that the souls have a natural inclination to be in bodies, that they hold the transmigration to be a penance, as hath been often mentioned already. On the other hand, it is very difficult to convey to a *Siamite* the idea of a spirit, or an immaterial substance. All believe, indeed, that there remains something of man, after his death, which subsists separately from his body; but they give form and extension to that remains: in short, ascribe to it all the same members; with the same solid and fluid substances, whereof human bodies are composed. They suppose only *Of human* that the souls are of a matter subtle enough to be free from *form.* touch and sight; yet at the same time hold, that if any of them be wounded, the blood which flows from the wound may appear. Such were the *manes* and shades of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. The *Chinese* chose to suffer death rather than shave their hair after the manner of the *Tartars*; who conquered them, that they might not appear before their ancestors in the other world without hair; imagining, that they shaved the head of the soul, in shaving that of the body. After all, they cannot tell why they attribute the human figure, rather than any other, to the soul; which they suppose able to animate all sorts of bodies, besides that of man ^a.

As the oriental people believe that they may be helpful to *Notion of* the dead, by providing for their necessities in the next life, *souls.* in the way before-mentioned, of burning the paper figures of several things; so they imagine that the dead have the power of tormenting and succouring the living. Hence comes their care about the funerals of the deceased: for it is only

^p LOUVERE hist. Siam, p. 122.^a Ibid. p. 120. 129.

*Religion,
future
state.*

in this that they are munificent. Hence also it is that they pray to the dead, so high as their great great grandfather; supposing their ancestors, in the degrees beyond, to be so dispersed by divers transmutations, that they can hear them no more. The orientals are afraid of spirits, as well as the *Christians*, but in a more limited manner: for they neither hope nor fear any-thing from the dead out of the precincts of their family, profession, ward, or city, at farthest ^b.

*Paradise
and bills.*

THE most common opinion is, that there are nine places of happiness, and nine unhappy places: the nine first over our heads, or above this world; the nine unhappy places under our feet. The highest of the first nine is the place of most bliss; and the lowest of the second nine the place of most misery. But however great may be the felicity of the ninth paradise, yet that felicity is not eternal, nor exempt from inquietudes; since it is a state in which one is not only born, but also dies. The true paradise of the *Indians* is of another kind. If, after several transmutations, a soul, by the good works done in each new life, arrives at so much merit, that there is not, in any of the worlds, any mortal condition which is worthy of it, they say it then enjoys the *Nireupan*; that is, it has *disappeared*, and will return no more to any world, but remains in a state of eternal inactivity, and real impassibility. This word *Nireupan* the *Portugueses* have translated *it is annihilated*, and *it is become a god*; although, in the opinion of the *Siameses*, this is neither a real annihilation, nor an acquisition of any divine nature. In like manner, their true hell is not in any of the nine unhappy abodes, in some of which they suppose eternal flames and torments; but consists in the soul's never arriving at the *Nireupan*, and being doomed to eternal transmutations.

*State of
Nireu-
pan.*

*Its privi-
leges.*

BEFORE the soul disappears, or enters into the supreme felicity, they believe that, as soon as he hath merited the *Nireupan*, he enjoys great privileges in this life: as, that he acquires a prodigious knowledge, particularly of what happened to him in his several transmutations, and what shall happen till the time of his death; that he shall be endued with invincible strength, and the power of doing miracles. His death too must be of a more noble kind than the common sort: he *disappears*, say they, *like a spark, which is lost in the air*. And it is to the memory of these perfectly beatified men that the *Siameses* consecrate their temples.

*Enjoyed by
several.*

Now although the *Talapays* pretend that several have arrived to this supreme felicity (to the end, in our author's

^b LOUFERE, p. 120. 122.

^c Ibid. p. 120.

opinion, that several others may hope to arrive thereat), yet *Religion*, they honour only one, whom they deem to have surpassed all *Scriptures*. the rest in virtue. This is him whom they call *Sommona Kodom*. *Kodom*, they say, was his proper name; and that *Sommona* signifies, in the *Balli* (or *Palli*) language, *a Talapoy of the woods*.

ACCORDING to them, there is no true virtue out of the *Talapoy* profession : and they believe the *Talapoy* of the woods to be much more virtuous than those of the cities.

AND this, our author says, is the whole doctrine of the *Siameses*, in which he finds no traces of a divinity. They have no idea of a being who created all things ; nor consequently of any deity : so that their whole religion may be reduced intirely to the worship of the dead^d.

THE sacred books of the *Talapoy*s, written in the *Balli* *Ballibooks*. language, on longish leaves of a tree, fastened together at one end, are filled with extravagant stories, grafted on the me-tempsychoſis, and other doctrines of their religion. For instance, their principal book, believed to be written by *Sommona Kodom* (A), relates, that a certain elephant had thirty-three heads, each head seven teeth, each tooth seven pools, each pool seven flowers, every flower seven leaves, every leaf seven towers, every tower seven other things, and so on, still proceeding by the number seven^e. But let us leave these foolish conceits, to consider the morality of the *Siameses*.

It has been already observed, in our account of the religion of the *Lahos*, or *Lanjans*, that the principles of the *Moral In-* *precepts*. *Indian* morals are reduced to five negative precepts. We shall here consider in what latitude each of them is understood by the *Talapoy*s, particularly those of *Siam*.

THE first precept, *Kill nothing*, is extended to vegetables 1. *Not to* and seeds, as well as animals : because they believe the seed *kill*, contains the plant ; or is only the plant itself under a cover. He therefore who keeps the precept can live solely on fruit ; which they consider only as part of a thing which has life, and which suffers not by having its fruit plucked. But, in eating the fruit, he must avoid eating either the kernel or stone, because they are seeds : nor must unripe fruit be eaten, because that is to render the seed which the fruit contains abortive, by hindering it from coming to maturity.

^d LOUBERE, p. 130.^e Ibid. p. 135.

(A) This probably is the *Vi-* called *Patimouk*, is given by *nak* ; a fragment of which text, *Louberé*, p. 157.

*Religion,
Morality.*

The precept goes still farther, even to forbid destroying any thing in nature : because they think every thing is animated, or rather has a soul ; so that to destroy any thing is to dispossess a soul. Thus they believe that to break a branch of a tree, is like breaking the arm of an innocent person, and offends the soul of the tree ; but when once the soul has been dislodged from any body, they think no harm can be done in feeding on the latter. The *Talapoy*s do not scruple to eat of what is dead, but only of killing what they believe to be alive.

*nor dispos-
sess souls.*

In several instances they testify a greater abhorrence of blood than of murder. They are forbidden to make any incision from whence blood may flow ; as if the soul was the blood, or principally lodged in it. The *Siameses* scruple to go a fishing, except on the days when the *Talapoy*s shave their heads. At those times they fancy that they commit no crime ; saying, that they only pull them out of the water, and shed not their blood ; but the smallest evasion serves to elude the precepts. Thus they imagine killing in war to be no sin, because they shoot not directly at the enemy ; although, in reality, they endeavour to kill. For all this, if they are told, that murder in some cases appears laudable, since it may deliver a soul from a miserable life, they answer ; first, that forcibly to dispossess souls is always to injure them : Secondly, that by being dispossessed they are relieved ; because they re-enter the like bodies, in order to live-out the time appointed them in that state. As to self-murder, the *Siameses* think it not only lawful, because masters of themselves, but also meritorious ; judging it a sacrifice which acquires the soul a great degree of virtue and perfection. In this persuasion they sometimes hang themselves out of devotion : but some great discontent is generally the true motive ; as was the case of a *Peguer*, who burnt himself publicly in a temple at *Siam*, about the year 1680.

*Self-mur-
der la-
wful.*

*Second.
Third.*

With regard to the second precept, *Steal nothing*, our author has nothing particular to observe : but the third, *Commit not any impurity*, extends, he says, not only to adultery and fornication, but also to marriage ; which (with the *Talapoy*s) is a state of sin, as celibacy is a state of perfection.

Fourth.

The fourth precept, *Live not*, in *Louberé's* opinion, merits no explanation ; but he was not furnished with materials for the purpose.

Fifth.

The fifth and last, *Drink no intoxicating liquor*, prohibits not only drinking strong liquors till one is overcome with them, but the drinking at all of any inebriating liquor, though ever so moderately.

As

As the *Siameses* acknowledge no author of the universe, so *Religion,* they acknowledge no first legislator. They erect temples to *Toleration.* the memory of certain men, concerning whom they believe a thousand fables, which the superstition of their ancestors has invented. And these are they whom the *Portugueses* *if idolaters,* have called the gods of the *Indies*; imagining that whatever was honoured with public worship could be no less than a god (A). The *Indians* indeed have allowed these men to be called gods; but the reason is, that they do not understand the true meaning of the word god. The erecting statues to men, and giving them exterior worship, is not always a mark of divine honour, since the like hath been, and still are, often given to magistrates; as statues have even been set up in churches, and honoured with incense, as well as other exterior forms of worship. Therefore the *Indians* are not to be accused with idolatry for the like practice; much less, as it does not appear that they acknowledge any deity: for this reason they ought rather to be termed atheists than idolaters. On the other hand, when it is considered that they offer vows and sacrifices to those who are not gods, they cannot well be excused from idolatry.

THE *Indians* are persuaded, that different people must *hold all* have different religions; and therefore have no notion that *religions* one ought to extirpate another. They do not *hold, like good.* *Europeans*, that faith is a virtue. They believe, because they know not how to doubt: much less are they persuaded, that there is a faith and worship, which ought to be the faith and worship of all nations. The priests do not preach that a soul shall be punished for denying their traditions, because they do not find that any do deny them. They are willing to believe all foreign religions, how incomprehensible soever, to be true: but cannot be persuaded that their own is false; or to reject their sacred books, although they sometimes acknowledge that there are inconsistencies in them. In this they act but like *Europeans*, who do not, on account of some falsity, reject every historian, or book of physick. They do not believe their doctrines to have descended from heaven, or to have come from the infallible mouth of truth. They hold it to have been born with the man, and written by some endowed with extraordinary knowledge; but who never sinned, or were capable of being deceived, although they were not inspired.

§ LOUBERE, p. 139, & seq.

(A) Then they must believe accuse others with idolatry, their own images to be gods: though free from the charge, in but it is the iniquitous art of order to cloak their own. *Romish* priests of all nations, to

S E C T. VIII.

Of the Talapoys, or Priests.

Religion,
Priests.

Talapoys,
kinds of.

THERE are two sorts of *Talapoys* in *Siam*, as every where else; some dwell in woods, and others in cities. *Gervaise* distinguishes the *Talapoys* into three orders or degrees: *Balwang* (or *Pat Lowang*), *Chaw-kow*, and *Pe-kow*; which may arise from some difference between the *Sankrats* and *Talapoys*. However, *Loubere* always understood *Balwang*, written *Pat-louang*, to be only a title of respect; and *Chaw-kow*, which signifies *lord*, or *my lord*, to be the name of the *Talapoys* in *Siam*; for they have no other there^a. However that may be, the *Talapoys*, considered as religious, will admit of another division, like the regulars of the *Romish* church, namely, into that of monks and nuns; for there are *Talapoyneſſes*, or the *Talapoys*, who have their particular rules, or way of living.

Talapoy
of the
woods.

WITH regard to the *Talapoys* of the male sex, those of the woods are reckoned more holy than those of the cities. They have neither convents nor temples; so that, having no places of security to retire to, the people admire the security in which they live from wild beasts: but possibly they may, in the night, make fires, and choose the closest thickets to live in. Doubtless also the woods are not so dangerous as they report; seeing so many families do seek sanctuary there against the government. These are our ways of accounting for the matter: but the *Siameſes* have quite other notions of things. They believe that these *Talapoy* are exposed continually to the most imminent dangers; and that nothing but their extreme sanctity could protect them. They imagine, that the tigers, elephants, and rhinoceros's, do reverence them, and lick their hands and feet, when they find any of them asleep. Should they find the remains of some man, who had been devoured by those animals, they would never believe that he was a *Talapoy*, unless there appeared some evident proof: on which occasion they would presume (as, in the like case, many as bigotted *Christians* do), that this *Talapoy* had been wicked, without ceasing to believe that the wild beasts have a profound respect for the good and virtuous^b.

Talapoy
how made.

As any person may be a *Talapoy*, he, who has a mind to enter into the profession, first agrees with some superior to receive him, and then goes to demand the habit of some *Sankrat*; in case the superior he is to remain with is not one himself. The *Sankrat* appoints some afternoon for his admission,

^a LOUBERE, p. 114 118. 134.

^b Ibid. p. 115, & seq.

when

when the party, his relations and friends, come accompanied *Religion,* with music and dancers; neither these latter, nor the women, *Priests.* enter the temple; where the *Sankrat* waits to receive the new member: for whoever should oppose his admission would commit a sin. When he has been shaven, he puts on the habit given him by the *Sankrat*, who, in the mean time, repeats several words in the *Balli* language. The ceremony being ended, the new *Talapoy* repairs to the convent where he is to reside, accompanied by his kinsfolks: but from this time he must take his leave of music and dancing. Some days after, the relations give an entertainment to the convent; and exhibit shews before the temple, which the *Talapoy*s are prohibited to see.

THE *Talapoy*s go with bare heads and feet like the people. *Their* Round their loins and thighs they wear the *pagne* also, but of *habit.* yellow linen, which is the royal colour (A). They have no muslin shirt or vest. Their habit consists of four pieces: the first is the *angsa*, a kind of shoulder belt, of the same sort of linen, five or six inches broad: they wear it on their left shoulder, and button it with a single button on the right hip, than which it goes no lower. Over this belt they put another great yellow cloth, which they call *pa shivon*, or the cloth of several pieces, because it ought to be patched in several places. The *Portugueses* call it the *pagne* of the *Talapoy*s. It is a kind of scapulary, which reaches to the ground both behind and before, and which, covering only the left shoulder, returns to the right hip, leaving the two arms, with all the right shoulder, free. Over this is the *pa pat*, another cloth four or five inches broad, which they likewise put over the left shoulder, but like a hood, descending to the navel before, and equally low behind. The *Sankrats*, and most ancient *Talapoy*s, wear it red. To keep the *angsa* and *pa shivon*, which must always be yellow, in a posture, they gird their middle with a yellow cloth called *rappakod*: and this completes the four pieces whereof their habit consists.

THEY shave all their beard, head, and eyebrows. *The ton-* *Siam* razors are of copper. The superior is forced to shave *sure.* himself, because no person can touch his head without shewing him disrespect: but when he is very old, another is permitted to do that office. By the same rule, a young *Talapoy* dares not shave an old one: but the old may shave the young; that is, the *nens* or children committed to their education, who know not how to shave themselves. The shaving days are

* LOUBERE, p. 118.

(A) It is the same in China.

*Religion,
Priests.*

*Beads and
fan.
Talapoyn-
nesses.*

*Talapoys
without
fan.*

*Make the
laity sin.*

*Their mor-
al max-
ims.*

those of the new and full moon, on which they fast, that is, eat nothing from noon. They use a chaplet, or beads, of 108 grains, on which they recite certain *Balli* words^d.

THE *Talapoynesses*, who are called *Nang-chi*, are clad in white, like the *Tapakaw*, or servants; nor are they, in a strict sense, esteemed religious. A simple superior suffices to give them the name, as well as the habit. They are obliged to continence; yet are not burnt, like the *Talapoys*, in case they break the rule. On being convicted of the fact, they are delivered up to their parents, to be bastonado'd; because neither the *Talapoys*, nor *Talapoynesses*, are permitted to strike any person^e.

THE *Siameses* do not believe that real virtue is designed for any but the *Talapoys*. However, they hold, that what is sin in itself, is sin in every person who commits it; and the *Talapoys* esteem nothing a sin in their order, which is not a sin to all the world: but then they say it is the business of the laity to sin, and of themselves not to sin. They say also, that it is their office to repent for those who sin. They likewise think that they, who are destined to expiate the sins of others by penance, ought to be more pure than others; and that the punishment due to sin may pass from the guilty to the innocent, in case the innocent will voluntarily submit himself to deliver the guilty.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, the *Talapoy* have very gross conceptions concerning the nature of sin: for although they abstain themselves from actions which they deem wicked, yet they scruple not, for lucre sake, to make the laity commit them. Thus, because rice being a seed, they cannot boil it, without sin, as that would be to kill it: yet they order their servants, who are laymen, or else the *Talapoy* children whom they educate, to commit this pretended sin; and then eat the rice which they have cooked. They are likewise forbidden to piss on either the fire, water, or earth; because that would be to extinguish the fire, or corrupt the other two elements: but after they have made water in a basin, they give it to their servant, to throw where-ever he pleases. Whatever sins the laity commit, they expiate them by their good works; which principally consist in bestowing alms on the temples and the *Talapoys*, according to the ancient custom, prevailing almost every-where, and so frequently repeated in scripture, that *alms-deeds ransom sin*.

OUR author has published the moral maxims of the *Siamese Talapoys*, in which one sees the great respect which they have for the elements, and for all the parts of nature. They

^d LOUBERT, p. 116.

^e Ibid. p. 119.

are forbidden to speak injuriously of any natural production: *Religion,* to dig a hole in the earth, and not to fill it up afterwards; *Priests.* to boil the earth, as to boil rice; to kindle a fire, because it is to destroy that with which it is kindled; or to extinguish it, when it is once kindled. By those maxims it appears that the *Talapoy* pay as much regard to purity and decency, as to real virtue: and that they have some ideas of all the virtues, but no just notions of any of them; because they strain some too far with their superstitious scruples, and do not live up strictly to others. They see it is impossible for all persons to keep these maxims; since it is necessary for somebody to make a fire: yet think they keep them, by shifting the sin off themselves upon the laity, and, on that account, pretend to be pure: as if there was no harm in obliging others to do a sinful action, provided they keep from doing it themselves. On this false purity, purchased at the expence of the laity, is grounded all that pride which the *Talapoy* shew towards them: for they seat themselves higher than secular people; never salute them; and affect never to bewail the death of any person, even of their parents. They have a kind of confession; for, from time to time, they seem in private to render an account of their actions to their superior. But instead of confessing themselves sinners, they declare themselves free from sin: *Confession* *I have not stolen,* say they; *I have not lied;* and *of no sins.* so of the rest.

A *Talapoy* sins, if, in the street, he has not his senses composed; or if he meddles with state-affairs; if he coughs, to attract the eyes of a woman; if he beholds a woman with complacency, or desires one; if he uses perfumes, puts flowers in his ears, or adorns himself with too much care. He is to have but one garment, and that not shewy: is to keep no victuals from the evening till next day: nor to touch, or even desire, gold or silver. But as they may abandon their profession when they please, so they take care to gather wherewith to live at their ease, when they leave the convent^a.

THE spirit of the institution of the *Talapoy*s is to keep themselves from the sins of the people, to lead a penitent life for the sins of those who bestow alms upon them, and to live on alms. They eat not in common, and are very hospitable to the seculars of all religions: yet they are forbidden to share among their companions the alms which they receive, at least to do it immediately; every one being supposed to repent sufficiently, and not to have occasion to expiate his sins, by bestowing alms. However, they are allowed

^a LOUBERE, p. 128, & seq.

*Religion.
Priests.*

ed to give things sometimes to their brethren, and assist them in real necessity. They have two lodgings, one on each side of the door, to receive passengers who desire a bed^a. Their way of begging is like that used in *Pegu* and *Lahor*.

THE *Talapoy*s are obliged strictly to keep celibacy, so long as they continue in their profession, on pain of being burnt; and the king never pardons them in this case, when convicted^b.

*Talapoy
their ori-
gin.*

As to the origin of the *Talapoy*s, it is like that of the *Brâmmans* and *Bonzas*, so obscure, that it will be difficult ever to discover it. They are ignorant of the founder of their order; but say, that all those whose statues are honoured in their temples, were of it: and the people believe, that both they and their doctrine are as ancient as the world itself^c.

*Talapoy
privileges.*

THE *Talapoy* have great privileges; among the rest, that of being exempted from the six months service. The king, therefore, to diminish the number of these privileged persons, whose power he has reason to fear, causes them, from time to time, to be examined as to their knowledge of the *Balli* language, and its books: if they are not learned enough, he reduces them to a secular state; as he did several thousands, about the year 1687. They were examined by a lay-officer; but those of the woods refused to be examined by any but one of their own superiors^d.

It is one of the privileges of the *Talapoy*s that they cannot be put to death. When the present king's father seized the crown, he thought it impossible securely to make an attempt on one of the princes of the blood, till he had first artfully prevailed on him, to quit the *Talapoy* habit which he wore. In like manner, when that usurper died, his son turned *Talapoy*, to secure himself against his uncle, who had taken possession of the throne^e.

Functions.

THE functions proper to the *Talapoy* are to educate youth, as hath been related; and to explain their doctrine to the people, out of their *Balli* books. They preach the day after every new and full moon, and the people constantly frequent the temples. When the river is swelled, till the inundation begins to sink, they preach every day, from six in the morning till dinner-time, and from one in the afternoon till five. The *Talapoy* relieve one another in this office, the preacher sitting cross-legged, in a high chair of state; and when he has finished

Preaching.

^a LOUÏS, p. 114.

p. 115.

p. 135.

^c Ibid. p. 134.

^b I. A. CROZE Chret. des Indes,

^d Ibid. p. 115.

^e Ibid.

nished his sermon, the people give him alms: so that they *Religion*, who preach frequently throughout the year, soon become *Priests*.
rich.

THIS time may be called the *Lent* of the *Talapoy*s. Their *Lent* fast-fasting is to eat nothing from noon, unless they may chew *ing*. *betel*: but when they do not fast, they only eat fruit in the afternoon. The *Indians* are so sober, that a fast of forty, nay of an hundred days, does not appear incredible to them. *Van Twist*, a *Dutch* author, affirms, that some have fasted the first number of days, without taking any-thing but a little liquor, mixed with a little bitter wood reduced to powder: and the *Siameses* speak of a *Talapoy* who fasted 107 days, but then ascribed it to magic; saying it was easy to live on grass, provided certain words were uttered over it.

AFTER the rice-harvest, the *Talapoy*s go for three weeks *Watch in* to watch in the fields by night, under small huts, set round *the fields*. their superiors, made of branches of trees; and in the day return to visit the temple, and sleep in their cells. They make no fires on this occasion, to scare away the wild beasts; so that the people look on it as a miracle that they are not devoured. But it must be considered, that this is a time when the wild beasts meet with much forage; and the *Talapoy* know how to choose the safest ground, as well as secure themselves by inclosures. However, our author knew not the reason either of this watch, or their *Lent* ¹.

ON the full moon of the fifth month the *Talapoy*s wash *Washings*. the statues with perfumed waters, all but the head, which must not be touched, out of respect: they afterwards wash *the Sankrat*. The people likewise wash him, and the other *Talapoy*s. In particular families the children wash their parents, without regard to their sex; for the son and daughter wash the father and grandfather, as well as the mother and grandmother.

THE *Talapoy*s being raised in the morning by the sound *How they* of their bells (for they have no clock), the first thing they do *spend* is to wash themselves, as soon as it is light enough to see their way, lest in walking they should kill any insect without perceiving it. After this they go with their superior to the temple for two hours; there they sing, or repeat a passage out of their *Balli* books: but the people have no prayer-book. Their posture, while they sing, is to sit cross-legged, and continually to toss their *talipat*, or fan, as if fanning themselves, in measure with their words; which they pronounce in equal time, and in the same tone. At their entering in,

¹ LA CROZE, p. 115, & seq.

*Religion,
Priests.*

the day.

and going out of the temple, they prostrate themselves three times before the statue; and the laity do the same.

AFTER prayers, they go into the city for an hour to beg alms. Their method is to stand at the gates, without saying any thing; and, in a little time, if nothing is given them, pass on: but it is rare that the people refuse them a benevolence; and their relations never fail them. At their return to the convent they breakfast; sometimes presenting to the statue what they eat. Till noon they study, or divert themselves, and then dine. After dinner they read a lecture to the little *Talapoy*s; and then go to sleep, or take a walk in the city. In the evening they sweep the temple, and sing there, as in the morning, for two hours; after which they lie down. If they eat a supper, it is only of fruit.

Servants.

BESIDES the slaves which the convents may have, each has one or two servants, called *Tapakaw*, who are laymen, tho' dressed like *Talapoy*s, excepting that their habit is white, and not yellow. They receive all the money which is given to their masters, because these latter cannot touch it without sinning. They have the care of the gardens and lands belonging to the convent; in short, these *Tapakaw* do for the *Talapoy*s whatever they conceive ought not to be done by themselves.

Superiors.

EVERY convent is under the direction of a superior, called *Chaw Vat*, that is, *lord of the convent*: but all the superiors are not of equal dignity. The most honourable are those whom they call *Sankrat*; and he of the palace convent is the most reverend of all; yet no superior nor *Sankrat* has authority or jurisdiction over another. This body would be ~~soo~~ formidable if it had but one head, and acted always unanimously, or according to the same maxims.

Sankrat.

THE missionaries have compared the *Sankrats* to bishops, and the simple superiors to parish priests: they fancy also that *Siam* formerly had some Christian bishops, to whom the *Sankrats* have succeeded. But although the *Sankrats* only can make *Talapoy*s, as none but bishops can make priests; yet they have not any jurisdiction or authority, either over the people or the *Talapoy*s, which are not of their respective convents. Every convent, designed for a *Sankrat*, is distinguished from others by stones, bearing some distant resemblance to a mitre set on a pedestal, which are planted round the temple near its walls. The dignity of the *Sankrat* is denoted by the number of these stones, which are never fewer than two, nor more than eight: it was the figure of

these stones which gave rise to the notion of the missionaries. *Religious Priests.*
The king gives to the principal *Sankrat* a name and an umbrella, with a sedan, and men to carry it^f.

THE *Talapoy*s never walk out of their convent, or return, *Respect paid them.*
without going to salute their superior, by touching the ground with their forehead; and because he generally sits cross-legged, they take one of his feet with both hands, and put it on their head.

WHEN the superior, whether he be a *Sankrat* or not, is dead, the religious elect another; and commonly they chuse the oldest *Talapoy* in the convent, or at least the most learned. *Their election.*
Persons who build temples chuse a superior for the convent, but build no houses for the *Talapoy*s, only as they come and settle there^g.

THE *Talapoy*s live in convents, called *Vat*, which are always erected near some temple (B), named *Pihan* by the *Siameses*: both together take up a very great square piece of ground, encompassed with an inclosure of *bambú*. The temple stands in the middle; and the cells are ranged at the corners, and along the inclosure, like the tents of an army, the rows being sometimes double or triple. These are little huts or single houses erected on piles; and that of the superior a little larger and higher than the rest. Each convent has some gardens and arable lands, with slaves to plough them. All their lands are free from taxes; and the king never touches them, although the real property of them lies in him; unless he gives them away by an instrument in writing, which he scarce ever does^h. *Land free.*

THE *Talapoy*esses have no convents of their own, but live in those of the *Talapoy*s; for being all advanced in years, the *Siameses* think they may be trusted with the men. In those convents, where any are (for they are not in all), one of the sides of the outward inclosure is allotted for their cells, without any other separation from the rest.

THE *Nens*, or *Talapoy* children, are dispersed in the cells of the *Talapoy*s, and serve those under whom they are placed by their parents. No *Talapoy* ever takes more than two or three: these are not all young, for some grow old in this condition, which is not entirely religious. The oldest of the *Nen* is called *Taten*, whose business it is to pluck up the

^f LUBERE hist. Siam, p. 114.

^h Ibid. p. 113, & 117.

^g Ibid. p. 117, & seq.

(B) A late author says, there are 50,000 belonging to the temples in and about Siam. *Hamilton's new acc. of E. Ind. vol. ii. p. 163.*

Religion,
Priests.

woods which grow in the ground of the convent, and which the *Talapoy*s think they cannot do themselves without committing sin.

THE school of the *Nen* is a hall of *bamb*, standing alone; besides which there is another, where the people carry their alms, on the days when the temple is shut, and where the *Talapoy*s assemble for their ordinary conferences.

Temples
and
steeples.

THE temple is surrounded with pyramids standing near it; and the ground on which they are situated is higher than the rest. It is likewise square, and inclosed with a wall; between which and the cells is an empty space, which serves for a court to the convent. Sometimes along the inner inclosure there are covered galleries, like the cloisters in *Romish* monasteries; and on a counter wall breast-high, which runs along these galleries, they range images, sometimes gilded. The steeple of the temple is a wooden tower, standing alone, which they call *horakang*, or the belfry. The bell, which has no clapper, is sounded with a wooden mallet¹.

Festival
days.

THOSE days on which the *Talapoy*s shave, the people abstain from fishing; seemingly, as an employment not wholly innocent: for they do not abstain from any other sort of work. They likewise carry alms to the convents, which consist of money; fruits, *pagnes*, or cattle: if the cattle be dead, the *Talapoy*s eat the flesh. If not, they let them live and die about the temple, eating them only when they die of themselves. Near certain temples there is a pond for the living fish, which are offered to such temples. Besides these festival days, common to all the temples, every temple has a particular day appointed to receive the alms, as if it was the feast of its dedication.

THE people voluntarily assist at these festivals, and make a shew with their new cloaths. One of their principal charities is to give liberty to some animals, which they buy of those who take them in the fields.

Offerings

WHAT the people offer to the statue is not done by themselves, but it is delivered to the *Talapoy*s; who present it, either by holding it in their hand before the image, or laying it upon the altar: and a while after, they take it away, and convert it to their own use. Sometimes the people offer lighted tapers, which the *Talapoy*s fasten to the knees of the statue; and this is the reason why one of the knees of a great many images are ungilt^k.

¹ LOUBERS, p. 113, & seq.

^k Ibid. p. 116, & seq.

S E C T. IX.

Of Sommona Kodom, the Founder or Restorer of
the Siamese Religion.

THE *Chineses* say that a *Siamese*, named *She-kya*, was the author of this religion and the metempsychosis; but the *Siameses* themselves pretend no such thing (A); imagining that this doctrine is as ancient as the souls themselves. The *Japaners* call the *She-kya* of the *Chineses* *Sha-ka*; which words nearly agreeing in sound, seem to be derived from *Chawka* and *Charukow*, which signify *lord*, or *my lord*; the name, as hath been already observed, given to the *Talapoy*s in *Siam*: so that, says our author, the *Chineses* seem to have taken the general name of the profession for the proper name of the founder.

Religion,
Sommona
Kodom.
The
Religion,
origin

THIS conjecture would be very probable, provided we were sure that the *Chineses* received the religion of *She-kya*, or *Sha-ka*, from the *Siameses*: but, according to them, they had it from a country to the west of their empire, which seems to be *Tibet*; and though it was not known in *China* till sixty-five years after *Christ*, yet they make its founder *She-kya*, or *Fo*, to have lived above 1000 years before the *Christian* æra: whereas the *Siameses* place the death of their lawgiver almost 500 years later.

THE *Chineses* therefore, in making *She-kya* the founder of from *She*-the *Siamese* religion, honour it with greater antiquity, and, *kya*. in effect, are right, since it is the same with that broached by *She-kya*, several ages before *Sommona Kodom*, the lawgiver of the *Siameses*; who, to avoid confessing that he was beholden for it to another, pretend that their religion is as old as the world. But we know, from authentic history, that it was professed by the *Sammans*, or *Shammans*, in the hither *India*, and had for its author *Budda*^a, who was either the same with *She-kya*, or another propagator of the same religion, long before *Sommona Kodom* appeared in *Siam*^b.

SOME *Balli* books do relate, that *Sommona Kodom* was born of a flower, issuing from the navel of an infant; who, they say, was the leaf of a tree, in form of an infant biting its toe,

^a See before, Vol. VI. l. 10. c. 8.

^b LAURENCE relat.

Siam, F. 134.

(A) Nor indeed do the *Chineses*, according to the later missionaries; though some of the early ones, through mistake perhaps, relate that they do.

Religion, and swimming on the water, which alone subsisted with the Sommona deity. This is the very same original which is ascribed to Kodom. their god *Brâmma*, by the *Indians of Palikatta*, on the coast of *Choromandel* ^c: and as the *Balli* or *Palli* language seems to be the same with that spoken in the last-mentioned country, and particularly at *Palikatta*, as may be presumed from the word *Pali*, which is found in the name; it is probable that the first *Sammâns*, with *Sommona Kodom*, whose name seems to denote his being one, as hath been already remarked ^d, passed from *Palikatta* into *Siam*. We are informed by Mr. *Lou-*

His name, whence.

bere, that the *Siameses* say *Kodom* was the proper name of that lawgiver of theirs; and that *Sommona* is an appellative, which signifies, in the *Balli* or *Palli* language, a *Talapoy of the woods* ^e. Now *Sammân*, or *Sammâna*, signifies the same thing in the *Malabâr* language; a further proof that *Kodom* came from the hither *India*. The *Siameses* give him also the name of *Pouti Sat*, that is *lord Pouti* ^f, or *Budda*, who was the founder of the *Sammân* sect: but as the founder of a religion must be more ancient than his successors, who propagate it, and it is probable *Kodom* left the hither *India* with the *Sammâns* ^g, who were expelled by the *Brâmmans*; this last is a name bestowed on him in commemoration of *Pouti*, or *Budda*, the original author of this religion; or because it may have been imagined, that the soul of *Budda* was revived in him. However that be, the same author tells us, that the *Siameses* call him also *Pra Poute Charu*, which he says literally signifies, *the great and excellent lord* ^h.

His parents.

How wonderful soever the *Siameses* pretend the birth of *Sommona Kodom* was, yet they fail not to give him both a father and mother. According to some of their *Palli* books, his father (B) was king of *Teve* (C) *Lanka*, that is, of the famous *Seylan*, or *Ceylon*. His mother's name was *Maha* (D) *Maria*, or the *great Mary*. But it is found written *Mania*, as often as *Maria*; which almost proves that *Mania* should be

^c LOUBERE, p. 136.

^d See before, p. 245.

^e LOU-

BERE, p. 130.

^f Ibid. p. 155.

^g See before, Vol. VI.

^h LOUBERE, p. 130.

ⁱ LOUBERE, p. 134, & 138.

(B) He is named *Tawfaut-out* in the life of *Thevetat*, given by *Loubere*, p. 145.

(C) *Teve* seems to be a corruption of *Dive*, or *Div*; by the *Portugueses* written *Diu*, which signifies an island: but *Lanka* by many of the *Indians*

reckoned only a part of *Seylan*. Mr. *Gervais* makes *Sommona Kodom* a native of *China*.

(D) *Maha* is great in the *Malabâr* language; *Maha* *Râjah*, the great God; *Maha Râjah*, the great *Râjah*.

two distinct words, as *Man-ya*; because the *Siameses* con-^{Religion,} found the *n* with the *r*, only at the end of words, or else of *Sommona* syllables followed by a consonant. However, this circum-^{Kodom.} stance has engaged the attention of the missionaries; and perhaps given occasion to the *Siameses* to believe, that *Jesus*, the son of *Mary*, was brother to *Sommona Kodom*; namely, the wicked *Thevetat* (E), whom they report to be tormented in hell, with a punishment which participates somewhat of the crosses.

As the *Balli* books are without either dates or the author's ^{His death,} name, they can be of no more authority than any tradition, whose origin is unknown¹. Neither does it appear from Mr. *Louberé*, that they mention the time when *Sommona Kodom* lived. All we gather touching this matter, is from one of the *Siamese* epochs, which commences from the death of that faint^k (as they say) in the year 544 before the *Christian* æra. But this puts the migration of *Kodom* into *Siam* many centuries earlier than the expulsion of the *Shammâns* or *Sammâns* out of the hither peninsula of the *Indies*.

BUT let us quit these uncertainties, to see what the *Siamese* ^{His history;} reported concerning *Sommona Kodom*, out of their *Balli* books, to our author; for he could not procure a translation of one. It is said that his charity, not being satisfied with bestowing all his estate in alms, he not only plucked out his eyes, but slew his wife and children, to give the *Talapoy*s to eat^l. To induce the people more strongly to bestow alms on the priests, the contrivers of this story make the founder of their law act against one of the chief precepts of it, as well as all the ties of nature. However that be, *Sommona Kodom* being freed^{by} those alms-deeds from all the bands of life, devoted himself to fasting, prayer, and the other exercises belonging to the perfect *Kâin*. But as the performance of such duties are possible only to the *Talapoy*s, he therefore embraced the profession: and having filled up the measure of his good works, immediately acquired all the privileges consequent thereto.

FOR instance, he found himself endowed with so great *Miraculous* strength, that, in a duel, he vanquished *Pra Swane*, another ^{lous power.} man of consummate virtue; who doubting the perfection to which *Sommona Kodom* was arrived, challenged him to fight.

^l LOUBERÉ, p. 136.

^k Ibid. p. 8, & 64.

¹ Ibid.

(E) *Louberé*, in his relation of *Siam*, p. 145. has inserted the life of *Thevetat*; which is full of fictions, no less idle than incredible.

Religion. He had likewise the power of doing all sorts of miracles ; *Sommona* could make himself as big as he pleased, or so little, as neither to be seen nor felt by any person, though standing on his head : could enjoy the *Nireupan*, or *disappear*, by placing another man in his stead : he, of a sudden, and perfectly, understood all things in the world ; had a knowledge equally of things past and to come ; with a surprising agility of transporting himself from one place to another, in order to preach virtue to all nations.

His disciples. *SOMMONA Kodom* had two principal disciples, who on altars are both placed behind him, close together ; *Pra Mogla* on his right hand, and *Pra Skaribout* on his left. Behind them are placed the officers within *Kodom's* palace ; those without his palace are ranged along the galleries or cloisters of temples. They say *Pra Mogla*, at the request of the damned, overturned the earth, and took hell-fire in his hand, in order to quench it : but as he could not effect his design, because the fire dried up the rivers, and consumed everything it came near, he beseeched *Pra Pouti Chaw*, or *Sommona Kodom*, to extinguish it. This *Pra Pouti* could easily have done, yet would not ; saying, *men would grow too wicked, should he destroy the fear of this punishment* ^m.

Kill a Man, FOR all this great perfection to which *Sommona Kodom* was arrived, yet he happened to kill one of the *Man* (F), his enemies ; as a punishment for which fault, his life exceeded not eight years, at which time he died, by disappearing on a sudden, like a spark which is lost in the air : for one day, as he ate pig's flesh, he was seized with a cholic-fit, which killed him : and it was necessary that he should die by a pig, because the soul of the person whom he had slain was then in the body of a pig.

and disappears. *SOMMONA Kodom* having ordered some temples and statues to be consecrated to him, at his death entered into that state of repose which the *Siamese* express by the word *Nireupan*, as hath been already mentioned. This is not a place, but a state, of being (G) : for, to speak truly, they

^m LOUBERIE, p. 137, & seq.

(F) *Siamese* write *Mân* and *Man*, but always pronounce *Man* ; they call these people *Paya Man* ; and because they suppose this people were enemies to so holy a person they represent them as a kind of monster with very large faces, teeth horrible for their size, and serpents on their heads instead of hair. Perhaps these *Mân* may be the *Môn* of Mendez Pinto.

(G) Elsewhere, the *Nireupan* seems to be explained the possession of the universe.

say that he is no-where, and enjoys not any felicity : that he is without power, and in no condition to do either good or evil to mankind. At the same time they reckon him happy ; offer prayers to, and demand of, him whatever they want. Whether their doctrine in this point be inconsistent with itself, or that the *Siameses* extend their worship beyond their doctrine, it is certain ; that, in whatever sense they ascribe power to *Sommona Kodom*, they believe that he has it only over themselves, and that he concerns himself not with other nations, who adore men besides himⁿ.

As the *Siameses* report nothing but fables of their *Sommona Kodom*, and respect him not as the author of their laws, but as the person who re-established them among mankind ; in short, as they have no authentic memoirs concerning him, *Loubere* is of opinion, that there never was such a man ; but that he is a fictitious person, set up by the *Talapoy* as a pattern of virtue ; and that, in the same manner, they have in *Thevetat* (whom they make to be his enemy as well as brother), feigned a wicked character, to deter men from vice. They represent both as *Talapoy*s ; and suppose that *Kodom*, in the several transmigrations of his soul, has passed through all things, and been always excellent, whether a pig, an ape, or a king^o.

THE *Siameses* speak of several other perfect men, who were contemporary with *Sommona Kodom*, as *Pra Swane* before-mentioned, and *Pra Ariaseria*, of whom they report, that he was forty fathoms high ; that his eyes were three and a half broad, and two and a half round ; that is, less in circumference than diameter, if, says our author, there was not some mistake in the original^p. The *Siameses* likewise expect another *Sommona Kodom*, that is, another miraculous man like him, whom they have already named *Pra Narotte*. They say that this person was foretold by *Kodom* ; that he shall kill his two children for the *Talapoy*s to eat ; and that, by this pious charity, he will consummate his virtue. This expectation of a new perfect man, makes them watchful and credulous (as the *Jews* are with relation to the *Messiah*) : so that they are apt to believe *Pra Narotte* is come, whenever they hear of any extraordinary person, especially if he happens to be intirely stupid ; because that sort of condition nearly resembles the inactivity of the *Nireupan*. An instance of this kind happened but a few years ago, on occasion of a boy who was born dumb. This child, having been found so stupid that he seemed to have nothing human about him but

^a LOUBERE, p. 137.

^o Ibid. p. 138.

^p Ibid. p. 137.

Govern-
ment.

the shape, a report presently spread throughout *Siam*, that he was one of the first men who inhabited the country, and would one day become a perfect man. The people, prepossessed with the superstitious expectation of *Pra Narotte*, immediately flocked from all parts of the kingdom, to adore and make him presents; till the king, fearing the consequences of this folly, put a timely stop to it, by punishing some of the infatuated multitude¹.

TACHARD hath related many other matters relative to both the religion of the *Siameses*, and their god *Sommona Kodom*; but as his account is full of extravagances, of which enough have been related from *Louberé* to give our readers a sample, not to say a surfeit, we shall content ourselves to refer them to that author², without expatiating further on these subjects.

C H A P. IX.

The Government of Siam,

S E C T. I.

Degrees of Honours, Laws, Punishments.

Titles of
honour.

THERE are several degrees of honour and dignity in *Siam*, all subordinate to that of *Nay*, which signifies chief. For as the people, being a militia, are consequently all *Taban*, or *soldiers*, they are divided into bands, each of which has its *Nay*; whence the *Portugueses* render the word *captain*: although the *Nay* does not lead his men either to war, or six months service; it being enough that he furnish out of his band the number required. The *Nays* are of different power, according to the number of soldiers in their respective bands: and as the number of soldiers in a band is not fixed, neither are all those of the same band of the same company in the army. The people are not slaves to their *Nay*; but may become so, by borrowing money of him, and becoming insolvent.

Degrees of
dignity

THERE are seven degrees of these *Nay*, distinguished by the number of their bands, which alone makes offices and employments important in *Siam*. These dignities are *Pa-ya*, *Ok-ya*, *Ok-pa*, *Ok-louang*, *Ok-houne*, *Ok-meuing*, and *Ok-pa*: but our author could not learn either the signification of the words, which are *Balli* terms, or number of men assigned to any of these dignities, except in the two last: for *Ok-pa* (now out of use) signifies chief of a thousand, *Ok-meuing* chief of ten thousand. Yet *Ok* is not *Siamese*; the in-

¹ LOUBERÉ, p. 136, & seq.

² See *TACHARD*'s first voy. book 4: p. 275, & seqq. Engl. edit.

diginous term for chief being *Howa*, which properly signifies *Govern-ment*. the head; so the king's standard-bearer is called *Howa-pan*, chief of a thousand. *Pa-ya* is a title often given to princes; whence the *Portugueses* render it *prince*; but the king confers it also on the officers of his court; nor bestows it always on the princes of the blood. These degrees of the *Nay* in *Siam* are like those in the *Great Mogol's* court, where the lords are denominated one thousand, two thousand, and so on to ten thousand, as who should say lords of so many thousand horses *.

THERE are in *Siam* six orders of cities, which formerly among the had a governor according to its rank: thus a very populous officers, place had a *Pa-ya* for governor; and such as was less populous an *Okya*. The *Portugueses* have translated those titles, king, viceroy, duke, marquis, earl, and the like, according to their fancy; and given the title of kingdom to *Metak*, *Tenassarim*, *Porcelouk*, *Ligor*, and *Pipeli*; either on account of their having hereditary governors, or because they have been, like *Pipeli*, the residence of the kings of *Siam*. The above-mentioned titles are given not only to the governors, but to all the officers of the kingdom, because they are all *Nay*: but the same title is not always joined to the same office. If a person has two offices, he may have two titles.

WHENEVER the king makes any considerable officer, he gives him a new name, a thing common in other countries of the east. The law of the state is, that all offices should be hereditary, as in *Laos*; but few families enjoy that privilege long. The least flaw in the patent, fault of the possessor, or caprice of the prince, being grounds to deprive them of it. The selling of offices is not permitted in *Siam*; nor is there the same temptation to buy as in other kingdoms; since no officer has any salary. The prince, indeed, gives them houses, No salaries with arms, a bâton, some beasts, slaves, and arable lands: rics. but all return to him, with the office, at the possessor's death. The principal gain of the offices consists in extortions, because there is no justice for the weak: all the officers correspond in plundering the people: and the corruption is greatest in those who should remedy the evil. The trade of presents is public: the lesser officers give to the greater under the name of respect; and a judge is not punished for receiving presents, provided he be not convicted of doing injustice, which is not easy to effect.

THE form of the oath of fidelity consists in swallowing the Oath of water, over which the *Talapoy* pronounce some imprecations fidelity. against him who drinks it, in case he fails in the fidelity which

* LOUBÈRE relat. Siam, p. 78, & seq.

Govern-
ment.

Laws.

he owes to his king : and all persons, of what nation or religion soever, who enter into his majesty's service, are obliged to take it.

THE public laws of *Siam* are written in three volumes. The first, called *Pra tam Ra*, contains the names, functions, and privileges of all the offices : the second *Pra tam Non*, is a collection of the constitutions of the ancient kings : the third, *Pra Rayja Kammanet*, contains the constitutions made by the father of him who reigned in our author's time. As an extract of these volumes would have given a thorough knowledge of the constitution of *Siam*, *Louber* endeavoured to procure a translation, but could not so much as get a copy of them ^b.

Judges.

THE whole tribunal of judicature, in the several jurisdictions contained in the provinces, consists properly in a single officer, the chief or president, who is the governor of that department, and even commands the garrisons : so that the most powerful and remote from court may, without difficulty, throw off their obedience ; as he of *Jor*, or *Johor*, has done.

Govern-
ers,

THERE are two sorts of governors, one hereditary, the other by commission. The first, are stiled *Chaw-mcuang*, that is, *lord of the city*, or *province*. These the kings of *Siam* have ruined and destroyed, as much as in their power, and substituted the second sort in their stead. To the *Chaw-mcuang* belong several legal rights ; as equally to share with the king the rents of arable lands ; the profits of all confiscations, and ten *per cent.* on fines ; customs on merchant ships in maritime towns ; levy taxes on the frontiers ; exercise commerce by their deputies ; and appropriate the best fish, when ponds are emptied.

kinds of.

THE commission governors, called *Pouran* ; who are appointed for three years, have the same honours and authority as the hereditary ones, but not the same profit. The *Chaw-mcuang*, or *Pouran*, is president of a tribunal of judicature, and has under him several officers, according to the different matters which lie before

In the metropolis there is no other *Chaw-mcuang* than the king. The functions of governor and judge are divided into two offices : and the subordinate offices, which compose a tribunal, are distributed among the principal officers of state. This tribunal, to which all appeals in the kingdom are made, is held in the king's palace, except when his majesty removes from thence, at which time the president renders justice in a

^b LOUBERE, p. 80, & seq.

Ibid. p. 82, & seqq

tower, without the royal inclosure. To him alone belongs *Govern-* the determinate voice; yet still there lies an appeal from him *ment.* to the king. In this case the indictment is examined by the council of the king, who is present only when the necessity of passing sentence requires it: but, before he pronounces judgment, he enquires into the whole proceedings, and debates the matter well with his council ^d.

ALL matters in suit may be said to be criminal; as some punishment is inflicted on the party who is cast, in order to *Suits, how managed.* prevent litigation. The prosecution is in writing, by way of the petition, which is delivered by the plaintiff to his *Nay*, who is one of the officers of the tribunal, and he presents it to the governor, who admits or rejects it, as he sees reason, after hearing the matter debated by the *Nay*, who act as counsel for the parties. Every suit ought to end in three days; but some last so many years. They have no attorneys; but the parties either speak themselves, or by some relation, not more distant than a cousin-german. What each says is taken down in writing, by the governor's clerk, who also receives the deeds and titles in presence of the court, who count the lines, to prevent frauds.

IN accusations, when the evidence is not sufficient, they *Proof by* have recourse to several sorts of torture; but chiefly to proofs *fire.* by water and fire. The way by fire is to fill a ditch with faggots, five fathoms in length, and one in breadth. Over the length of this heap (when burnt to coals), both parties are to walk with naked feet; generally each is attended by two men, who press hard, one on each shoulder, to hinder him from passing over too quickly: but this weight, they say, instead of helping to burn him, stifles the action of the fire; so that often they who do not endeavour to go over lightly, and in haste, escape being hurt, which is the sign of innocence. If this ever happens, it may likewise be owing to the hardness of the soles of the feet, which become callous, like horn, by going continually barefoot ^e.

SOMETIMES the proof by fire is performed with oil, or *Another method.* other boiling matter, into which the parties thrust their hand. On this occasion *Loubere* relates an odd story. A *Frenchman*, from whom a *Siamese* had ~~stolen~~ some tin, was persuaded, for want of proof, to put his hand into the boiling metal, and drew it out ~~almost~~ quite consumed: whilst the *Siamese* came off without being hurt, and so was acquitted. Yet six months after was, in another suit, convicted of the robbery,

^d LOUBERE, p. 88. & CHOISY, p. 531.
p. 85, & seq.

^e LOUBERE,

Government.

wherewith the *Frenchman* had accused him. A thousand instances of this kind happen ; yet the *Siameses* will not abolish their custom (A).

THE proof by water is to see who, of the parties, can stay longest under it. Sometimes emetic pills are given them by the *Talapoy*, accompanied with imprecations ; and he who does not cast them up is concluded to be innocent. If both parties escape in trying one kind of proof, they have recourse to another. The king sometimes has them exposed to tigers. If the beast spare one, he is held to be innocent : if neither, both are accounted guilty : but if both are spared, some other proof is tried ; or rather they wait till the tigers resolve to devour one or both of them. The resolution with which the *Siameses* are reported to undergo this kind of death is incredible, in persons who express so little courage in war.

*Robbery
how pun-
ished.*

THE provinces often appeal from one to the other, and an inferior to a superior tribunal, where all matters are determined ; only in capital cases the power of pronouncing sentence, and ordering the punishment, is reserved solely to the king ; who sometimes delegates it to judges extraordinary, sent into the provinces for that purpose. The usual punishment for robbery is to pay double, and sometimes treble, the value of the goods stolen, by equal portions to the judge and the party (B). What is more singular than unjust, every person who wrongfully keeps possession of another's estate, is considered as a robber ; so that, when ejected by law, he not only restores the inheritance to its right owner, but pays the full value thereof besides, half to the injured party, and half to the judge. In case the judge hath leave granted him to put the robber to death, he can yet, if he pleases, commute the punishment into a pecuniary mulct.

*Rebellion
and mu-
tiny.*

FOR rebellion or mutiny ; they are ripped up alive ; then their entrails being taken out, their carcases are woven up in a twig case, and tied to a stake, for ravenous fowl or dogs to feed on. Our author saw eighteen one morning going to be executed in this manner for mutiny : each was put on a triangular seat, with their necks and hands in wooden fetters, and carried by three slaves, in chains, through the streets to the place of execution. Some were weeping, others joyful,

‘ LOUVERE, p. 87.

(A) Why, for the same cause, is not the proof by torture abolished in *Flanders*, and other countries of *Europe* ?

(B) According to Capt. *Hamilton*, beheading is the common punishment for robbery.

the

that they were near the end of a miserable life. But they were all very meagre, as if they had been almost starved in prison.

FOR treason and murder, elephants are the executioners. The condemned person being made fast to a stake driven into the ground, the elephant is brought, who views him, and goes twice or thrice round him : then, at the command of his keeper, he twines his trunk round the criminal, and pulling up the stake with great violence, tosses both into the air. In their fall down he receives the man upon his teeth ; then shaking him off again, claps one of his feet on the carcass, and crushes it flat. However, there may be a mitigation of punishment, according to the degree of the offence, as appears from the case of our author, who had like to have experienced it through the villainy of his own countryman. In 1719 captain *Hamilton* being at *Siam*, and talking to *Oya Sennerat*, a man in power, about some alteration made in the *English* treaty of commerce, happened to say the king was imposed on by those who advised him to it. Now, it seems, that to say the king is capable of being deceived or imposed on is treason there. For those words, therefore, the captain was a few days after summoned to the court of justice by that officer : and as *Sennerat*'s servants were not admitted to be witnesses, the only evidence against him was one *Collison*, resident for *Collet*, governor of *Fort St. George*, who had procured the said alteration. *Collison* affirmed he heard the captain speak the words in the *Hindûstân* language : but on being asked by the judge, at the instance of *Hamilton*, if he understood that language? declared he did not : and by that means the accused was cleared, otherwise he must have been cast : the consequence of which would have been, not only the loss of his life on the spot, the executioners being ready, but his ship and cargo would have been confiscated, and the crew become the king's slaves. A shocking story !

FROM this trial of captain *Hamilton* we learn two or three circumstances relating to the laws of *Siam*, which we do not meet with elsewhere ; 1. that a stranger is not exempt from the penalty annexed to the transgression of the laws, on account of his being ignorant of them : 2. that the law admits not of a servant's testimony, either for or against his master : 3. that advocates or counsel are allowed the accused.

SOMETIMES the king exposes, to an enraged bull, the criminal, who is armed with a hollow stick ; which, if it does not frighten the beast, cannot hurt him. Sometimes he gives

**Govern-
ment.**



offenders only to be tossed by his elephants, which they do so dextrously, as to throw them from one to the other, receiving them on their trunks or teeth, without hurting them. But the ordinary chastisements are such as have some relation to the crimes. For instance, extortion, or embezzlement of the royal treasure, will be punished by swallowing gold or silver melted : lying, or revealing a secret, by sowing up the mouth, which they will slit to punish silence, where it is not to be kept. Faults in the execution of orders, are corrected by cutting the head with a sword, called there pricking the head, as it were to punish the memory. The sword is used, not only to cut off the head, but to cut the body in two through the middle. The bastonado is sometimes also employed as a punishment of death, and, at best, is often very rigorous.

**Princes,
how exe-
cuted.**

IN putting princes to death, whether a king would rid himself of some relations, or an usurper extinguish the royal race, they take care not to shed the royal blood : but, in such case, they either starve the party, sometimes by diminishing his food a little every day, which gives a lingering death, else by stifling him with rich silks ; or rather, by laying him at length on a scarlet cloth, and thrusting a stake of sanders-wood into his stomach.

**Lesser pu-
nishments.**

BESIDES the abovementioned punishments, there are some others less dolorous, but more infamous : as that of exposing a man in some public place, loaded with irons ; or else with his neck put in a kind of pillory, called *La* in *Siam*, and *Kanghe* in *China*. This machine is like a ladder, whose two sides are six feet long : but it has only two steps or rounds, which are placed in the middle ; and between these the prisoner's neck is locked. The ends of the sides are fastened to a wall, or posts, by means of cords, so as to slip up and down at pleasure : and the party may either sit down or stand, if the ladder be not too weighty for his shoulders. But sometimes the four ends are fixed upon four posts : in which case he is, as it were, hung by the neck, for he scarce touches the ground with the tips of his toes. Besides this engine, they make use of stocks and manacles. What is most singular, the most infamous punishment is reproachful no longer than it lasts : he who suffers it one day, is as much respected as ever the next, and qualified for the highest employs. Nay, the *Siamers* boast of the punishments which they receive by their king's order, to whom they pay compliments, and make presents, after the bastonado is over. To be degraded from a higher place to a lower is reckoned no disgrace ; although some hang themselves in despair, when

**Portable
pillory.**

reduced,

reduced, by such a fall, to extreme poverty. As a father answers for the offences committed by his son, so an officer is punished for the faults of another officer, who is subject to his orders. Thus *Loubere* saw a *Brámmán*, who three years after was of the king's council of state, exposed in the pillory before-mentioned, with the head of a malefactor hung about his neck; because the man's crime was imputed to his negligence in watching over the conduct of a person who was subject to him.

THE worst is, that the least appearance of guilt renders an action criminal; and that to be accused is almost enough to make a man culpable. Hence the disgraces of the principal officers are so frequent, that they could not reckon up all the *Barkalons* which the king had in thirty-two years of his reign^h.

• S E C T. II.

The Nobility, and Officers of State.

NOBILITY at *Siam* goes not by birth, but by riches, and the favour of the prince, who makes them; giving them, as a badge of their honour, an employment and a new name, with the *Bouffette*, which is a kind of little gold or silver box to hold their *betel*. They are generally the sons of the officers of his household whom he thus honours: though sometimes he confers nobility on the meanest of the people; and even strangers who have served him well in any capacity.

EACH of the five degrees (A) of nobility among the *Siam-eses* has its proper mark of distinction. The *Oyas* (B), who are the first, possess the highest places of trust, and the principal governments in the kingdom. Their *Bouffette* is much better wrought than those of other noblemen: and, when they go in the king's train, the gold circle which surrounds their pointed bonnet, in form of a crown, is decorated with flower-work and roses.

THE second order, or that of the *Ok-pras*, at present more numerous than the *Oyas*, because these latter having much more power, have given umbrage to the king on certain occasions. From the *Ok-pras* his ambassadors extraordinary are chosen. Their *Bouffette*, though of gold, is not so beautiful.

^h *LCUBERE*, p. 104, & seqq.

(A) *Loubere*, as before observed, makes seven degrees. (B) Called *Ok-yas*, by *Loubere*.

Gouvernement.

ful as that of the *Oyas*; and the gold circle on their cap is adorned only with leaves.

OUR of the *Ok-louans*, who make the third rank of nobles, his majesty appoints his ambassadors in ordinary, and lesser governors. Their *Bouffette*, or *Betel* box, is only of silver; but it is enchaîné with festons and branches. The circle round their cap is no more than two inches broad, and much less wrought than that of the *Ok-pras*.

OUR of the *Ok-kowns* and *Ok-munes*, who compose the fourth and fifth orders, the king appoints intendants of his shipping, keepers of his palaces, lieutenants of his prime officers, judges of country towns; in short, the less considerable places at court are filled with them. Their *Bouffette* and circle are of gold or silver, quite plain, without any ornament.

Other distinctions.

THERE are many of these lords, who are peculiarly attached to the service of the king's person. These are called *Kang Nay*, that is, *within the palace*. Others who are employed without, to govern affairs, and preserve good order among the people, are named *Kang Nok*, implying, *without the palace*. The rank of each nobleman, when he appears in public, is distinguished not only by the badges before-mentioned, but also by the richness of his sword, by his *balon*, or pleasure-boat, and number of his slaves. The ladies are distinguished by the same kind of tokens; and are allowed by their husbands, who seldom accompany them in their diversions, a freedom, which they rarely abuse, especially as their lords have power to put them to death, when caught in the fact^a.

Officers of state.

ACCORDING to the Abbe *De Choisy*, there are seven great officers of state in *Siam*: 1. The *Maha Ommarat*, who is next to the king in authority, and sits in his presence. 2. The *Chakri*, who regulates the affairs of war and justice. 3. The *Aahouni*, who is general by land and sea. 4. The *Ok-ya Vang*, who superintends the affairs of the palace. 5. The *Ok-ya Praklang*, called by Europeans *Barkalon*: this officer has the care of foreign affairs, and the king's magazines. 6. The *Ok-ya Pollatep*, who has charge of the revenues. 7. *Ok-ya Jombarat*, who judges all criminal matters. Besides these, is the *Ok-ya Pakli*, who is great treasurer. These prime officers, with the king's approbation, dispose of all other posts in the realm, and are responsible for the faults committed in them^b. Let us see what *Loubers* says of some of the great officers.

^a GERVAISE relat Siam, p. 121, & seqq.

^b CHOISY, p. 535.

THE *Maha Ommarat* (C), otherwise called *Maha Obarat*, *Govern-ment.* is chief of the nobility, and first officer of the kingdom. He is, as it were, a viceroy, who represents the king, and performs the regal functions in his majesty's absence, as at war. He is at present stiled *Charu Pa-ya Maha Ommarat* ^c. *Maka Ommarat.*

THE *Chakri* orders all the interior policy of the kingdom. The affairs of all the provinces come before him, as the person to whom the several governors are obliged to render an account, and from whom they receive orders. He is likewise president of the council of state. *The Cha-kri.*

THE *Kallahom* (named, by *Choisy*, *Aahorum*), has, by office, the sole management and command of the war and armies: yet the king may name whom else he pleases for general. He has the care of the fortifications, arms, and ammunitions. He likewise issues out all orders which concern military affairs. But, in our author's time, the command of the elephants and horses, which formerly belonged to the *Kallahom*, and in which the chief forces of the king consists, was in the hands of a different officer. Some report the number of his elephants to be 10,000; but there is no believing people who are apt to tell falsehoods for the honour of their country ^d. *The Kal-lahom.*

PRAKLANG, or *Barkalong* (D), is compounded of *Pra*, which signifies whatever is worthy or respectable, and *Klang*, a magazine. This officer superintends commerce, both foreign and domestic, and is the minister for foreign affairs; because they almost all relate to trade. He likewise receives the revenues of the cities ^e. *Pra Klang, or Barkalong.*

ALL the officers belonging to the government residing in the city, whose number generally amounts to 3000, must daily attend in the palace, except they have leave to be absent, under pain of being severely whipped with split rattans, which cut pretty deep in the flesh. The larger the marks are, the greater is reckoned the honour. ^f Nay, the pretty ladies themselves are not exempt from this kind of flagellation. *Their attendance*

^c LOUBERE, p. 95.

^d Ibid. p. 89.

^e Ibid. p. 93.

(C) This seems to be a compound of the Indian words *Maha*, great, and *Omrab*, or *Omrat*, the plural of the Arabic *Amir*, commander, which is used in the court of the *Great Mogol*; and from hence the *Portugueses* probably have deduced their term *Mandarin*, which they con-

fer on all the officers of princes to the east of *Hindustân*.

(D) *Hamilton*, and some others, write *Barkalong*, as if the same with *Barkalonga*; in imitation of which the *Portugueses* seem to have corrupted *Praklang*.

**Govern-
ment.**

tion, for very small faults; and are so far from concealing them, that some, whom our author saw, exposed their backs to let the whelks be seen, seeming to glory in being so much taken notice of by the greatest king on earth ^f.

**and exa-
minations.**

THE king of *Siam* examines his officers about the *Pra tam Ra*, which is the book containing their duties; and causes those to be bastinado'd who do not answer exactly: like a schoolmaster, who chastises his boys when they cannot say their lesson.

**Ambassa-
dors how
received,**

AN ambassador, throughout the East, is looked on no otherwise than as a king's messenger; not as representing his person: the chief honour is paid to the letters of credence, of which he is the bearer. Thus while the king of *France*'s letter was carried in a *balon*, or boat of the body, his ambassador extraordinary made his entrance in one of an inferior rank. The Orientals make no account of ambassadors, envoys, or residents, all whom they consider in the same light as messengers; and every one who carries a letter from his sovereign is reputed an ambassador. An evidence that an ambassador is treated like a mere messenger, the king of *Siam*, in the audience of leave, gives him a *recepisse* of the letter he has received; and if he returns an answer, he sends it by his own ambassadors, who are never more nor fewer than three ^g.

**and treat-
ed.**

EVERY foreign ambassador is lodged and maintained by the king during his stay, and may exercise merchandize: but cannot treat of any affair till he has delivered his credentials, and communicated his original instructions, although this last article was dispensed with in the *French*. He cannot enter the metropolis, till he goes to audience; nor abide in it, till after the audience of leave; in going from which he departs out of the city, and negotiates nothing more. Therefore, the evening before this last audience, the king demands, *whether he hath any thing farther to propose*: and, in the audience, asks him, *if he is contented*.

**Their au-
diences.**

SOLEMN audiences are always given in the capital, and with great magnificence, especially that of reception: out of that city every audience is accounted private, and performed without ceremony. In all audiences, the custom is for the king to speak first: in those of ceremony he confines himself to a set number of questions; after which the ambassador is ordered to address himself to the *Barkalon*, upon all the propositions which he has to make. This monarch loves not

^f HAMILT. vol. ii. p. 178. CHOISY, p. 530.
BERE, p. 103.

^g LOU-

long speeches : he thinks the longer an ambassador speaks the first time, the less he is honoured. When the king has spoken to the ambassador, he gives him *arek* and *betel*; also a vest, which he puts on immediately; and sometimes a sabre, and chain of gold. *The king, his power.*

BUT how lightly soever they set by ambassadors, all the eastern princes reckon it a great honour to receive embassies, and to send the fewest they can themselves : because they look on them as a kind of homage; and for this reason they detain ambassadors at their courts as long as they can ^b. *Embassies coveted.*

S E C T. III.

Of the King, his Authority, Forces, Revenues, and Commerce.

THE kings of *Siam* are, by their authority, perfectly despotic. It is not easy to know their name, which is superstitiously concealed, lest any enchantment should be made on it. Others report, that their kings have no name till after their death; and that it is given by their successors^a. *Choisy* says none dare pronounce the name of the king ^b.

THE king of *Siam*, besides his kindred to the heavenly luminaries, is a god on earth (A), in whose court are to be found justice, mercy, and benevolence to mankind; with a train of such-like extravagancies, which conclude in declaring him king of the white elephant : a title, however, which the king of *Pegu*, who is equally fond of such lofty flourishes, disputes with him ^c. *King's name concealed.*

SPEAKING of the king, the *Siameses* stile him *Pra Maha Krassat* : *Pra* signifies *respectable*, or *revereable*; *Maha* great; and *Krassat* living : the *Portugueses*, mistaking the word *Pra* for *God*, say they call him *the great living God* : the words are of the *Balli*, which is the learned language. not always well understood by themselves^d. As the same *Europeans* have given the title of king to the governors of certain places, who held them by hereditary right, as *Tenasserim*, *Porcelouk*, *Pipeli*, and the like; so they have conferred on the king the title of

^a LOUBERE, p. 109, & seq. ^b Ibid. p. 101. ^c CHOISY, voy. Siam, p. 532. ^d HAMILT. new account of E. Indies, vol. ii. p. 176. ^e LOUBERE, p. 7.

(A) *Pinto* says, p. 285 of his voyages, that this king's sovereign title is *Pra Chaw Sakhw*, that is, *a holy member of God*.

The king, his power. emperor, according to the notion of the *Spaniards*, who think that stile due to kings, who have other kings for their vassals : and hence some kings of *Castile* have been termed emperors^a.

THE kings are fond to be thought men of parts and address. When his wives and concubines would flatter him most agreeably, they tell him, not that he is an hero, or the greatest general in the world ; but that he is more politic and witty than all the princes he has had to do with^f.

His women.

THE kings of *Siam* marry, at least often, their own sisters ; such was the wife of the king who reigned in *Louberé's* time. His other wives, who are in general called *Chaw Vang*, or *ladies of the palace*, pay obedience to her as their sovereign ; who judges and chastises them when they do amiss, for there is none else to do it. They are continually taking up ladies for the service of the *Vang*, or to be the king's concubines. But as the *Siameses* are unwilling to part with their daughters, they redeem them with money as long as they can. The officers employed in this business frequently carry away virgins, with a view only that they may be ransomed by their parents. If they have many wives in *Siam*, it is more for conveniency than debauchery : and the king who reigned in the time of the *French* embassies, through parsimony, had not more than eight or ten.

The queen.

THE queen has her elephants and *balons*, with some officers to take care of, and attend, her, when she goes abroad : but is seen of none, excepting her women and eunuchs : for, on that occasion, she goes out in a chair made up with curtains, so as to see and not be seen. The people get out of the way as she passes, or turn their back, by prostrating themselves. The queen has likewise her magazine, her ships, and her treasures. She likewise trades as well as the king ; and has her share both of the domestic and foreign commerce.

The succession.

THE eldest son of the queen ought always to succeed by the law : but as the older cannot brook to prostrate themselves to the younger, the law is often set aside by force ; and sometimes the king leaves the crown to the son of a favourite concubine. As for daughters, they succeed not to the throne, being scarcely looked upon as free^g.

King's guards.

THE king's guards are of several sorts. The first are called *pointed arms*, of whom there may be about 600 in the palace. These watch the king's person ; are his executioners ; and indeed are all the foot-guard which he hath : but, on days

^a LOUBERE, p. 80.

^f Ibid. p. 109.

^g Ibid. p. 101.

of ceremony, he causes his slaves to be armed for shew. *The king,* ciently the king had a *Japaneſe* guard, conſiſting of 600 men: *his power.* but as theſe few foreigners were able to make the kingdom tremble when they pleaſed, the father of him who reigned when *Loubere* was in *Siam*, after he had made uſe of them to invade the throne, found a way to get rid of them, more by policy than force.

THE king's horſe-guard is compoſed of men from *Laos*, and another neighbouring country, whoſe chief city is called *Meen*, who ſerve him by ſix months. Beſides this, he has another foreign horſe-guard, of 130 gentlemen: namely, two companies, each conſiſting of thirty *Moors* of *Hinduſtân*: theſe are of an excellent countenance, but reckoned cowards. One company of twenty *Chineſe Tartars*, and two of *Rajahpouts*, or *Pagan Indians*, each containing twenty-five men. Theſe two nations are famous for their courage. The king, beſides furniſhing theſe with horſes and arms, pays each *Moor* about 540 livres a year, and gives him a red ſtuff veſt. The captain of each company has 840 livres, with a ſcarlet veſt. The *Rajahpouts* are maintained at the ſame rate: but each *Tartar* coſts him no more than 45 livres a year, and their captain 112 ^h.

THE true officers of the king's chamber are women; for *Attended* none elſe have admittance there. They make his bed, and *by wo-* dreſs him; prepare his victuals, and attend him at table: *men.* nor ever ſtir out, but with his majeſty, who is ſaid to have only eight or ten eunuchs in his ſervice, both white and black ⁱ.

HIS majeſty beſtows his annual bleſſing on his people in *Proceſſion* *September*, when he paſſes through the city, with a numerous *by land.* train of elephants, dreſt in their fineſt trappings, and accompanied with muſical instruments. Among them is the white elephant (B), which yet is only of a cream colour; and
our

^h LOUBERE, p. 96, & ſeq. CHOISY, p. 527.

ⁱ LOU-
BERE, p. 100.

(B) The *Siameſes* have a great veneration for elephants, eſpecially white elephants. The king always keeps one in his palace. That which Mr. *De Chaumont* ſaw being dead, it was reported that another was born the 9th of *December* 1697, in the woods, a little before *Lou-*

beré's departure; ſo that he ſaw none. They are not white, but of a fleſh-colour: whence *Van Uliet* calls it the white and red elephant. The *Siameſes* ſay, that theſe rare animals are found only in the woods of their country; and believe the ſoul of ſome prince is lodged in them.

The king, his power. our author had seen several, at *Bangaria*, a village near *Jonk-seylán*, as white as he. All the while this procession lasts, the people lie prostrate, till the king is passed by; after which they may look upon his back-parts or sides.

Another by water. In the month of *November* he also shews himself on the river, in a *balon* or barge, thirty or forty yards long, about two broad, and two feet deep: with a throne placed in the middle, seven feet high, covered with a rich canopy, where he sits; his greatest lords resting underneath. He is rowed or paddled forward by fifty or sixty men, in carnation-coloured vests, with fine caps or turbans on their heads. There are above 1000 other barges to wait on his majesty, besides several thousand common *balons*; so that, for five or six miles, the river is covered with boats, except near the king's barge, which has half a mile of the river left clear for it to move in. About four or five in the evening, he goes in his barge to a temple, about three miles above the city, on the opposite side of the water, where the priests pray for him, and present him with two yards and a half of cotton cloth; which must be both spun and woven the same day that his majesty comes to receive it. After sun-set he embarks again (leaving some royal bounty behind), and returns in state to his palace. His reason for honouring the river and his people at this time of the year, is to forbid the water to rise above such a number of inches in height, or to continue increasing above such a number of days as he appoints: yet sometimes it disobey his royal commands^k.

Lives in distrust.

THE distrust in which the king of *Siam* lives appears from the precautions which he takes to prevent secret caballing among the great men; to keep the gates of their palace shut; to permit no armed person to enter; and to disarm their own guards. A gun, fired by accident, or otherwise, near enough to the palace for the king to hear it, is a capital crime^l.

No courtier dare appear before the king, without being sent for: this is a law made for the prince's security. When

^k HAMILTON ubi supra, p. 176, & seq.
105.

^l LOUBERE, p.

them. *Louberc*, p. 58. *Tachard* saw, a league from *Siam*, a little white elephant, designed for the successor of him who is in the palace, near 300 years old, as they report. This little white elephant is not much bigger than an ox. *First voyage*, p. 197. *Cbaumont*, who saw the first, says nothing of its age. It died, before *Louberc's* arrival, two years after.

they

they meet, they must speak loud to be heard, and in presence of a third person; so jealous are those monarchs. In short, every man in *Siam* is an informer, and obliged to discover whatever he hears said in the least regarding the king, under pain of death. However, the king is not over hasty in giving credit: he commonly requires two witnesses; and, for better discovering the truth, has his secret spies everywhere. These precautions are a great check to caballing; but if the kings be unactive or negligent, no law secures them¹. By these means also the king seems to be in little danger of being deceived; and indeed to say the king may be deceived, or imposed on, is rank treason, as hath been before observed.

FOR all this, it is easy to deceive him; for all informers are dishonest, and the *Indian* princes love to be flattered, nor care to hear what may displease them; thus the courtiers study to conceal their true sentiments from the king, and he endeavours to conceal his opinion from them. They will not tell him ill news, or that he wants any-thing, but let them come to his knowledge by degrees; they will not tell him that he must alter what he has done amiss, but will persuade him to do it better some other way. By this equivocal way of proposing things to him, they avoid the danger of giving bad counsel, or, which is considered in much the same light, advice which is not attended with good success^m.

THE jealousy of these kings makes them cruel to their own brethren, as in other countries of *Asia*: they maim them several ways, deprive them of sight, or weaken it by fire; lame them by dislocation of their joints, render them stupid by liquors given them to drink, and the like.

AFTER all, the evils of this kind of government extend properly no farther than the nobility, or officers of the crown, and do not reach the people, who enjoy liberty, and other pleasures of life, which their superiors are strangers to; nor are they so liable to be oppressed by the great men as in many other countries, since the ways of carrying complaints to the throne are all open; so that they can seldom fail of coming to the king's knowledge, notwithstanding the combined artifices of the ministers to prevent them.

HOWEVER, as these absolute monarchs oppress the subjects with taxes, as well as tyrannize over the nobles, who indeed are all their creatures, they seldom have the love of either; so that, if attacked by an invader or a rebel, none are zealous in their defence, as they consider their condition would be no

¹ LEBERRE, p. 103.^m Ibid.

The king, his power. worse under one than the other. As the whole power is united in the prince, instead of being distributed among the great officers and magistrates, he has none, in case of need, who are able to support him. His chief dependence for his authority seems to lie in his seal and great treasure; the first he intrusts to none: but as both are liable to be seized, whoever gets either in his possession may easily dethrone the reigning prince^a.

The king's forces.

THE king of *Siam* has no other troops in pay than his foreign guard. His armies are composed out of the militia, who are obliged to six months service; and thus his garrisons are supplied by people, who serve or relieve one another in turn. As they have no horses, the king not being possessed of above 2000 at most, their armies consist only in elephants and infantry, naked and ill-armed. Their order of battle and encampment is thus. They range themselves in three lines, each composed of three great square battalions: the king, or general, has his post in the middle battalion; and every chieftain of a battalion keeps in the middle of that which he commands. If the nine battalions are too big, each of them is divided into nine less^b.

His elephants.

THE army being thus ranged, every one of the nine battalions has sixteen male elephants in the rear: these are called elephants of war, and each carries his particular standard, and is accompanied with two female elephants; both kinds are mounted, each with three armed men. There are some elephants also for carrying baggage. They rely much on elephants in battle, although this animal, for want of bit or bridle, cannot be securely governed; and he frequently turns on his own master when wounded. He likewise dreads fire to such a degree, that, although trained to stand it, he is scarcely ever brought to perform that service. The battle begins with discharging the artillery, of which they have but little; and in case those instruments of death do not put an end to it, they then advance within reach of their small shot and arrows, but never come to a close engagement. Besides, as their religion inspires them with horror of blood, they, to avoid killing, do not shoot directly at one another, but higher; yet so as that the shot may fall among the enemy, and oblige them to retreat; which one party fails not long to do, when they perceive it to rain darts or bullets. Indeed, when they find themselves pursued, they shoot lower, in order to stop their adversaries; who, if slain, are then thought to be guilty of their own death, by approaching too near: for

Siamese way of fighting.

^a LOUBERE, p. 106, & seqq.

^b Ibid. p. 91, & seq.

the order which the king gives his troops is, *Kill not*, that *The king*, is, unless their own safety makes it absolutely necessary. As *his power*. for sieges, they are wholly incapable of carrying them on, excepting by corruption, or famine; being afraid to attack a place ever so little fortified.

IN short, the armies of *Siam*, and indeed all the neighbouring countries who hold the metempsychosis, busy themselves only in making slaves: and the usual way among them of making war, is to invade each others dominions in different parts at the same time, and carry off whole villages into captivity. One *Cyprian*, a *Frenchman* of *Provence*, who served as gunner in an expedition against the *Chaw Meuang*, or, if you will, king of *Singor*, on the western coast of the gulf of *Siam* (C); having received orders not to shoot directly upon the enemy, imagined that the general intended to betray his master; and, wearied with seeing the two armies so long in fight without coming to blows, resolved to seize the *Chaw Meuang* in his tent. This he effected, by venturing alone one night into the enemy's camp, and so put an end to a war, which had subsisted in that manner for twenty years. The king intended to have rewarded this piece of service with a quantity of sapan-wood: but, by some intrigue of the court, the brave *Frenchman* got nothing, and retired to *Surat*; where he put himself in the company's service^p.

AFTER all, this way of making war is well suited to the timorous disposition of the *Siameses*: for the sight of a naked sword is sufficient to put a hundred of them to flight; and there needs only the resolute tone of an *European*, who wears a sword by his side, or a cane in his hand, to make them forget the most express orders of their superiors (D). In short, these people are destitute of courage; and indeed the same may be said not only of all the *Indians* in general, but of all those born in the *Indies*, though of *European* parents, of which the *Portugueses* are an instance. Hence *Louberé* supposes, that as they were subdued by a society of *Dutch* merchants

^p LOUBÉRE, p. 90.

(C) Towards *Patana*, some leagues to the north of it.

(D) The *Dutch* have, from experience of the *Indians*, thought fit to imitate the *Portugueses*, in treating them with much haughtiness and little confidence; because, being bred up in a spirit of servility,

they are humble to those who behave loftily, and insolent to such as use them gently. The king of *Siam* says, his subjects are of the temper of apes, who tremble so long as one holds the end of their chain, and disown their master when the chain is loosed. *Louberé*, p. 110.

The king, his power. from *Europe*, so if other *Europeans* went to seek out the *Dutch*, born in their *Indian* settlements, they would not be found more valorous. According to that author, excessive hot countries are not fit to nourish courage, which is the produce of temperate and hardy climates. But besides the torrid zone, and phlegmatic aliments, the *Siamese* have a despotic government to cow their spirits and effeminate them.

No fortified places. THERE are no places in *Siam* which may properly be said to be fortified; for the castles they have, which are small and ugly, would scarce sustain the first shock of *European* soldiers. The reason they gave our author for not having places well-fortified was, that, in case they should lose them, they should not be able to retake them; nor, if they had a mind to make fortifications, could they tell how to go about them. The king, some few years before *Louberé's* embassy, wanting to have a wooden fort built on the frontiers of *Pegu*, could pitch on no better an architect than brother *Rene Charbonneau*, in the service of foreign missions, who knew little or nothing of the matter: but his *Siamese* majesty would be obeyed; and rewarded his work, such as it was, with the government of *Jonsulam*, which he discharged for three or four years with great approbation. The *French* afterwards built forts at *Bankok*.

King's naval power. As to the king's naval power, he is yet more feeble by sea than land. He, with much ado, has become master of five or six very small ships, which he employs both in merchandize and at war, as privateers, when occasion requires: but the officers and seamen, in whom he confides, are foreigners. These were *English* and *Portuguese*, till of late that he made use of some *French*. In his naval expeditions he proposes only to make reprisals on such of his neighbours who injure him in trade; and his corsairs have the same orders, not to kill, as his land forces: they are however to do their best to take prizes, in which they go to work by artifice and surprize. Besides these ships of a double character, his majesty has fifty or sixty galleys, which are no better than boats for making bridges of. They have wooden anchors, and carry fifty or sixty men to row and fight, which they do by turns. There is only one to an oar, who is obliged to row standing; the oar being so short, for lightness sake, that, if not held perpendicularly, it would not touch the water. These galleys only coast it along the gulf of *Siam*.

His revenues. THE king of *Siam's* revenues are of two sorts; those of the cities, and those of the country: which are all reduced to

the following heads, or duties. 1. On cultivated lands. By the *The king,* law, whoever ploughed not, paid nothing; but, to promote *his power.* agriculture, the king who reigned in our author's time, exacted the duty from those who neglected cultivation. From the same principle he gave lands and cattle to strangers, who were inclined to settle in his dominions. 2. On *balons*, or boats. 3. On all commodities imported or exported; and on ships, according to their capacity. 4. On *arak*, or rice brandy, or rather on the still-head; the sellers likewise, both by wholesale and retale, pay a duty for licence. 5. On fruit-trees, viz. the *durion*, *betel*, *arekier*, the *coco*, *orange*, *mango*, *mangoustanier*, and *pimentier*; but there is no duty laid on pepper, in order to encourage planting it. 6. Confiscations and fines. 7. The six months service, which is often bought off with money or goods.

BESIDES the above-mentioned duties, the king has, in several parts of his dominions, gardens and lands, which may be considered as his demesne. *His demesnes.* The produce goes to maintain his slaves and cattle which are upon those places, and the surplus he sells. The presents which this prince receives may be considered as a casual revenue; as well as the legacies which his officers bequeath him at their death, or which he takes from their successors. In a word, the extraordinary duties which he exacts from his subjects on several occasions, as for the maintenance of ambassadors, and building of public works, forts, and the like.

THE king of *Siam* has undertaken to enlarge his revenue *Trade of* by commerce, which he carries on both with his subjects *Siam* and strangers. He has, in effect, engrossed trade wholly to himself; so that he may be called the only merchant in his dominions: nor is he content with selling by wholesale, but has shops in the markets for retailing his goods. The chief of these is cotton cloth, which he sends into his provincial magazines. His predecessors used to send them thither only once in ten years; so that, when they were sold off, his subjects had liberty to trade for the rest of the term: but now he continually furnishes them himself; and when his magazines are overstocked, obliges the people to cloath their children before the accustomed age. Before the *Dutch* found the way into *Laos* and the adjacent countries, the king of *Siam* had the linen trade with them in his own hands. The other commodities which he vends are *kalin*, or tin, ivory, saltpetre, lead, sapan-wood, *arek*, and skins, which he sells by treaty, to the *Dutch* only. Powder, sulphur, and arms, which are prohibited goods, may yet be purchased at his

*Ancient
kings.*

his magazines. However, many of these things are clandestinely sold by the people to the *Hollanders*.

THE commodities in which his subjects are permitted to trade are rice, fish, salt, brown sugar, sugar-candy, amber-grise, wax, the gum with which varnish is made, mother-of-pearl, edible birds nests, gum-gutte, incense, oil, coco, cotton, cinnamon, nenuphar, somewhat different from the *French*, cassia, dates, and several other produce.

To conclude, it is said that the king's revenue at present amounts to 600,000 crowns; whereas formerly it did not exceed (E) 317,000^r.

C H A P. X.

The History of Siam.

S E C T. I.

Its ancient Kings, and modern State; Wars with Chiamay and Pegu; the King poisoned by his Queen in 1546.

*Siamese
history fabu-
lous,*

THE *Siamese* history is full of fables, and the books thereof very scarce: some report this to be owing to their affecting to conceal their affairs: but our author *Louberé* doubts the truth of this; since they have no more reason to be cautious of publishing their history than the *Chinese*, who do not scruple it. However that be, they who have been able to read their book affirm, that it ascends not very high with any character of truth. The *Siameses* give a very dry and insipid account of their kings, and the original of their monarchy, as follows.

*and very
imperfect.*

A. D.
756.

THEIR first king, they say, was named *Pra Poat-honne Sourittep-pennaratui sonanne bopitra*. The chief place where he kept his court was called *Chay Pappé Mahanakon* (A), and he began his reign in the year 1300, according to their epocha, which begins from the death of *Sommona Kodom* (B),

^r LOUBERE, p. 93, & seqq. CHOISY, p. 527.

(F) *Pinto* says, that in his time, about 1546, the settled revenue was twelve millions of gold besides other accessories, which amounted to as much more. *Pinto's voyage*, p. 278.

(A) The situation of this place, and the following, was unknown to our author.

(B) In the year 544 before *Christ*.

as they pretend; although *Loubere* thinks it has quite another foundation. Ten other kings succeeded; the last of whom, named *Ipoja Sanne Thora Thesma Teperat*, removed his royal seat to *Tafou Nakora Louang*, a city built by himself. The twelfth king after *Ipoja Sanne*, whose name was *Pra Poa Noome Thele Seri*, obliged all his people, in the year 1731, to follow him to *Lokontay* (C), from whence this prince removed his seat to the city *Pipeli*; which he built towards the western mouth of the *Menâm*. Four kings more succeeded him, the last of whom, *Rhamatilondi*, began to build the city of *Siyuthia*, or *Siam*, in 1894, and there fixed his court. The king, who was on the throne in 1689, was the twenty-fifth from *Rhamatilondi*; so that they then reckoned fifty-two kings in the space of 934 years, but not all of the same blood^a.

15. King.

Brief sketch of it.

A. D. 1187.

A. D. 1350.

THIS is all we can yet learn of the *Siamese* history, from those who have visited the country, till about the middle of the sixteenth century, when *Siam* began to be known on account of its wars with *Pegu*, and other neighbouring countries. The first author who speaks of these affairs is *Mendez Pinto*, who, in many things, may be suspected; but, for want of a better, we must follow him. According to this traveller, about the year 1546, the king of *Siam* (whose name is not mentioned) kept his court in the city of *Odias*, or *Siyuthia*, that is, *Siam*. There he received intelligence, that the king of *Chiammay*, allied with the *Timokoubos*, *Lahos*, and *Gueos*, all independent and wealthy people, who possessed the parts north-eastward above *Kapimper* and *Passiloko* (D), had besieged the town of *Quiterwam*; where he had slain 30,000 men, and, among the rest, *Oya Kapimper*, governor and lieutenant-general of all that province.

Kingdom of Siam

A. D. 1546.

THE king of *Siam*, alarmed at this news, immediately crossed the river, and encamping in tents, by proclamation ordered all in the city, who were able to bear arms, to attend him within twelve days, under pain of being buried alive, and other punishments, equally grievous. This order included not only the natives, but foreigners, who were obliged to comply with it, or quit the kingdom in three days.

invaded from Chiammay.

^a LOUBERE relat. Siam, p. 8.

(C) A city seated on a river, which descends from the mountains of *Laos*, and falls into the *Menâm* a little above *Pitsanouluk*, or *Porfelouk*; from which

Lakontay is forty or fifty leagues distant.

(D) Possibly *Kampang* and *Porfelouk*, two cities of *Siam*. See the description of *Siam*.

15. *King.* To the *Portugueses* his majesty sent a formal message, desiring them to accompany him, as the only people he could trust to guard his person, with great promises of rewards, and liberty to build churches in his kingdom. This encouragement prevailed on them, that, out of 130, which was their number, 120 agreed to go to the war, among whom was our author. At the end of twelve days the king set forward, with an army of 400,000 men, whereof 70,000 were strangers. They embarked all in 300 *servos*, *lauleas*, and *jangas*; so that, in nine days, they arrived at *Suropisem*; a frontier town, twelve or thirteen leagues from *Quitervan*; which the enemy had besieged. There he stayed seven days, waiting for 4000 elephants, which marched by land. Mean time he was informed that the place was greatly pressed by the enemy, who had on the river 2000 vessels, with an army of 300,000 men by land, whereof 40,000 were horse; but no elephants.

*The enemy
defeated.*

THE king, on this advice, began his march from *Suropisem*, his army being increased to 500,000 soldiers. At the end of three days, proceeding not above four or five leagues each, they arrived at the valley of *Siputay*, one league and an half from the place where the enemy lay encamped. There the forces, with the elephants, being ranged in line of battle, by the three quarter-masters, two of whom were *Turks*, and the third a *Portuguese*, named *Dominigos de Seixas*, they advanced towards *Quitervan*, where they arrived before sunrise. The enemy, on their approach, came forward to meet them, and, with their horse, which was the van-guard, fell furiously on the king of *Siam's* rear, composed of 60,000 foot, with so much fury, that they defeated them in less than fifteen minutes, with the loss of three princes slain on the spot. The king perceiving his men routed, changed the order of the fight, which he had before resolved on, and fell on the enemy with his whole army at once. This was done with such impetuosity, that they were defeated in less than half an hour, by means of the elephants, sustained by the harquibusers, and the field-pieces: the horse, in which their principal strength consisted, being thus routed, the rest of their forces began instantly to retreat. The *Siameses* pursued them to the river-side; but there the enemy forming a new body of 100,000 men, supported by their ships, the king of *Siam* durst not attack them; and was well pleased to find that they took advantage of the night to retire along the river-side.

THE king of *Siam* lost, in this battle 50,000 men, but of 15. King. no great account, and the enemy 130,000. After he had fortified the city, and put it in a good posture of defence, he was persuaded by his lords to make war on the kingdom of *Quibem*, fifteen leagues to the north, whose queen had given *kingdom made tributary*. passage through her country to the forces of *Chiammay*. Pursuant to this advice, he, with an army of 400,000 men, besieged *Fumbakor*, a town of *Quibem*; and having quickly taken it, put all the inhabitants to the sword. From thence he continued his voyage to *Guitor*, the capital of the kingdom, where the queen governed as regent, during the minority of her son, a youth of but nine years of age. The queen finding herself too feeble to hold out long against so great a power, after a short siege sued for peace, and agreed to pay him annually 5000 *turmes* of silver, equal to 60,000 *Portuguese* ducats, advancing five years tribute in hand. Besides this, the young prince did him homage as his vassal, and was carried by the king to his capital *Siam*.

THE siege being hereupon raised, the army marched north. The king eastward, to the town of *Taysiran*; where news was brought, *invades Chiam-* that the king of *Chiammay* was fallen off from the confederates. Mean time the *Siamese* monarch, who had advanced *may*. six days march into the enemy's territories, sacked all the places which came in his way, without sparing the life of any male inhabitant. At length he arrived at the lake of *Sinjipamor*, commonly called *Chiammay* (E), where he stayed twenty-six days. During that time he took twelve places of consequence, surrounded with ditches and bulwarks, after the *Portuguese* fashion, all of brick and mortar: for, in that country, they do not build with lime and stone; neither had they any artillery, excepting some falconets, and brass muskets. But as winter began to approach, and it was very rainy weather, the king, who likewise found himself much indisposed, returned to *Quitirvan*, where he rested three-and-twenty days; in which time he made an end of fortifying that city with strong walls, and wide ditches. After this, he embarked his army in the vessels which brought him thither, and so returned to his capital, where he was received with great demonstrations of joy by the people^c.

^c PINTO, p. 271, & seq.

(E) Of this lake, *Loubera*, after much enquiry, could find no tidings: and indeed all which is said relating to this expedition to *Chiammay* (the same probably with *Jabamay*, the capital of *Jangoma*), is very likely a fiction.

BUT

16. King.

*Poisoned by
his queen.*

BUT this joy was soon changed into sorrow: for, during the six months in which the king of *Siam* had been absent, the queen had been intimate with an inferior officer of the household; and finding herself four months gone with child by him, to prevent a discovery, poisoned her husband with a mess of milk, which carried him off in five days. During this short space of time the king made his will, in which he settled the most important affairs of the state. Among the rest he acquitted himself of the obligation he lay under to the foreigners, who had served him in the war of *Chiammay*; in particular, he ordered that the *Portugueses*, who had been his guard during that expedition, should receive half a year's tribute of *Guibem*; that their merchandizes should be custom-free for three years; and that their priests should be allowed to preach their law through his dominions: besides other privileges of an inferior nature. His majesty likewise directed, that his eldest son should be proclaimed king before his death; which was immediately put in execution. After the *Oyas*, *Konchulis*, and *Monteos* (F) the three prime dignities in the kingdom, had taken the oath of allegiance to the young prince, they shewed him from a window to all the people; and setting a rich crown of gold, in form of a mitre, upon his head, put a sword in his right hand, and a pair of scales in his left; a custom which, says our author, they always observe on such an occasion.

*His eldest
son suc-
ceeds.*

THEN *Oya Passiloko*, who was the greatest lord in the kingdom, falling on his knees before the new king, made a speech, in which he exhorted him to govern his people justly, under pain of being punished by God, in the infernal regions. To which the young monarch weeping answered, *Sham Shaim-pom*, or *Amen*; and *Mastinau*, *I promise*; which is a kind of coronation oath. This set all the people a weeping. After which came a *Talagrepo*, or priest of the first dignity, above 100 years old, and, prostrating himself at the prince's feet, tendered him an oath, upon a golden basin full of rice. This done, they put him into the basin, after they had created him thus a-new: for time would not allow them to hold him there any longer, in regard his father was at the point of death; and, in effect, he died the next morning, in presence of the greater part of the grandees^d.

^d PINTO, p. 272, & seq.

(F) These two last titles look in other authors; and so indeed suspicious, as we find them not does the whole ceremony.

THE death of this prince caused an universal mourning, 16. King. for he was said to be endowed with many virtues : he was charitable to the poor and distressed ; liberal to those who served him well, or had merit ; compassionate, and merciful : but, at the same time, as he was a great lover of justice, he punished wicked men according to their deserts. In short, if what the people said of him in their lamentations was true, there never was a better king on earth. *Pinto* relates two or three instances of his goodness, which fell within his own knowledge. The first is, that *Pedro de Faria*, governor of *Malakka*, having, by order of *John III.* king of *Portugal*, sent an ambassador to *Siam*, in the year 1540, to redeem *Domingos de Seixas* before-mentioned, and sixteen *Portugueses* more, the king not only granted his request, but bestowed on them a thousand *turmes* of silver, amounting to 12,000 ducats ; apologizing, at the same time, for the smallness of the present. *Seixas* was, at that time, general of the frontier, and resided at the town of *Goutaleu*, where he had 30,000 foot and 5000 horse under his command ; with a pension of 18,000 ducats *per annum*. But the king of *Portugal* having had occasion for his service in *Europe*, the king of *Siam* generously parted with him : for which favour the ambassador, *Don Francisco de Coasto*, made three prostrations before his *Siamite* majesty, with his head bowed to the ground. A custom observed towards this king, who was more absolute than others.

IN 1545 he ordered a *Portuguese* ship, which had been wrecked in the port of *Charis*, five leagues from *Lugor*, to be restored, with seventy-four men and boys : and the same year did another piece of public justice : for *Siam* having been invaded on the *Passilikon's* side, by the king of *Tuparabos*, who, having sacked several lesser places, resolved to attack *Shivau* and *Lautor*. Hereupon he sent some of his colonels all over the kingdom, to levy men, with strict orders not to excuse any under threescore years of age, excepting such as were maimed, or otherwise unable to bear arms. One of these officers, named *Quiay Rauliva*, who was appointed to raise recruits at *Blancha* (or, as it is afterwards written, *Bancha*), disregarding his prince's order, took bribes of the rich inhabitants, amounting to 5000 *turmes*, and prest 3000 of the poorer sort to go to the war. The king, on their arrival, being surprised at the wretched figure they made, enquired into the cause ; and the whole affair having been discovered to him by the people themselves, he ordered five *turmes* of melted silver to be poured down the colonel's throat, uttering, at the same time, some reproachful expression, suitable

16. King. to the occasion; then sending to his house for the *turnes* which he had received at *Bancha*, he distributed them among the old and impotent recruits, whom he sent home again. As for those who had paid that sum, to be excused from going to the war, he ordered them to be attired like women, and banished to the island of *Pulho* (or *Pulo*) *Katon*: not content with this, he confiscated their estates, and divided them among those who had served well in that expedition. When at *Lau-tor*, perceiving one of the *Portugueses* to behave ill, in recovering the principal fort belonging to that place, he sent him to *Odia* (or *Siam*), and forbade him to assume the name of a *Portuguese*, on pain of being banished in the same disgraceful dress. To the rest of his countrymen he gave treble pay, with other bounties.

His funeral celebrated

SOME time after the king's death, all the priests of the capital city, to the number of 20,000, in concert with the principal men of the kingdom, having settled the ceremonies relating to the funeral, a mighty pile was erected, composed of *sandal*, *kalamba*, *aloes*, and *benjamin*, on which the body of the king was laid, and consumed by fire. The royal ashes, inclosed in a silver shrine, were put on board a *laulea*, richly equipped, which was accompanied by forty *seroos* full of *Talagrepes*, besides a great number of smaller vessels filled with people. These were followed by a hundred small barks, laden with divers images, in the form of adders, toads, lions, elephants, bucks, vultures, geese, and other animals, all carved to the life. In another great ship was the king of those idols, called the *gluttonous serpent of the profound pit of the house of smoke*. This monster, in shape of an adder, was as thick in circumference as a hog's head, and twisted in nine circles; so that, extended, it measured an hundred spans in length. Its neck stood erect; and out of its eyes, throat, and breast, issued flames of artificial fire, dreadful to behold. On a stage, three fathoms high, and richly gilt, stood a beautiful boy, four or five years old, covered over with pearls, and bracelets of precious stones. He had wings, with hair of fine gold; and held in his hand a cutlace, representing an angel sent from God, to imprison those demons, that they should not steal away the king's soul, before it arrived at the mansion of glory, prepared for it above, to reward his good works done in this life.

with great pomp.

ALL the above-mentioned vessels stopt at a temple called *Quiaz-Pay-er*, where the silver shrine being placed, fire was put to the barks, which, being filled with pitch, and other

combustible matter, in an hour's time were all consumed, 16. King, with the images in them : during which time there was a *anonymous.* horrible din, made by the shouts of the people, mixt with the firing of cannon and small arms, beating of drums, ringing of bells, blowing of horns, and the like noises. Several other expensive ceremonies were performed ; after which the people returned to their houses, where they remained, with their doors and windows shut, for ten days : so that none were seen in the streets, excepting some poor, who begged alms in the night, with great lamentation. When the ten days were expired, the temples were adorned with standards, banners, and rich hangings ; while horsemen, clad in white damask, rode through the city, and, at the sound of music, invited the people to come forth, and rejoice in the new king, whom God had sent them. At this invitation the inhabitants came forth, and went to the temple of *Quiay Tanarel*, that is, *the God of the joyful* ; where the better sort offered perfumes, and the poorer fruits, hens, and rice, for the support of the priests. The same day the new king shewed himself, in a progress through the city ; and, as he was but nine years old, the queen mother was constituted regent, during his minority, by the twenty-four *Brakalons* (G) of the government ^f.

THINGS went on peaceably for four months and a half ; *Young king* when the queen, being delivered of a son whom she had by *poisoned.* the purveyor, gave great scandal to the whole kingdom. For all this, she resolved to marry the father of him, with whom she was much enamoured ; and even to destroy the king, to make way for the bastard to inherit the throne. To effect her wicked purpose, she desired of the privy-council a guard for the person of the king, under pretence of his greater security ; which having obtained, she, to the 600 *Kauchins* (H) and *Liqueos*, which was the ordinary guard of her house, added 2000 foot, and 500 horse, over whom she placed *Fileubakus*, a kinsman of her gallant. Thus strengthened with forces, she began to take revenge on the grandees, who she knew despised her. She first caused to be seized two deputies of the government, under pretence that they held a secret correspondence with the king of *Chiammay*, and had promised to give him a passage through their lands into the kingdom. They

^f PINTO, p. 276, & seqq.

(G) By *Brakalons*, doubtless, is ever more than one officer is to be understood *Barkalons* : of that denomination. but we do not find that there (H) Doubtless *Kochinchineses*.

17. King,
usurper.

Distrac-
tions in
Siam.

were both executed by her order; and their estates being confiscated, one part was given to her favourite purveyor, and the other to a brother-in-law of his, who had been originally a smith. But as these lords were put to death hastily, and without any proof, the rest of the nobility murmured greatly, representing to her majesty the personal merits of the parties, and their royal descent. These remonstrances she was so far from giving heed to, that soon after, in a full council, on pretence of indisposition, she renounced the regency, and conferred it on *Uquumcheniraa*, who managed affairs at pleasure, and filled all places of importance with his creatures. The queen had now an opportunity of executing all her designs; so that, in eight months time, she caused most of the great men in the kingdom to be put to death; and confiscating their lands and effects, distributed them among such as she daily gained to her party. Nothing now remained, but for her to get rid of the young king; which she did, by giving him poison, in the same manner as she had done to his father. All obstacles being now removed, she, to complete the whole, married her favourite paramour, and caused him to be crowned in the city of *Odia*, the 11th of *November* 1545. But these usurpers did not long enjoy the fruits of their iniquity: for, on the 15th of *January* the next year, being invited by *Oya Passiloko*, and the king of *Kambodia*, to a feast, prepared in the temple called *Quiay Figrau* (or *Frigau*), that is, *the god of the atoms of the sun*, whose festival it was, they were both slain by those two princes, with all their party: and thus things became quiet again, though with the destruction of most of the nobility².

A. D.

1545.

A. D.

1546.

S E C T. II.

The Reign of Pretiem. Siam conquered by the Barma King of Pegu. Rajah Api throws off the Yoke: His Character and Death. The Revolution which followed.

Next king
elected.

THE next thing to be considered was to choose a successor; which, with the assistance of four or five more lords, they effected. The person whom they cast their eye on was a religious man, named *Pretiem*, natural brother of the late king's father. He was a *Talagrepo* of a temple called *Quiay Mitrau*, where he had resided for thirty years;

² PINTO, p. 277, & seqq.

but being brought from thence by *Oya Passiloko*, he was, on 18. King the 19th of the same month, crowned king, with great magnificence. Pretiem.

THE *Brama* (or *Barma*) king of *Pegu*, who, at that time, reigned in the city of *Anapleu*, being informed of the deplorable state to which the empire of *Sornau* (or *Siam*) was reduced, and that the new monarch was ill beloved of his subjects, for his cowardly, as well as tyrannical disposition, resolved to lay hold of the favourable opportunity, and invade his dominions. Accordingly, on the 7th of April 1548, he set out from *Martabân*, with an army of 800,000 men, of whom 40,000 were horse, and 60,000 harquibusers. These were accompanied with 5000 elephants, and 1000 pieces of cannon, drawn by a thousand couple of buffaloes and rhinoceros's. There were likewise as many yoke of oxen, for carrying the provision; besides a vast quantity of baggage. Among these forces there were 1000 Portuguese, commanded by *Diego Suarez de Albergaria*, nick-named the *Gallego*, who had the title of the king's brother, and governor of *Pegu*, with a yearly pension of 200,000 ducats. The army never stopt till they entered the dominions of *Siam*; where, after five days march, they arrived at the castle of *Tapurau*, containing about 2000 houses, which was attacked three times in one day, without success. But *Suarez*, who was general of the camp, having caused it to be battered with forty pieces of heavy artillery, a breach was made, of twelve fathom width; which being entered by 12,000 foreigners, in half an hour 6000 *Siameses*, of which the garrison consisted, with their commander, who was a *Mogor* (or *Mogol*), were all cut to pieces. The *Brama* king, not content with this slaughter, ordered all the women likewise to be put to the sword, to revenge the death of above 3000 of his men^a.

A. D.
1548.

Barma invasion.

AFTER this cruel execution, he marched directly to *Soko*. The capital being situated on the river *Lebrau*, one of the three arising from the lake *Chiammay* (A), on the bank of which he encamped. But being advised by his lords not to lose time and men, by attempting any other place, till he got to the capital of *Siam*; he next day departed, by roads made through the woods, by 60,000 pioneers sent before for that purpose. When he came to *Tilau*, hard by *Junfalan*, on

^a PINTO, p. 278, & seq.

(A) If there be no such lake, certain; nor do we meet with as hath been already shewn, the name of *Lebrau* in the source of this river must be un- French relations of *Siam*.

18. King
Pretiem.

the southwest coast, near *Quedah*, he took guides; and, in nine days, arrived in sight of *Odiaa* (or the city of *Siam*); where he pitched his camp, which he inclosed with ditches, and strong palisadoes. During the five days that these and other preparations were carrying on, the besieged never offered to stir: of which seeming contempt of so great an army, *Diego Suarez*, the camp-marshal, was at a loss to know the cause; and therefore determined to give an assault to the city, towards the two points on the south side, where the wall was weakest. He began the attack the 19th of *June*, an hour before day, with two bodies, each consisting of 6000 men, who endeavoured to scale the walls with 1000 ladders; but the besieged defended themselves so valiantly, that, in half an hour, 10,000 fell on both sides. The king of *Barma* then sounding a retreat, ordered the attack to be renewed with his 5000 elephants of war, divided into twenty troops. These carried, in their castles placed on their backs, 20,000 select *Moens* and *Chaleus* (B), who had double pay, and were furnished with small cannon, as well as muskets, besides a sort of scythes, eight or ten feet long; with which they made such havoc, that, in less than fifteen minutes, most of them were beaten off the walls, from whence the elephants, with their trunks, tore down (C) the target-fences, which served for battlements.

The enemy
repulsed:

THE wall being thus cleared, the enemy once more set up their ladders, which they had quitted; and mounting to the top, planted their standards, with shouts of victory. The *Turks*, desirous to signalize themselves on this occasion, desired leave of the king to enter first; which, by advice of *Suarez*, who was always so kind as to put them on the most dangerous services, desiring nothing more than to see their numbers lessened, was readily granted. Having thus obtained their desires, 12,000 of them, among whom were some *Abissins* and *Janizari's* (D), mounted the wall with great outcries; and sliding down on the other side, descended, through a bulwark, into a place below, with intent to open a gate, and give admittance to the king of *Barma*, who had promised 1000 *bisses* of gold, amounting to 500,000 ducats,

(B) An account of these people see before, hist. *Pegu*, p. 69.

(C) *Loubere*, with good reason, looks upon this relation to be a fiction: for, as the city takes up the whole island in which it is built, the walls,

which encompass the island, leave no room in front for an enemy to approach them; whereas, according to *Pinto's* account, the city could not have been washed by the river on the south side.

(D) We cannot conceive how *janizari's* should come here.

to those who should do him that important service. But ^{18. King} while they endeavoured, with two battering-rams, to break ^{Pretiem.} the gate, they were suddenly charged by 3000 resolute *Jaos* (E), and, in little more than a quarter of an hour, were all cut to pieces. The *Jaos*, flushed with this success, immediately mounted the wall, and attacked the enemy whom they found there, so furiously, that, having slain most of them, they threw the rest headlong to the ground ^b.

THE *Barma* king, far from being discouraged at this dis-^{renew the} after, ordered the assault to be renewed, imagining, that the ^{assault :} elephants alone would be able to open his troops a way into the city. At the noise of their approach, *Oya Passiloko*, captain-general of the forces within, with 15,000 men, most of them *Luzons*, *Borneos*, and *Champaas*, with some *Menankabos*, ran to the gate through which the enemy proposed to enter; and setting it wide open, sent the king of *Pegu* word, that having heard his majesty had promised 1000 *bisses* to the person who should open the gate to him, he had now performed that service, and hoped the king would be as good as his word, to send him the money. The answer which the *Barma* monarch gave to this sneer, was by a furious attack, which he ordered to be made forthwith upon the place, with such good success, that, in three hours space, the gate was twice forced open, and gave the assailants admittance into the city. At this alarm, the king of *Siam* perceiving that all was in danger of being lost, hastened with 30,000 choice soldiers, and began a most bloody fight. The conflict lasted above half an hour, during which our author knew not what passed: only he observes that the cries of the combatants, intermixed with the noise of martial instruments, roaring of cannon, and yelling of elephants, were so terrible, that it deprived those who heard them of their senses, as well as courage. Nor was the sight which appeared at the gate less dreadful and stupefying to the beholders; for the place which the enemy had been masters of was all covered with dead bodies, drowned in their blood, which flowed in streams on all sides.

SUAREZ, seeing the *Barma* forces intirely repulsed, and ^{are again} the elephants frightened with the fire, as well as most of them ^{repulsed :} hurt, prevailed on the king to sound a retreat; which he did, though unwillingly, with a resolution to give a fresh assault the next morning: but this was put off, by reason of a wound with an arrow, which he did not feel in the heat

^b PINTO, ubi supra, p. 280, & seq.

(E) Perhaps *Laos*.

48. King
Pratiem.

of the action, and which obliged him to keep his bed twelve days. As soon as he was well again, he attacked the city a second time, with no better success than the first: yet being obstinately bent to take it, if he perished in the attempt, he assaulted it five times more, in the open day. But, although assisted by the ingenious contrivances of a *Greek* engineer, yet he was always forced to retire. The siege had already lasted four months and a half, with the loss of 140,000 of his men; he therefore determined to storm the city in a more effectual manner. For this purpose he ordered twenty-six strong wooden castles to be made: each was sixty-five feet long, fifty broad, and twenty-five high, strengthened with double beams of timber, covered with lead, and accommodated with twenty-six iron wheels, to run upon: each of them likewise was filled with wood and pitch, and had long maffy chains fastened to the fore-part.

and again
attack.

THE machines being finished in seventeen days, in a dark and stormy night, attended with a heavy rain, the *Barma* king ordered all the artillery in his camp, as well as other arms, great and small, to be discharged three times. This was answered in like manner from the city; so that the noise made by so many arms, at least 100,000 in all, shot off without intermission, for three hours together, intermixed with that of thunder and lightning, as well as of the tempest, is not to be described; nor the dread it threw upon the whole army to be expressed: yet, in the midst of this horrible storm, the castles, which had been brought close to the walls of the city, were set on fire, and flamed so horribly, that none durst come within a stone's cast of them. At the same time the enemy attempting to scale the walls, a bloody conflict ensued; but as they gained no advantage against the besieged, after four hours attack, the castles being burnt to the ground, they retired to their camp.

The siege
raised.

THE king of the *Barmas* called a council of war, to sound the opinion of his lords; and finding that they agreed, in sentiments with himself, to continue the siege, the rather, as they observed the *Siameses* were so weakened with their losses that they were not able to stand another attack, he rewarded his advisers; and then consulted with *Suarez*, and the *Greek* engineer, how to conduct the enterprize. The method they advised for battering down the remaining fortifications, was to raise a mount of earth, higher than the walls, and thereon plant a considerable number of cannon; which counsel was immediately put in execution; 60,000 pioneers being em-

ployed, who, in twelve days, finished the fort or platform, whereon were planted forty pieces of artillery. But next day, just when the battery was going to be played off, an express arrived in the camp, with news that the *Shemndoo* had begun a rebellion in *Pegu*, and already seized on the principal places in the kingdom. At this news the king was so moved, that he immediately raised the siege, and embarked himself on the river *Pakarau*, where he stayed only that night, and the day following, which he employed in drawing off his artillery and ammunition: then having set fire to his camp, he departed, on the 15th of *October* the same year, for *Martabán*, where he arrived after an expeditious voyage of seventeen days^d.

19. King,
anonymous.

THE *Barma* king of *Pegu*, named *Para Mandara* by some authors, intended, as soon as the affairs of his kingdom had been settled, again to have invaded *Siam*, whose conquest he was bent upon; but he was slain presently after his return, by another rebel, who set up in opposition to the former. However, the design of annexing *Siam* to the empire of the *Barmas*, did not die with him; for *Chau-migrem*, otherwise called *Mandaragri*, his successor, after he had subdued all the neighbouring countries, and extended his dominions to the frontiers of *China*, turned his arms against *Siam*, which he entered with an army of 1,500,000 men (E); and proceeding to *Odin*, the capital, closely besieged it: but for all this prodigious force, authors relate that he could not have taken it, had not one of the gates been opened to him by the treachery of some within the city. This happened, according to *Linschoten*, in the year 1568; and thereupon the whole kingdom submitted to the conqueror. What was the king's name who reigned at this juncture is not mentioned: we only learn farther, that he became tributary, and that the queen, with his two sons, were carried to *Pegu*. The eldest of these was named *Rajah Api*, that is, *the fiery king*; but he was, by the *Portugueses*, called *the black*, and his brother *the white king*.

A. D.
1568.

SOME years after, the king of *Pegu* gave the two princes leave to return to *Siam*, to visit their father; with whom they continued till the death of the *Barma* monarch, which happened in 1583. His successor, *Pranjinoko*, ascending the throne, the king of *Siam* revolted, refusing to pay him either homage or tribute, which he sent to demand. Instead

The princes
return.

^d PINTO, p. 282, & seqq.

(E) *Balbi* elsewhere, p. 115. says only 800,000 men.

19. King, of this, while he was at war with his uncle, the king of *anonymous*. *Ava*, who had likewise set up for himself, and aspired to the dominion of *Pegu*; the king of *Siam's* (F) son arrived, under pretence of putting himself under the protection of the new *Barma* monarch. He brought with him fifty elephants, and 800 armed men. The great *Barma*, or captain-general, who was left behind, to govern affairs in the king's absence, directed the prince to conduct his troops towards *Ava*, there to join the *Barma* army: but instead of taking that route, he changed his road, and returned to *Siam*.

Siam re-
volts.

THE prince having made report to his father of what had passed in *Pegu*, and how the great *Barma* had taken upon him to direct his motions, the king laid hold of this opportunity to throw off his dependency; and sent *Pranjinoko* word, that since a slave had presumed to give an answer to his son, whom he had sent to join his majesty in the war, he would no longer pay any regard to him, or acknowledge him for his superior (G). Hereupon the king of *Pegu* sent the great *Barma*, at the head of a powerful army, into *Siam*: but that general lost a great number of men before the capital city, which he besieged, as well by the excessive heat of the weather, as bravery of the garrison. This obliged him to return with his forces. However, the king of *Siam* sent him of *Pegu* word, that, if he had taken the field himself, he would have paid him his compliments; but that he would not deign to submit to a person who was his inferior. To this the *Barma* king made answer, that it was his will the least of his slaves should subdue the greatest prince who was his subject^e.

The Pe-
guers
over-
thrown.

THE king of *Pegu*, resolving to give his neighbour no rest, sent his brother-in-law, with a much greater power than the former, to invade *Siam*: but this served only to make the overthrow more signal; for the *Siamese* army, commanded by the *black prince*, meeting the enemy in the field,

^e BALBI viag. Ind. Orient. p. 110, 115. PIMENTA ap Purch. pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1746. FLORIS ap. collect. voy. 4to. vol. i. p. 439. DE FARIA Portug. Asia, vol. iii. p. 118, & seq.

(F) Perhaps this was *Rajah Api*, or the black prince, the king of *Siam's* eldest son.

(G) According to *De Faria y Sousa*, the king of *Pegu* sent to demand the tribute of him of *Siam*, which the black prince refused to pay; and this gave

occasion to war; in which he first employed his favourite *Banna*. Portug. Asia, vol. iii. p. 119. This *Banna*, perhaps, is the same whom *Balbi* names the great *Brama* (or rather *Barma*).

cut 200,000 of them to pieces, and gained a complete victory. This new defeat only exasperated *Pranjinoko*; who, determined if possible to reduce his revolted vassal, raises an army of 1,700,000 men, accompanied with 80,000 horse, and 1500 elephants. The command of this vast power he gives to his eldest son *Mau-pa Râjah*; and, as if already sure of the victory, confers on him the title of the king of *Siam*. At the news of this formidable force all *Siam* trembled, excepting the valiant *black prince*, now king, who marched against the enemy, and gave them battle. In the fight the two kings happened to meet, and encountering on their elephants, *Mau-pa Râjah* was struck dead to the ground. At this sight his troops immediately fled, and were pursued for a whole month by the *Siameses*, who destroyed the greater part of that vast army.

20. King.
Râjah
Api.

Râjah
Api king.

THIS remarkable victory happened about the year 1590; after which *Rajah Api* was freed from farther molestation on the side of *Pegu*, by the dreadful calamities which ensued in that kingdom. At length the neighbouring kings taking advantage of the distress to which *Pranjinoko* was reduced, about the year 1599 invaded his dominions on all sides: among the rest *Rajah Api*, desirous to revenge the several devastations which that prince had made in his territories, entered *Pegu* with a considerable army, and lays siege to the city of *Unga*, or *Pegu*, the capital: but, after lying two months before it, he was obliged to retire, and returned to *Siam*, with the loss of 100,000 of his forces. On *Pegu's* ruin, which happened in the year 1600, *Siam* began to recover its former power, under this warlike king; who, in the space of about five years, subdued the countries of *Kamboja*, *Lanjang*, *Jagomay* (or *Jangomá*), *Lugor*, *Patane*, *Tanasserim*, and several others.

In 1605 the black king died, and left his dominions to his brother, called the white king; who was a covetous prince, but yet enjoyed the throne in peace, till 1610, when he likewise departed this life. He left several children behind him, which occasioned much distraction, whereof he himself was the first and chief occasion: for, on his death-bed, he caused his eldest son, a young prince of great hope, to be slain, at the instigation of *Jekkrom-meway*, one of the principal lords of *Siam*; who, having been possessed of a great number of slaves, thought to have made himself king. However, he missed of his aim: for the white king's second son ascended the throne after his father's decease, being then about twenty-two years of age; and soon after dispatched *Jekkrom-meway*. That traitor had, among other slaves,

The white
king.

22. King
Rajah
Api II.

His son
succeeds.

A. D.
1612.

Several
kingdoms
revolt.

280 *Japaneses*, who thinking to revenge their master's death, and achieve some memorable exploit, ran to the palace, and, surprizing it, compelled the new king to deliver into their hands four of the principal nobles, whom they slew, as the chief advisers of their master's death. Having, after this, used the king for some time at their discretion, they forced him to sign, with his own blood, such conditions as they proposed to him; and to give them some of the chief *Talapoy*s, or priests, for hostages. This done, they committed great outrages, and departed with immense treasures, the *Siameses* not being able to prevent them.

UPON this occasion, the kingdoms of *Kamboja* and *Lanjang* revolted; as did also one *Banga de Laa*, a *Peguan*. The year before the king of *Lanjang* entered *Siam*, and advanced within three days journey of *Odiya*, the capital city; hoping to find the country still embroiled with the *Japan* slaves. But as they were departed before this invasion, the king of *Siam* set out to meet his enemy, who thereupon thought fit to retreat. He was threatened with another invasion in April 1612 following, from the two other revolting princes^f.

BUT our author did not stay long enough in the *Indies* to know the event; nor do we know from others how long this king reigned, or who succeeded him, to the middle of the same century. All we can do is to fill up the *chasm* with such particulars, as are to be met with in authors, during that period. The first which occurs is, that, about the year 1615, *Zangomay*; or *Jangomay*, with other provinces, taken from the king of *Pegu* and *Ava*, were again recovered by that monarch^g. The next year the king of *Siam* sent ambassadors to *Goa*, who acknowledged the favours received from the *Portugueses*; and, in answer to the letter delivered by *James de Mendoza*, his majesty offered the port of *Martavan* for the king of *Portugal* to build a fort there; likewise to maintain the garrison, and a small fleet of ships, to cruize on that sea against the king of *Dika*.

Portu-
guese em-
bassy.

THE ambassadors were splendidly entertained; and *F. Francis*, a *Dominican* frier, sent to accompany them back with the same character, and a costly present. The ambassador, who was received with great marks of satisfaction, proposed to the king, that both nations should join their forces to subdue the king of *Ava*; that there should be a free trade between *Siam* and *Malakka*; and that he should not admit the *Hol-*

^f FLORES, ubi supra, p. 439, & seq. DE FARIA, ubi supra, p. 120. ^g MANNING, ap. Purch. vol. v. p. 1006.

landers into his country. The *Siamite* answered, that the 22. King *Portuguese* merchants might freely resort to his ports, and *Rajah* be exempt from all duties; that his subjects should trade to *Api II.* *Malakka*, and that the reason they had not done it of late, was the ill usage they found there, whereof he alleged sufficient instances; that he had admitted the *English*, *Dutch*, and *Malays*, into his ports, on account of the great respect they shewed him, and the need he had of them; that he had assisted the *Portugueses* against the *Dutch*, and was no way concerned for the harm those of *Malakka* had done the queen of *Patane*, because she was a mad-woman; but that, she being now dead, he had placed one of more sense in her room, and desired there might be a free trade with her, as well as with *Siam*: that the goods of such *Portugueses* as died in his dominions, should go to their heirs; and that such of them as committed any crimes, should be tried at his court, to prevent any wrong being done them by the prejudice of magistrates. Thus the *Dominican* was dispatched, and two *Siameses* sent back with him by the king, to go his ambassadors into *Spain* ^h.

DE FARIA y Sousa, the *Portuguese* historian, speaks of another embassy, which was sent to *Goa* in 1621, by the king of *Siam*, desiring some *Franciscans* would come to preach in his dominions. *F. Andrew*, of the *Holy Ghost*, being sent, his majesty built a church for him, at his own expence, and offered him great riches; which, to the great admiration of that prince, says our author, he constantly refused. This monarch *De Faria* calls the *black king*, perhaps mistaking him for *Rajah Api* before-mentioned, and speaks of him as living in the year 1627, bestowing on him the following character. This prince, says our historian, was small of stature, of an ill presence, and of a disposition partly very wicked, and partly generous. Though cruel men are generally cowards, yet he was very valiant, as well as cruel; and whereas tyrants are commonly avaritious, he was, on the contrary, exceeding liberal: so that, in some things, he shewed as much goodness, as he did barbarity in others. He was not content to put thieves and robbers to death in the ordinary way, but caused them to be torn to pieces for his pastime, by tigers and crocodiles (H). Understanding that a king, his *His great* vassal, intended to rebel, he shut him up in a cage; and *cruslty*.

^h *DE FARIA*, ubi supra, p. 237. & seq.

(H) Perhaps this king ~~use~~ use, or inflicted them oftener brought those cruel deaths in than his predecessors had done.

having,

22. *King*
Rajah
Api II.

Even to
brutes.

His gene-
rosity.

having, for some time, fed him with morsels of his own flesh, torn from his body, had him fried in a pan. With his own hand he cut seven ladies through the middle, only because, as he said, they walked too fast; and ordered the legs of three others to be chopped off, because they stayed too long when sent for money to bestow on the *Portugueses*. Thus to walk either too fast or too slow, were crimes with this capricious and bloody king.

His severity extended even to brute beasts. He cut off the paw of a favourite monkey, because the silly animal happened to put it into a box, wherein were some curiosities. A horse, no less prized by him, had his head struck off in the stable before the rest, because he did not stop at his majesty's command. The crows making a noise over his palace, he caused 500 of them to be caught; some of which were killed, others imprisoned in cages, and the rest turned loose, with yokes about their necks. In short, a tiger, which did not immediately seize a criminal who was cast to him, was, by his command, beheaded as a coward. Thus much of the wicked part of this prince. Now to speak of his virtues. He kept his word inviolably; was strict in the execution of justice; liberal above measure; and very merciful to those who, in his opinion, committed pardonable faults. A *Portuguese* being sent by him to *Malakka*, to purchase commodities, lost them all at play, and yet had the boldness to return to the king, who received him kindly; saying, *he valued the confidence reposed in his generosity more than all the goods which the man could have brought*. He shewed great respect to the *Portuguese* priests; and encouraged planting the *Romish* religion in his territories. To conclude his eulogy, his courage was unspeakable¹.

THIS prince seems, by his character (I), to be the same *Rajah Hapi* (or *Api*) mentioned by *Mandello*, who says he lived about the year 1616; and, at that time acknowledged the sovereignty of the king of *Pegu*: but a few years after threw off his dependency. For entering the kingdom of *Pegu* with a powerful army, he laid siege to the city of

¹ DE FARIA, p. 361, & seq.

(I) For *Mandello* represents him as notorious for his cruelty; of which he relates, as an instance, that it was reported of him, that one time, when he was sick, hearing two of his concubines laugh in an adjoining chamber, he commanded that they should immediately be cut in pieces.

Arrakan (K), making a vow not to depart till he had reduced it : but not being able to take the place, he built a house near it, where he died. 22. King
Rajah
Api II.

RAJAH Hapi had a favourite named *Oki* (L) *Kronwi*, who aspiring to the crown, brought 4 or 500 *Japanese*s into the kingdom, clothed like merchants, in order to murder the king. This design, however, took no effect ; for *Rajah Api* died a natural death, as before-mentioned. But after his decease, *Oki Kronwi* seized the throne, and caused himself to be proclaimed king. A revolution.

HOWEVER, the son of *Rajah Hapi*, by the assistance of his friends, found means to expel the usurper ; but was not fortunate enough to keep the crown in his possession : for he was likewise slain, and was succeeded by his younger brother, who continued to reign in 1639, when our author was in the *Indies* ^k.

THIS king had taken so great an aversion to the *Japanese*s, on suspicion they had a design upon his person, that he put some to death, and expelled the rest : yet afterwards permitted them to return and enjoy their antient posts ; but they exceeded not the number of 5 or 600 ^l.

WHEN this prince began to reign, or how long he continued on the throne, does not appear from our author *Mandel- Siam in
dello* ; who further informs us, that the last war which the distraction.
kings of *Siam* made on those of *Jangoma* and *Lanjang* (M), was purely out of ambition to support the sovereignty which they pretended to over those kingdoms. He proceeds : it is not long also since the king of *Kamboja*, who was tributary to this monarch, revolted ; hereupon the king of *Siam* entered his territories with a potent army, but was opposed so vigorously that he was forced to retire. The country, after this, enjoyed a long peace, till the death of the king ; who, having caused his brother to be murdered, in order to settle his son on the throne, one of the princes of the blood took occasion to usurp the crown.

THIS usurper made shew as if he would espouse the inter- The usur-
est of the state against the kings of *Pegu* and *Ava*, but per's craft
chiefly him of *Kamboja* ; yet this was all pretence, for he did not enter into open hostilities with any of them, although he kept an army on foot as if for that purpose ; his true de-

^k MANDELSLO voy. p. 127.

^l Ibid. p. 125.

(K) This seems to be a mistake for the city of *Pegu*.

(M) In the *English* translation of *Mandel-
dello*, it is mis-printed

(L) *Oki*, for *Ok-ya*, perhaps. *Langsgaugh*.

23. King
Pasa-
thong.

A. D.
1624.

*Disagree-
ment a-
mong au-
thors.*

sign being to stand on his guard, and oppose any attempts which, he had reason to apprehend, the heirs of the deceased king would make to recover their right.

His continued the same friendship for the *Hollanders*, which his predecessor had testified for them; whereof he gave a proof in the year 1624. For *Fernando de Silva*, governor of *The Manillas*, having set upon a *Dutch* frigate in the river *Menam*; this king seized on his ship, and forced him to restore the frigate: for which favour the *Dutch* always assisted him against his enemies, and particularly the *Portugueses*; who, after that, took occasion to disturb the trade of the *Siameses* to *China*. *Patany* likewise having revolted some years after (N), they assisted him with six ships to subdue the rebels ^m.

In what has been cited from *Mandeflo*, we find two accounts of the succession of these kings, not reconcilable either with each other, or with what has been related from *De Faria*: they both commit the same error with respect to *Rajah Api*, unless we may suppose there were two princes of this name or title. *De Faria* says, *Rajah Api* was living in 1627; but, according to *Mandeflo*, he must have died before the year 1624, at which time we find an usurper on the throne. In his second account, he speaks of a king murdering his brother, to make way for his son to succeed him, on which an usurper steps in: but there is nothing like this in his first account, nor can we tell what to make of either; in short, they seem to be a jumble of events collected from *Floris*, *De Faria*, and other authors.

S E C T. III.

Reign of Chaw Pasa-thong. He deposes the King, and usurps the Throne. His Daughter's Funeral: the cruel Executions which attended it.

HOWEVER, the king who reigned in his time must have been the famous *Chaw Pasa-thong* (A), mentioned by later writers; for we are told that he died in 1657, after a reign of thirty years, which carries back the beginning of

^m MANDELA. p. 126.

(N) Our author says lately, speaking with reference to the year 1639, when he was in the *Indies*.

(A) *Chaw Pasa-thong*, according to *Ger-vaise*, signifies the king of the golden language.

it to the year 1627. But, in this case, if, as we are assured ^{23. King} by succeeding authors, that *Pasa-thong* was an usurper, he ^{Pasa-} could not well be the second son of *Rajah Api*, but must have ^{thong.} been the prince who immediately succeeded him: unless we could suppose, that, after the death both of the usurper and his elder brother, he ascended the throne the year last-mentioned, in which *Rajah Api* must have died; for *De Faria* speaks of him as living, at least in the beginning of it. *Van Vliet* (B), who wrote the history of this prince, says he was ^{usurps the} an usurper, and of the royal blood, though not that he was ^{throne.} the brother of the former king. But *Loubere*, who allows him to have been an usurper, charges *Van Vliet* with a mistake, in asserting that he was of the royal race^a. However that be, his accession to the crown in 1627 is farther confirmed by the age of his son *Chaw Naraya*, who was twenty-four years old at his father's death^b. This places his birth in the year 33; consequently his father was then on the throne, because his mother, who was daughter to the deposed king, was not married to him till after his usurpation. Now as some time must have passed before she married him, on account of her reluctance, and she likewise had a daughter before she had that son, it is very probable that his reign was as long as *Loubere* makes it.

ONE remarkable circumstance in his usurpation is, that, ^{Deposes the} having entered by force of arms into the palace, he compelled ^{king.} the king to quit it, and fly into a temple: from thence he had the unfortunate prince dragged, and carried back again a prisoner to the palace: where he caused him to be declared unworthy of the crown and government, for having deserted the same, as if he had done it voluntarily^c.

THIS king, before his usurpation, had been *Chakri*, or *Marries* chancellor; in which post he gained so much credit, and ^{the prin-} wealth, as opened the way for him to the throne. To ^{cess.} establish himself the firmer thereon, though already married, he espoused the daughter of his predecessor. This princess, who had a great deal of spirit, as well as virtue, did all she could to avoid the match, unable to endure the thoughts of wearing a crown, in prejudice to four brothers, whom she tenderly loved. The resistance which she made

^a LOUBERE relat. Siam, p. 9. ^b GERVAISE hist. Siam, p. 244. ^c LOUBERE, ubi supra, p. 9.

(B) *Jeremy Van Vliet*, who after *Sir Thomas Herbert's Travels*, Paris 1663. But we have it not immediately before us. It is printed in *French*, in 4to,

23. King
Pasa-
thong.

Destroys
her bro-
thers.

on this occasion, and the affection which she openly expressed for her brothers, made the tyrant resolve to put them all to death : but having had notice of their danger, they, by assistance of some faithful servants of their family, who still were employed at court, escaped out of the palace where they were shut up. Two of them took refuge in the kingdom of *Laos* (or *Labos*), where they were kindly received : but the other two, hoping to find an asylum at *Pipli*, perished there, by the treachery of those on whom they depended for protection and assistance^d. This is the account given by *Gervaise* : but, according to *Loubere*, *Chaw Pasa-thong* put to death all the princes of their blood. Two indeed escaped the slaughter longer than the rest : but, in the year 1650, the last of them, who was then twenty years of age, underwent the same fate as the others, with one of his sisters, upon an accusation notoriously false^e ; the particulars whereof are related by *Struys*, who was an eye-witness, on the following occasion.

His daughter's funeral.

THE funeral of the king's only legitimated daughter being to be performed on the 23d of *February* 1650 (C), six months after her decease ; the king sent to invite the *Sieur Van Muyden*, consul for the *Dutch* company, to attend the ceremony of burning her corpse. Preparations were made in the middle of the court or parade, before the palace, where, were erected five towers of wood, and upon each a pole : that which stood in the midst was thirty fathoms high ; the other four, which formed a square, only twenty each. The fabric of these towers was very artificial : round about under the architrave, they were neatly painted with foliage, raised with gold, and depressed with amber and burnt ivory. On the stilobat were carved heads of leopards, tigers, and panthers. Under the projecture there were supporters in antic-work, and emblematical to the occasion. The cornice was adorned with close leaves, suitable to the frise and architrave, either carved or painted. Within the great tower, which stood in the middle, was a very costly altar, covered with gold, and set with precious stones, about six feet from

^d GERVAISE, ubi supra, p. 242, & seq.
ubi supra, p. 9.

^e LOUBERE,

(C) *Glanius*, in his voyage to the *East Indies*, putting himself in the place of *Struys*, or some other person, pretends he was present at this funeral, and the

executions which followed it ; although he did not leave *Europe* till 1668 ; that is eighteen years after.

the ground. On this altar was placed the body of the princess, in a coffin of gold, an inch thick. She was standing : her hands joined : her face turned towards heaven : her robe had a long train, and was all beset with jewels : her crown, her necklace, and her bracelets, likewise covered over with diamonds, were of an inestimable price.

23. King
Pasa-
thong.

WHEN those who attended on this occasion had taken their places, on scaffolds made on purpose, all the grantees of the kingdom, with their ladies, apparelled only with a white cloth, without any ornament, passed along; scattering flowers and perfumes round the body and the altar with a sad countenance. After this the corpse was carried twenty paces from thence in a chariot, whose richness equalled that of the altar. The great men and ladies, having paid her the same honours as before, wept as bitterly as if they had lost what they held dearest in the world. This mournful scene having lasted near two hours, the chariot was drawn very slowly towards the funeral pile, attended by the same lords and ladies, who were still weeping. Before them marched the king's eldest son, aged about twenty, only brother of the deceased princess by the same mother. He was dressed in white, as well as the lords who attended him, and mounted on an elephant, whose housings was embroidered, with chains of gold on his neck. On his sides were his two brothers, by different venters, riding on elephants accoutred like the first; each holding a long scarf of white silk, one end of which was fastened to the horse. On the sides of the horse walked fourteen more of the king's sons on foot, clothed also in white, and with branches of palm in their hands; all well instructed in the art of weeping.

Ceremonies
paid to the
corpse.

ON each side of the way, along which the horse was to pass, there were stages or scaffolds, where the lords, of inferior rank than those mentioned before, expected the convoy. When the body was arrived over-against them, some threw several kinds of habits among the people, and others oranges full of *sikols* or *mases* : two pieces of money, the first worth about half a crown, the latter but half that sum. The body being at length come to the funeral pile, the grantees took it with great respect, and laid it thereon, several instruments sounding in the mean time; whose mournful notes, accompanied with the lamentations of all the court, were capable of softening the hardest hearts. This sad concert being ended, they covered the body with *sandal* and *aquila* wood : then having cast thereon a great quantity of perfumes, the king and nobles returned to the palace; leaving the ladies

Funeral
pile.

23. King
Pasa
thong.

Female
mourners.

with the corpse, which was not to be burned till two days after^f.

THE hardest task therefore fell on them : for though they must have been already sufficiently tired with weeping, yet they were obliged, by the ceremony, to continue that sad exercise for those two days, without intermission. This was a severe penance, from which those of the greatest quality were not excused ; and, to see that it was punctually performed, certain old women were mixed with them, who, with a kind of discipline or scourge, lashed those, who, oppressed with sleep or weariness, slept but one moment, and thus made them shed real tears, instead of counterfeit. During this dismal situation of the ladies, round the deceased princefs, the priests were mounted on scaffolds, in the court where the first tears were shed, praying night and day for her soul. While the body was there exposed, they interrupted their prayers often, to cast among the people garments of all sorts, utensils for house-keeping, instruments serviceable to artificers, beds, mats, and other moveables.

Fire-
works.

ON the side of the court there were erected twenty other towers, made of reeds, lined within and without with paper of several colours. These were filled with variety of fireworks, which were played-off for fifteen days successively. During this interval the king caused large alms to be given both to the poor and to the priests : the expence of which, added to the preparations already mentioned, according to the king's agent's accounts, amounted in the whole to 5000 *kass*, which make about 66,000 pounds *English*. In this account we do not reckon the several statues of gold and silver ; among which there were two of the first metal four feet and an half high, and an inch and half thick. These were set up, for the honour of the deceased princefs, in the beautifullest temple in the country ; and were all made out of gold, silver, and jewels, which she had received during her life, as well from the king her father, as from the principal lords of the court^g.

The body
burnt.

THE body having reposed two days upon the sweet-scented wood which served to burn it, all the court went to relieve the doleful ladies, whom their penitential fatigue had rendered very lean. The ceremony began with prayers and speeches made by the priests. When they had finished their offices, the king took a lighted wax-candle from the hands of the arch-priest, and set fire himself to the funeral pile,

^f STRUY'S VOY. ch. viii. p. 41. & GLANIUS VOY. p. 132.
^g Ibid. *ibid*.

on which the body was consumed, lying in the gold coffin, ^{23. King} wherein they had left the jewels and other rich ornaments ^{Pasha} which were about it. When they came to gather up the ^{thong.} ashes, in order to inclose them in an urn of gold, there was found a piece of flesh, of the bigness of a young child's head, which the fire had not touched. The king, who was one of those who took up the ashes, looking upon that piece of flesh, said to the lords who were present: *What think ye, is it out of respect, that the flames have spared these remains of my daughter's body?* Then waiting for their answer, one of them said, *that his majesty had too much understanding to doubt what he saw.*—How! reply'd the king, all in a fury, *I have but too much reason now not to doubt any longer, what I have a thousand times suspected, that my daughter was poisoned.* In finishing these words, he gave orders for securing all the women who had served the deceased princess, without excepting one.

THESE were put to the torture to extort confession: but *Nobles*, although they all disavowed the crime, yet that did not save *falsely* ^{as} their lives, nor allay the king's fury. On the contrary, it ^{caused} augmented every day, and gave rise to new suspicions; so that a number of innocent people were imprisoned, and underwent the same cruelties. When the court was drained, and the king found none about him on whom to discharge his fury; he, on various pretences, sent for the greatest men in the kingdom, whom, with their wives, he ordered to be confined as soon as they arrived at court. The torture employed to discover the guilty among these, was that of fire, already mentioned. He caused several pits to be digged round the city, about twenty feet square, wherein great fires were kindled; and thither the prisoners were sent, loaded with chains. They were first made to stand in tubs of hot water, to soften their skin; and the soles of their feet being afterward scraped with sharp irons, they were carried before the judges, who examined them concerning the pretended poisoning. They who still denied the fact were obliged to walk barefooted upon burning coals; and if their feet were found to be burnt or blistered with the fire, they were deemed guilty. Some, who being overcome with the heat of the fire, fainted and fell down, perished there miserably, none daring to help them.

THE guilty were put to various kinds of deaths. Some ^{put to} were tied to posts, and killed by elephants, in the manner ^{various} before described ^{h.} Others were buried in the road to the ^{deaths.}

^a See before, p. 267.

23. King
Pasa-
thhng.

city, up to the chin, and all passengers ordered to spit on them : nor durst any, under pain of death, give them the least relief, or hasten their death, which those miserable creatures most ardently demanded¹. Among other punishments which, according to *Glanius*, were inflicted upon these unhappy innocents, there was one which is frequently executed on notorious malefactors. The criminal is bound so tightly about the waist with a napkin, that a man may grasp him there with his hands : after this they prick him with engines as sharp as needles ; not so much to draw blood out, as force him to hold in his breath. Then watching a proper time, they, of a sudden, cut him through the middle, and clap the upper part of his body upon a burning hot plate of brass ; which preventing the effusion of blood, by searing or stopping the vessels, the patient remains a considerable time alive, in far greater torments than can be imagined².

Executions
renewed.

THESE cruel executions continued four months : during which they took away the lives of an incredible number of persons. One day, in less than four or five hours, our author *Struys* avers, that he saw above fifty put to death, and the like number in a forenoon. During this time it was reckoned that 2900 lost their lives, though some computed 300 more : and it was thought few of the nobility would have escaped, if they had not absented themselves from court on this occasion. All this tyranny was acted, under pretence of their having had a hand in this sham poisoning, or been privy to it : but it was afterwards well known that the king had, of a long time, formed the design to cut off all the chief officers of the state, whom he began to stand in awe of ; and the better to effect it, without danger of a rebellion, he had newly raised an army of 250,000, giving out that he intended to declare war against the *Chineses*.

Late king's
daughter
A. D.
1670.

ON the 28th of *February* 300 persons, who had served the deceased princess, were carried to undergo the fiery trial. But as it was said to have spared those domestics, I know not how, says *Struys*, they were by that means released. And now comes on the last act of this tragedy, though first resolved on, and to which the former executions were only preparatory. This was the death of two of the preceding king's children ; of whom, at this time, there remained no more than three, two daughters and a son. They began with the elder princess, and her household, who was one of the youngest of his children, and who was suspected of the pretended

¹ STRUYS *ibid.* ch. ix. p. 44, & seqq.
p. 140.

² GLANIUS *ibid.*

poisoning, because she could scarce forbear to laugh when ^{23. King} all others wept at the funeral of the deceased. She had ^{Pasa-} likewise frequently complained that the king slighted her, and ^{thong} therefore she was not treated with the respect due to the royal blood (D). On the first of *March* she was brought forth, with a great number of ladies, who were all led through the fire; but, according to report, none of their feet were blistered, excepting those of the princess. Hereupon she was cast into a dungeon, loaded with chains of gold, and none were suffered either to see or speak to her. Next day she was brought again to the hall of audience in the palace; where, upon being threatened with the torture, whether out of fear, or to acquire glory, she told her judges: that *in case the king would promise to put her to death, without exposing her in public, she promised, on the honour of a dying princess, to discover the whole affair, without farther trouble.*

SEVERAL of the old courtiers, who loved her father, were ^{put to} so moved with this declaration, that, it was thought they ^{death.} would have interceded for her pardon, if the king's fury had not restrained them. However, they reported what she had said, and the king granted her request. On this she declared, that *the fact was committed by her and her nurse, who had employed certain sorceries, which occasioned the piece of flesh to remain unconsumed.* She added, that her ignominious death did not trouble her so much as the miscarriage of her good design; which, in case it had succeeded, would have restored the small remains of her family to their former state, and freed the nation from the slavery of so cruel a tyrant. On farther examination she protested, that *the poison was not provided for the innocent princess who was dead, but for the king himself.* When this confession was reported to the usurper, he ordered the executioner to cut a piece of flesh out of her body, and force her to eat it. The lady suffered her flesh to be torn away with amazing patience: but when he tendered it to her to eat, she refused, crying out, *O wretched tyrant! thou mayest tear my body to pieces, but hast no power over my mind.* She added, *Know that I defy thy Her cruelty; and that the effects of thy sham plot will speedily appear, when the remaining virtue of my royal race shall avenge*

(D) These are the words of *Glanius*, who seems to have taken his account from the same source: in the *English Strays*, they are perplexed. It is there said, *she complained, that her daughter (who was also the king's daughter) was had in contempt; and his eldest daughter, in her life-time, promoted to great honour: as if the complaint came from the mother of the princess, who was the dethroned king's consort.*

23. *King* *themselves of thee and thy tiger brood.* With these, and the like speeches, she continued to revile the king; till, by a second order from the palace, she was hacked in pieces (E), and thrown into the river.

Her brother put to death.

THE same day her only brother, aged twenty years, was brought to execution. The *Dutch* were told he had been pardoned, on account of madness, which he had counterfeited during the course of this tragedy. But as soon as he mounted the scaffold, it appeared that he had all his senses about him: for he behaved with such grace and modesty, that some of the courtiers could not forbear shedding tears. He likewise, in a bitter speech, so vilified the king, and vindicated himself, that the populace were almost moved to an insurrection. He concluded his harangue with severe reproaches; and declared himself more concerned for the ill success of his sister's attempt, than his own death. So soon as he saw the executioner approach, he cried out, *Innocent indeed I am, as was my sister: but now, thou inhuman tyrant, since it is thy will it should be so, I scorn, was I sure of obtaining it, to desire thy pardon, that thou mayest not hope for the least pity from the hands of them who shall hereafter revenge my death.* With these and the like words, he seemed to declare his innocence; yet uttered some expressions which contradicted those protestations (F), and were probably spoken, saith our author, only to exasperate the king. Thus was all the race of the former king extirpated, excepting one daughter, who was not capable (G) of doing any-thing against the interest of, the reigning prince¹.

His bravery.

THIS is all we meet with in the authors (H) before us, concerning this prince; who died in the year 1657, after a reign of thirty years^m. He had by his first wife one daughter and four sons; and by his second one daughter and one

¹ STRUYTS voy. ubi supra.

^m LOUBERE, p. 9.

(E) It is not likely that she suffered such an ignominious death as this is reckoned in the East; besides, it is not usual to shed the blood of princes, especially by the hands of an executioner.

(F) His sister did the same. Perhaps they held themselves innocent, as they did not design the death of the prince, but of the king himself.

(G) According to *Glanus*, she was not ten years of age: but this could not be, if the daughter of the preceding prince, who was dethroned in 1627; unless he had been suffered to live several years after, which is not likely.

(H) For we have not *Van Vliet*, who gives the revolution made in *Siam* by this prince.

son. This son, who was twenty-four years old when his father died (his mother having deceased some time before), seemed to be the only prince living intitled to the crown, as all his mother's brothers, who only had a right to dispute it with him, were dead. But all his hopes, as well as the wishes of the people in his favour, were eluded, by the artifices of his father's brother, *Pra Sitama Racha* (I): who, although he had no right to succeed an usurper, yet making a handle of the custom of the country, which authorizes the brothers of the deceased king to succeed him, in exclusion of his own children, took possession of the throne. The young prince, deeply resented this ill usage in his heart; but thought it prudence to smother his disgust (K) till a favourable opportunity of shewing it, which not long after presented itself. For the brutish uncle having resolved to take his sister for a concubine, the young prince opposed it with so much courage, that the tyrant determined to cut him off: but being informed of his design, by the very persons who were to have assassinated him, he took the field, and desired assistance from the foreigners residing in *Siam*.

24. King
Sitama
Racha.

Pra Sita-
ma Racha

THE *Portugueses* were the first who joined him, on his promises to favour their commerce, and reward their services handsomely. He had scarcely gotten together 1000 men, when, not to give his enemy time to stir himself, and assemble his troops, he marched with them directly to the palace; where, having put to the sword all who opposed his passage, he opened himself a way to the king's chamber. The usurper, being in no condition to defend himself, had changed his dress, with an intent to get-off in that disguise, among his domestics, who fled on all sides: but being discovered by a *Portuguese*, the prince fell upon, and killed, him with his own hand (L).

slain by his
nephew.

THE heads of the conspiracy were arrested; some of whom he punished for examples, and made friends of others, by his generosity towards them.

THIS event happened, according to *Loubere*, in the year 1657; but *Kampfer* places it on the 9th of October 1656, three months after *Sitama Rasia's* usurpationⁿ.

ⁿ GERVAISE hist. Siam, p. 245, & seq.

(I) *Kempfer* calls him *Rasia*, *Rasba*, or *Racha*, *Sitima Ratia*. *Hist. Japan*, book ii. ch. 2. p. 23.

(K) *Loubere* says, that to secure his life, he took sanctuary in a cloister, and cloath'd himself with the inviolable habit of a *Talapoy*.

(L) *Loubere* says, that he was slain with a musquet by a *Portuguese*, as he was flying from the palace on his elephant: but *Kampfer* writes, that he was beaten to death with clubs.

C H A P. XI.

Reign of Chaw Naraya.

S E C T. I.

He attacks and kills his Uncle, who had usurped the Throne. — Quells several Revolts. — Bishops sent to India. — Mission of Siam. — The Jesuits form a Design to convert the King, and all his Subjects. — War with Kamboja.

Chaw
Naraya

AS soon as this prince, named *Chaw Naraya* (A), saw himself in peaceable possession of the kingdom, he solemnly married his father's daughter by his first wife, and had her declared queen, with all the usual ceremonies. His own sister he gave in wedlock to one of his half-brothers, who was a very honest man, and had no hand at all in the conspiracy, as the four others were suspected to have had, on which account they were disgraced. Two of them died of grief some time after: he who was married survived them ten or twelve years, and then left the world, like them, without issue (B). The other two lived till the king's death, and were sacrificed by the usurper who succeeded him. One of these two, that he might take from his brother all occasion of distrust, became a *Talapo*, or religious man. He lived in a great temple near the palace, whither the king went often to visit him, and offered him the chief posts in the state, which he always refused. This gained him the intire confidence of his majesty, and veneration of the people, who looked on him as a saint. The other brother, who was paralytic, led an obscure and languishing life, in a little castle belonging to the capital, where he remained shut up, without being allowed to go to court. Whenever he appeared, he affected to stutter, and talk wildly (C); for fear, perhaps, that

offends the
throne.

(A) So called by *Gerwaife* and *Loubere*; but *Kämpfer* gives his name more at large, *Pro Naracs Naraye Pin Chaw*.

(B) According to what we shall find afterwards in *Kämpfer*, he had at least one son, who

usurped the crown after *Chaw Naraya's* death.

(C) In 1685 the eldest was thirty-seven years old; and though of a very weakly constitution, was yet haughty, and capable of giving disturbance, if

that the king, who always distrusted, and did not love, him, ^{25. King} should take other measures with him, in case he thought him ^{Naraya.} in a condition to do him any mischief^a.

THE two princesses, his own sister and his wife, died ^{The queen} about the year 1680, within three or four months one of the ^{dies.} other; and their bodies were burnt in the palace, on the same funeral pile. Ever since then the king was so afflicted for the death of the queen, whom he passionately loved, that he never would marry a second time, but contented himself with a few concubines.

THE princess, who was the issue of that marriage, inhe- ^{The prin-} rited all the virtues and great qualities of her mother. She ^{cess:} was of a good size, and handsome, excepting that her nose was a little too flat. She was extremely agreeable, and had a great deal of vivacity, accompanied with solid judgment. This account our author *Gervaise* had from those who had seen her, before she was fourteen years of age: for, after that, the princesses see no men, except the eunuchs; their own brothers not being suffered to talk to them, unless through a curtain. The king, who knew her good qualities better than any-body else, had a mind, about the year 1684, to make a trial of them twice; by putting the crown (to which she was presumptive heir) on her head, and resigning to her the go- ^{her great} vernment of his kingdom for twenty-four hours. In the ex- ^{talents.} ecution of this arduous task she exceeded his expectations: for she reasoned on the most difficult affairs of state, proposed by his council, as if she had been bred up to them; and, what she wanted in experience, was supplied by the depth of her capacity. There was only one thing with which she might justly be reproached; and that was her too great severity to her maids of honour, whom, for the smallest faults, and even for little abusive words spoken to one another, she caused to be shaved in her presence, and thus dishonoured them, during the remainder of their lives.

THE king had an adopted son, who was very handsome, Mompe and had a great deal of spirit. He had rendered himself ve- ^{Totto, his} ry popular, by his obliging carriage, and was loved exceed- ^{adopted} ingly by his majesty. He was treated as if one of the king's ^{son,} own children: he had a *berolle*, or pavilion, on his elephant; was as richly dressed as the king himself; entered at

^a GERVAISE, p. 246. & CHOISY, p. 398.

if his body had been able to well-made but dumb, though
act: the other was only twenty- some said it was only a political
seven years of age; he was muteness, *Choisy*, p. 398.

pleasure

25. King
Naraya.

designed
for the
princess.

pleasure into his apartment; and was exempted from prostrating himself in his presence. According to the court-scandal, the king had this prince by one of his concubines, whom he politically married to an *Ok-kown*, as soon as he found her with child; and let him pass for that officer's son, till he saw how he should deport himself when grown up: however, as soon as he was born, he had him brought into his palace, and publicly adopted him for his son. *Chaw Naraya* finding him to answer his early wishes, designed him as a husband to his daughter, who discovered an affection for him; both by her sorrow at his turning *Talapoy*, about the year 1683, and the joy she expressed when she heard he had renounced the profession^b. *Kämpfer*, in his relation, speaks as if they were married; for he calls *Mompe Totso* (D) the son-in-law, as well as adopted son of the king^c. But others, who speak of the great revolution which happened in 1688, say no such thing: nor is it likely it should be so, since they were not married in *February* that same year, when the *French* ambassadors left *Siam*; and *Mompe Totso* was put to death in the *May* following.

Several
revolts
quelled.

CHAW Naraya did not give himself up to effeminacy and sloth, like other *Indian* princes, but immediately put himself at the head of his army; and having defeated his neighbours who had invaded his dominions, returned to his capital, and applied himself diligently to the affairs of government. He stifled the seeds of civil war in their birth, by his prudent conduct: and several cities, which designed to revolt, were contained within the bounds of duty, by the privileges which he granted them; while others, which had actually thrown off their subjection, were reduced to obedience without much bloodshed. Some traitors about him, who intended his assassination, being discovered, he caused them to be put to

Plot of the
priests.

death privately, rather than with any noise: but the conspiracy which put his life most in danger, was that of the *Talapoy*s. These good religious, these priests of the law, says our author, who, in appearance, lead so holy a life, assembled by agreement, on their chief festival, in the principal of their temples, with a design to murder the king, who was to assist on that occasion. As it is the custom for his guards to remain without the pagod, and they had resolved, as soon as the king, with only five or six of his officers, were entered, to shut the doors, they thought themselves sure of

^b CHOISY, p. 247. & seqq.

^c KÄMPFER. hist. Japan, p. 20.

(D) By others he is called *Monpi Totso Pra-pie*.

their blow : but, by good fortune, two officers having been sent before, to see if every-thing was ready for celebrating the day, they were much alarmed at the extraordinary number of *Talapoy's* ; and more so, when they perceived arms to be hidden under their gowns. The king was secretly informed of this ; and the regicides, having been convicted on the spot, were all put to the sword by the soldiers, who were sent into the temple for that purpose.

THIS action of *Chaw Naraya*, though strictly justifiable, yet got him the character of a cruel and bloody prince : nor were the priests at all industrious to remove that prejudice out of the minds of the people. After this a *Sankrat* took the liberty to tell the king to his face, with some warmth, that his subjects murmured against him, and were offended at the rigour of his punishments. The king received this charitable remonstrance with a good grace : but, a few days after, sent the prelate one of those great baboons, so much abominated by the *Siameses* ; with an express command to feed him well, and let him do what he would in his house, till farther orders. The mischievous animal no sooner got into the *Sankrat's* house, but he began to make dreadful havock : he broke a great quantity of the most costly china-ware, and gnawed to pieces the richest carpets ; bit some of his domestics, and beat others. In short, the *Sankrat*, unable to bear the creature any longer, went and begged his majesty to deliver him from so wicked a guest. *What*, reply'd the king, smiling, *you cannot endure the inconveniency of an ape for only punished three or four days, yet would have me suffer the insolence of my subjects, a thousand times more insupportable than the most malicious apes, all my life long. Go*, added he, *and learn this lesson, that if I know how to punish the wicked well, I know how to reward the good better.* In effect, there was no kind of favour which an honest man might not reasonably expect of him : nor did he ever turn away unrewarded any person, who did service to either the publick or himself.

ABOUT the time that this prince ascended the throne, great endeavours were employed in *Europe* towards propagating the *Romish* faith in the east, with more success than hitherto had been done. In this bold undertaking the *French* aspired to have the principal hand. The pope, who had been long importuned to send bishops into the *East Indies*, in order to make priests of the natives, to supply the want of missionaries from *Europe*, pursuant to the scheme of *Alexander*

25. King
Naraya.

de Rhodes the Jesuit, had at length consented; and three persons, all *Frenchmen*, were nominated for that purpose; *Francis Pallu*, canon of *St. Martin of Tours*; *M. de la Motte Lambert*, formerly counsellor of the court of aids in *Normandy*, and afterwards director of the great hospital of *Des Valides* in *Roan*; and *Ignatius Cotolendy*, rector of the principal parish in *Aix*. The first was made nominal bishop of *Helio- polis*, and had *Tong-king* for the principal place of his mission: the second was appointed bishop of *Berytus*, whose jurisdiction extended over the kingdoms of *Champa*, *Kamboja*, and *Kochin-china*, with the three southern provinces of *China*, the island of *Hay-nân*, and other parts: the third was consecrated bishop of *Metellopolis*, and had the northern *China* committed to his pastoral care.

Mission of
Siam.

THE eastern *Asia* being thus divided among the three *French* bishops, who were to act as apostolic vicars, in their respective departments, they left *Europe* in 1660 and 61, accompanied with about ten ecclesiastics. The bishop of *Berytus*, being arrived at *Siam*, resolved, in 1663, to repair to *China*, in order to execute his pastoral function in that empire. He accordingly left *Siam* to go by sea, but was driven back by a furious tempest: and understanding afterwards that a persecution was begun in *China* against the converts to the *Romish* faith, he resolved, in concert with the bishop of *Helio- polis*, for the other bishop was dead, to settle in *Siam* a fixed residence for the *French* missionaries. To this they were induced by the situation of the country, which lay conveniently, as the center, from whence they might easily convey themselves, or send ecclesiastics, into the neighbouring kingdoms, whenever the way should be open.

The Jesuits
hopes

PURSUANT to this resolution, they established a seminary there, for educating youth, and learning the languages of the circumjacent nations, who had all settlements, or camps, as they are called, at the capital. The *French* named theirs the camp of *St. Joseph*. The seminary proved of so good effect, that, in 1665, the bishop of *Berytus* sent missionaries from thence to *China*; and in 1667, built a church, the ground of which was given to them by the king, who also shewed a regard for the missionaries, and put them questions, to inform himself concerning their religion. These condescensions in his *Siamese* majesty, encouraged the bishops to attempt his conversion. To this end they presented him with a book of cuts, containing the mysteries of the life and passion of *Jesus*

* Vov. de l'evêque de Beryte, p. 3, & seq. also PALLU abrege des Miss. p. 13.

Christ, the apostles, and evangelists; in hopes that he would enquire into their history, which he did a few days after. On this occasion *P. Laneau*, who spoke and wrote the language of the country, inserted an explanation of them in the blank leaves of the book. This being shewn by the king to his chief doctors of the court, they confessed the religion of the missionaries was good, but said, that what his majesty professed was as good. This is what the bishop of *Berytus* reports in one of his letters. He adds, that the king has often said their religion pleased him; and to this good opinion of it imputes the favour which he shewed the missionaries, and the orders which he gave to furnish materials for building them a church.

ALL these good signs, continues the bishop, *might well afford matter of joy to the missionaries, in hopes to see some act of providence in the conversion of Siam, by the example of the king.* But this prelate not only found that there were no proofs of the king's inclination to be baptized, but had the integrity to confess it; saying, that they have reason to fear those favourable tokens proceeded from the same condescending disposition which he shewed to others, who endeavoured to persuade him to change his religion. For he observes, that, since the time when the queen of *Achin* had invited him to embrace the *Korân*, he had treated the *Mohammedans* more favourably than before: and, in a subsequent letter declares, that the greatest obstacle to the propagation of the *Romish* religion in *Siam*, was the credit of the *Mohammedans*, and their extreme zeal to establish their faith. For as they were numerous in the country, drove a great trade thither, and possessed many considerable posts in the state, they made no small progress by their intrigues at court; and endeavoured to influence the king, particularly, by alleging the example of so many neighbouring monarchs, who had renounced their idolatry, to become the followers of their prophet. In 1668 there arrived two ambassadors, one from *Achin*, and the other from *Golkonda*, on the same account; and the last of them obtained leave to build a mosque in the capital city. *These assiduities*, concludes the bishop, *joined to the signal services which the Mohammedans do the Siameses, makes it reasonable to fear, that Siam will at length become Mohammedan* ^f.

THIS was a judicious way of reasoning; and the missionaries would have done well to have conformed themselves more considerately to his sentiments: for the *Indians* can never see any

^f Relat. Miss. eveq. Franc. p. 6, & seqq.

25. King
Naraya.

reason to change their native images for those of a foreign manufacture: and although the *Korân* has succeeded in converting such numerous islands and countries of the *Indies*, yet the gospel of the Jesuits has not yet converted one. But the *Romish* missionaries are too sanguine and presumptuous to give over the attack, while any of them are left on the breach; and the smallest prospect of hope will embolden them to renew it. For, presently after, they formed expectations of converting the king's brother, on his having the curiosity to see the above-mentioned pictures, and hearing them explained by *P. Laneau*; after which, we are told, he declared, that he acknowledged only one God, the Creator, and daily worshipped him. Now, although this is the common profession of the *Indians* on both sides the *Ganges*, yet from thence the missionaries would have it believed, that the above-mentioned prince was inwardly persuaded in favour of their religion, and would openly profess it, unless restrained by reasons of state*; the common salvo for errors of judgment in such cases.

Audience of THE bishop of *Helisopolis* went back to *Europe* in 1665, on the affairs of the mission; and returned to *Siam* in 1673, with letters from the king of *France* and pope *Clement IX.* accompanied with presents, to thank his *Siamese* majesty for the favours bestowed on the *French* bishops, and to desire a continuance thereof. On this occasion the bishop, on the 18th of *October*, obtained an audience of the king, as ambassador from *France* and the pope; and had the privileges of sitting in his presence, without the accustomed prostrations during the ceremony; concessions never before granted to any foreigners. At the end of the audience, in which the letters above-mentioned were read, the king told Mr. *Lambert*, bishop of *Berytus*; that as he had the advantage to commence an alliance between the two kings, it was also his business to seek out the means of keeping it up. A few days after they received notice, that his majesty intended to send ambassadors the next year into *Europe*, with answers to the letters of the
be bishops. two sovereigns, whom the bishops had written to. The 19th of *November* following they were admitted to a private audience, wherein the king discoursed with them for three hours, about the state of *Europe*, and its princes, particularly the grand monarch. He then enquired what might be the motive which had induced the bishops to cross so many seas, and the king of *France* to send his subjects to countries so far from home. These questions furnished them with the opportunity

which they wished for, to inform his *Siamese* majesty; that ^{25.} *King* zeal for the salvation of souls, and a strong desire in their *Naraya.* prince to extend the kingdom of God, was the sole cause of their voyage. The king of *Siam* made answer, that he was willing to promote their monarch's glorious designs; and, to give him proofs of the esteem which he had for his virtue, he resolved to make him an offer of a port in any part of his dominions, where a city might be built, to the honour of *Louis the great*, and where, if he thought fit, he might send a viceroy to reside ^h.

THESE favourable dispositions in the king of *Siam* renewed *Their hopes* the hopes which the missionaries had first conceived of his conversion, and, consequent thereto, of all his subjects. We are told, that the honour done the *French* bishops, on occasion of these audiences, filled the whole court with esteem, both for those prelates, and the holy law which they professed. It is added, that the noise which this news made in the provinces augmented much, when they came to hear that, some time after, the king had promised to build a church to the God of heaven and earth; from whence it was judged, that several persons would immediately embrace the religion of the *French*: which, saith our author, accordingly happened. These conversions gave occasion to some of the natives to make a great noise, and complain openly, that they were going to introduce an unknown religion, without the king's authority. But these murmurs, which in another country might have given rise to a persecution against the missionaries, proved a favourable occasion, which they laid hold of, to open a way for preaching their religion throughout the kingdom: for they forthwith presented a petition to the king, requiring that he would permit his subjects to embrace the *Romish* faith. Hereupon his majesty declared, in a publick assembly of the grandees of his court, that he would leave all persons at liberty to embrace it, who had a mind, without hindering them: and soon after sent one privately to acquaint the bishop of *Berytus*, that he would in time permit the preaching and exercise of the *Romish* religion, by a solemn edict ⁱ.

THIS was the state of the mission in *Siam* in the year 1674, *Missioners* at which time they had three schools in the capital, and the *sent for* seminary was vastly increased. For all this, and notwithstanding the recruits which had arrived from time to time, they were in great want of missionaries in the year 1675; so

^h Relat. miss. & voy. des eveq. p. 76, 107, 113, 120, 123.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 227, 233, & seq.

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Naraya.

that the bishops wrote very pressing letters into *Europe* for a considerable number to be sent them, in order to carry on the work of conversion among the *Indians**. We have been the more particular in relating the establishment of the *French* mission in *Siam*: because it seemed necessary, in order to explain the occasion of the two famous embassies from *Louis XIV.* to *Chaw Naraya*, several years after, as well as to give light into the cause of the great revolution, which happened immediately after.

In the interval between the year 1675 and the first of those embassies, which is the space of ten years, we meet with scarce any-thing farther concerning the affairs either of the mission, or of the *Siamese* history. *Gervaise*, the only author who has undertaken to give an account of this king's reign, says nothing more about it than what has been already related; excepting a few particulars touching the part which *Charu Naraya* took in the wars of *Kamboja*, with which, and the other neighbouring states, the *Siameses* seem to have been continually embroiled (E), for many years. *Kamboja*, indeed, had been distracted with civil wars, occasioned by the ambition of its princes, ever since the year 1628, or thereabout. Towards the year 1680, *Nak Sorelbit* having killed *Nak Protien*, who intended to make away with him, seized the throne; and resolved to marry the wife of *Nak Kotrey*, a prince of the blood, who had fled to *Kochin-china*, upon this assassination. The lady made the less resistance to the tyrant's pursuit, as she had determined to revenge upon him the death of her brother-in-law; and accordingly stabbed him in his bed, the first night of her marriage. At the same time she dispatched two couriers, one to *Nak Kotrey*, to give him notice of what she had done in his favour; and the other to *Nak Sesta*, son of *Nak Protien*, signifying, that it was time for him to come and share the kingdom with the prince her spouse.

Revolution
there.

WHEN *Nak Sesta* arrived, instead of acknowledging the service which this princess had done him, he killed her with the same dagger, wherewith she had slain his mortal enemy. Mean time *Nak Kotrey* returned from *Kochin-china*: but when he heard of his wife's death, he took it so to heart, that he retired into a distant forest, where turning *Talapoy*, he ended his days in peace. While he was alive *Nak Sesta*,

* Relat. miss. Franc. p. 61, 223, 388.

(E) *Choisy* says, the king of *Siam* was continually at war with *Pegu* or *Ava*, the *Laos*, *Kochin-china*, and the *Kambodians*.

intimidated by the guilt of his crime, durst not appear in public, or assume the title of king: but as soon as he was assured of *Kotrey's* death, he assembled his friends, and, by their credit, got possession of the whole kingdom. However, not thinking himself absolutely secure without the king of *Kochin-china's* consent, and knowing that monarch had no reason to be satisfied with him, he sent him very rich presents, in order to engage him in his favour: but this great prince, who was not to be bribed to do injustice, adjudged to *Nak Sesta* that part of *Kamboja* which his father had formerly enjoyed; and gave the other half to *Nak Non*, son of *Nak Prasbousa*, who had been adopted by *Nak Shân*, the former king¹.

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Chaw
Naraya.

NAK Sesta, dissatisfied with the king of *Kochin-china*, refused to stand by his arbitration, and declared war against *Nak Non*. The two kings fought several battles; but the equality of their forces always held the victory in suspense. *Nak Sesta* died three months after, and left for his successor *Nak Son*, who was very young. As soon as *Nak Non*, who was a very good prince, received advice of his death, he had the generosity to send his son very considerable presents, and a large number of *Talapoy*s, to perform his father's funeral with the greater pomp. But they who governed the kingdom during the young prince's minority, received those presents with great contempt, and were so base as to put all those poor priests to death. This cruel action kindled a war between the two kings. *Nak Non*, to strengthen his interest, applied for succours to the king of *Kochin-china*; and *Nak Son* put himself under protection of the king of *Siam*, who sent him troops, and furnished him with money. The two armies coming to a battle, after a bloody fight *Nak Non* was defeated, and obliged to retire into *Kochin-china*. But *Nak Son* did not long enjoy the peace which this great victory seemed to promise him: for two or three years after 3000 *Chineses*, whom the *Tartars* had driven out of their native country, joining the *Kochin-chineses* and *Kambodjans*, who were of *Nak Non's* party, with this prince at their head, fell on *Nak Son*; and having defeated him in several battles, wherein the *Siameses* were all cut in pieces, he was forced to fly into the forests, to avoid falling into the hands of the conqueror. His only resource in this extremity was to demand new succours of the king of *Siam*, who sent him 500 of his best troops: but these being too few to resist the great number of enemies, almost all of them lost their lives; although, contrary to the cha-

The Siam-
ese forces

assist Nak-
son:

¹ GERVAISE, ubi supra, p. 275, & seqq.

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Chaw
Naraya.

most of
them slain.

rather of the *Siameses*, they sold them dearer than could have been expected.

THUS matters stood, towards the end of the year 1685. And, when our author was about to quit *Siam* soon after, *Chaw Naraya* designed to send *Nak Son* 18,000 men by land, and a squadron of four or five great ships, commanded by *Portugueses* and *English*; together with sixty large barks, to which they give the name of gallies, under the conduct of the bravest *Siamese* officers ^m. The king's counsel were much against his intermeddling in this war. They represented to him, that it would be a means, one day or other, of bringing upon himself the whole power of *Kochin-china*, who had declared against *Nak Son*: that this prince had already been defeated several times: and that the forces which he was going to lend him could not possibly be strong enough to prevent another overthrow. *Chaw Naraya* replied, *It signifies nothing; the honour which the king of Siam will acquire, by protecting an unfortunate prince, who is allied to him, and from whom he can never expect any-thing, will make him amends for all his losses* ⁿ. However that was, we find that the event of this war was such as the king's counsel feared it would be: at least we are informed, that his army was not successful by land ^o, and that this assistance given to *Nak Son* had intailed a course of hostilities on the *Siameses*, with *Kamboja* and *Kochin-china*, which had not terminated in the year 1720 ^p.

S E C T. II.

Siamese Embassy to France. Mr. De Chaumont sent to Siam: His Memorial to convert the King: Chaw Naraya's acute Answer. History of Lord Faulkon. Another Siamese Embassy to France.

Siamese
embassy to
France.

LET us now return to the affairs of the *French* mission. It has been already mentioned, that the king of *Siam* proposed to send ambassadors to *Europe* in the year 1674. Whether he did or not, is a circumstance which does not appear from the authors before us: but it is certain, that two were dispatched from that country, if not in that year, yet a few years after. For, about 1682 or 83 there arrived in *France* two officers of the king of *Siam*'s court, with Mr. Le

^m GERVAISE, p. 277, & seqq.

ⁿ HAMILT. new acc. E. Ind. vol. ii. p. 173.

^o Ibid. p. 256.

^p Ibid. p. 197.

Vachet (A), a priest of the foreign missions settled in that 25. King-country, in order to enquire after two ambassadors who had Chaw been sent some time before by the king of *Siam* to *Louis XIV.* Naraya. These ambassadors first passed over to *Bantam*, in the island of Java, for the conveniency of a ship to carry them into *Europe*, and embarked on board the *Rising Sun*, a ship belonging to the *East India* company, with magnificent presents for his most christian majesty. But not returning to *Siam* within the time expected, and a report being spread in that country as if the vessel had been cast away, therefore the king thought fit to send the three persons above-mentioned, in order to enquire into the truth of the matter.

THOSE officers arrived in *France* (B) just at the time when French *Louis XIV.* was about sending some Jesuit mathematicians to embassy to *China*, in order to make observations there, for the improvement of geography and navigation. The king of *France*, considering how earnest the king of *Siam* appeared to be in seeking his friendship; and that there were hopes besides of his becoming a convert to his religion, in case an ambassador was sent thither, nominated the chevalier *De Chaumont* for that purpose. The ambassador carried with him the abbé *De Choisy*, who was to continue with the king of *Siam* in quality of ambassador till his baptism, in case he should become a profelyte to the *Romish* faith; the two *Siamese* officers, Mr. *Le Vachet* above-mentioned, four other churchmen, and six Jesuits, destined for *China* *. Mr. *De Chaumont* arrived at *Siam* the 24th of *September* 1685, almost six months after he had left *Brest*; fully determined, out of his great zeal, to push the affair of religion to the utmost: but it soon appeared that there was not so much ground to hope for the king's conversion, as the Jesuits had pretended: for the abbé *De Choisy* observes in his journal, soon after he arrived in *Siam*, that the king's conversion was a thing not to be expected suddenly: that although he favoured the missionaries and their religion, yet he was far from being baptized: that he had

* TACHARD's first voy. *Siam*, p. 4.

(A) *Le Vachet* went to *Siam* in the second embarkation from *France*, made in 1669; and returned thither on the occasion mentioned in the text.

(B) *Hamilton* says, that in 1683, the first year of *Faulkon's* ministry in *Siam*, the Jesuits got

the king to send an embassy to *France*; and that the same ambassador came also to *London*, and settled a treaty of commerce for the *English* who should trade in *Siam*. *New acc. of E. India*, vol. ii. p. 171.

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Chaw
Naraya.

to convert
the king.

not declared himself on the subject of religion, nor done anything tending that way for eighteen months before.

IN short, according to this author, all the hopes they had of the king's conversion was grounded on this contingency: that lord *Faulkon*, called by the *French* lord *Constance*, who was of the *Romish* religion, being then prime minister, would have interest enough to prevail on his master to become a Christian: but the abbé was so far from placing any dependence on this circumstance, that he considers it as a very precarious argument, saying coldly, *we shall soon see how it will turn out*. He adds, indeed, that the juncture was very favourable to make the king do what one would: that the ambassador would first insist on matters of religion, to the end that, if nothing was granted on this head, he should be obliged to grant every thing else. However, that the *French* did not despair of having, at least, their religion permitted and approved of, by proclamation through the kingdom of *Siam*. This indeed they obtained, but this was all; and what the king had promised to the missionaries many years before^b. Let us see how they proceeded.

ACCORDING to the above-mentioned plan, Mr. *De Chaumont*, in his speech at first audience, earnestly recommended to his *Siamese* majesty to forsake the worship of the images of his own country, and embrace the religion of his master^c. On this occasion, we are told, that when *Chaw Naraya* read the king of *France's* letter, he said he saw that monarch wanted to make a Christian of him, and dropt some words of encouragement: that he mentioned the same in council, and promised lord *Faulkon* to protect the religion of the missionaries throughout his dominions: that the *Barkalon* repeated the same to one of the missionaries; adding, with some earnestness, *that the religion of the pagods was near its end*. However, says *Choisy*, who was not so sanguine in the matter as others, we are not fools enough to believe this in the strictest sense^d.

and memo-
rial.

MEAN time the ambassador was wholly taken up about the conversion of the king, which was the subject of his embassy: and the rather, as he understood the *Persian* ambassador came upon the same errand, with whom he was resolved to be before-hand. Hereupon Mr. *De Chaumont* drew up a short memorial on that head, and gave it to lord *Faulkon*, in order to deliver it to the king. The minister seemed astonished at the

^b CHOISY journ. voy. Siam, p. 285, & seqq.
MONT relat. p. 38.

^c CHAUMONT relat. p. 38.
^d CHOISY, ubi supra, p. 350, 419, 425, & seq.

proposal; and, in a long conference on this occasion, would have dissuaded him from pressing the king upon that point. He advised him not to speak of the affair, alleging, that the king, who was extremely attached to the religion of his ancestors, would be strangely startled at such a motion; that it would cause disorder, as things then stood; and could produce no good. But the ambassador very prudently, says *Tachard*, persisted in his opinion, and intreated lord *Constance* to present that writing to his majesty. The minister being thus earnestly pressed by the zealous *Chaumont*, took the memorial, and carried it to the king; intimating, at the same time he delivered it, how solicitous the king of France was to have his majesty of the same religion with himself.

On this new attack *Chaw Naraya* asked, who made the king of France believe that he entertained any such sentiments? and after hearing the memorial read, bade lord *Faulkon* tell the ambassador: "that he was exceedingly troubled to find the king of France, his good friend, should propose so difficult a thing to him, and with which he was not in the least acquainted: that he referred it to his most christian majesty himself to judge, whether the change of a religion, received and followed through his dominions for 2229 years, without interruption, could be a thing of small importance to him, or easily complied with: that, besides, it was matter of astonishment to him, that the king of France should so much concern himself in an affair, which, though it related to God, yet the deity did not at all seem to interest himself therein, but left it wholly to human discretion. For could not the true God (added the king), who created heaven and earth, with all things therein, and who bestowed on mankind such different natures and inclinations; could not he, when he gave to men the same kinds of bodies and souls, have also, if he had pleased, inspired them with the same sentiments for that religion, which they ought to follow, and for that worship which was most acceptable to him; and have made all nations live and die in the same laws? That, since order among men, and unity in religion, depend absolutely on divine providence, who could as easily introduce it into the world, as the diversity of sects, which in all times have prevailed in it, ought not one to think that the true God takes as much pleasure to be honoured by different worships and ceremonies (C), as to be glorified by a prodigious number
" of

(C) This is the general sentiment of all the Indian nations on both sides of the *Ganges*: and this alone is sufficient to ac-

25. King
Chaw
Naraya.

“ of different creatures, who praise him every one in his own way ? Would that beauty and variety which we admire in the order of nature, be less admirable in the order of supernatural things, or less becoming the wisdom of God ?

“ However that be, continued the king of *Siam*, since we know that God is the absolute master of the world, and that we are persuaded nothing comes to pass contrary to his will, I wholly resign my person and dominions into the arms of the divine mercy and providence ; and, with all my heart, beseech his eternal wisdom to dispose thereof, according to his good will and pleasure *.”

shows him
fixed

So discouraging, as well as acute an answer, which, in effect, amounted to a flat denial, convinced the abbé *De Choisy*, that he had no pretence to remain in *Siam*, as the king of *France*'s resident. “ Although, says that author, on this occasion his *Siamese* majesty builds churches, daily grants advantages to the *Romish* religion, has a crucifix in his chamber, reads the gospel in the *Siamese* language, speaks of *Christ* with great respect, and has conferences with the bishop of *Metellopolis* (D) ; yet all this is not sufficient to make me stay here † ;” as he was to have done in case of the king's conversion. Afterwards speaking directly in relation to the king's answer to the ambassador's memorial, he says, it appears from thence that his *Siamese* majesty was not yet sufficiently instructed to embrace the *Christian* religion (meaning the *Romish*) ; but observes, that he promised to instruct himself ‡ : which, however, amounted to no more than such an enquiry as is only the effect of curiosity, and a desire to be informed in the religion of other countries.

in his re-
ligion.

To return to *Chaw Naraya*'s answer, it appears, even from the account of one of the most zealous missionaries, that the king of *Siam*, how desirous soever of cultivating an amity with *France*, was so far from any thoughts of changing his religion, that he seemed, from his method of reasoning, to have been firmly fixed in it ; and however well pleased lord *Faulkon* might have been to hear his master declare himself a

* TACHARD, ubi sup. p. 218, & seqq.

† CHOISY, p. 417.

‡ Ibid. p. 447.

count for their not admitting of persecution, which the contrary opinion has produced in *Europe*.

(D) His name was *Louis*, or *Lewis* ; so that *Lanson*, who

succeeded *Cotolendi*, must have been dead. This *Louis* seems to have been a *Portuguese*, who, by consent of his superior, had joined the *French* missionaries about 1674,

profelyte

profelyte to Christianity, yet he was, at that time, quite ^{25. King} averse to making any proposition of the kind to him. ^{Chaw}

FOR all this the missionaries did not give over the hopes of ^{Chaw} converting *Chaw Naraya*. These hopes were founded on the great privileges which were promised on the score of religion, ^{The Jesuits} and which made the bishop of *Metellopolis* declare, "that he ^{still} expected new churches would, in four years, be built " throughout the kingdom of *Siam*." Those privileges were granted according to the ambassador's memorial; after which *Choisy* himself seems to have conceived a better opinion of the issue: for he says, "Nothing was then wanting to complete " the work but missionaries; and believed, that, at the news " of this success, they would flock to *Siam* from all parts of " the world." They were farther encouraged in their hopes, by observing, that the king not only desired to keep up a ^{persevere} friendship with *France*, but even that twelve Jesuits should be ^{in hope} sent over; promising to build them churches, and allow them the liberty of propagating their religion in his dominions. But their chief dependence, doubtless, was on lord *Faulkon*; who, by his post of prime minister, and the great influence he had over the king, was in a situation to serve them, the most advantageous they could possibly wish for. This was, in effect, confessed by the bishop of *Metellopolis*, who, on occasion of the king's concessions in favour of his religion, often declared, "that the mission had the utmost obligations to " lord *Constance*; so that his advancement to the high post " which he then enjoyed in the court of *Siam*, ought to be " looked on as a special providence in their favour ^b." And here it may be proper to give some account of this extraordinary personage, whose merit had raised him to the highest honours in a foreign country, very distant from his own; and who was no less remarkable for his tragical fall some years after, than his surprising elevation, which happened two years before.

CONSTANTINE Faulkon, for that was his name, was *Lord Faul-* a *Grecian* by birth, born in the island of *Cephaloniu*. His ^{kon's ori-} father was a noble *Venetian*, the son of the governor of the ^{gin} island; and his mother sprung from one of the ancientest families of the country. But his parents having reduced their affairs to a low condition, their son *Constantine*, when but twelve years of age, resolved to seek a livelihood in foreign countries. Accordingly, about the year 1660, he shipped him aboard an *English* vessel returning to *England*. Here his wit, humour, and agreeable behaviour, made him known

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Chaw
Naraya.

to some lords at court : but finding little hopes of advancing his fortune by that course of life¹, he applied himself to the more substantial affairs of trade. After a stay of some few years in *England*, during which time he became a protestant, he determined to pass into *India*; and arriving at *Siam*, put himself into the service of Mr. *White*, a considerable *East-India* merchant. In this gentleman's family he lived for some years, and continued his factor when Mr. *White* returned for *London*. By this means (E) he gathered some money; and then quitting the *English* service he set up for himself. The first step he took was to buy a ship, and put to sea; for he had passed through all degrees of sea-faring: but he had the misfortune to be beaten back by bad weather, and was twice cast away in the mouth of the river of *Siam*.

Adven-
tures in
Siam.

PUTTING to sea once more, he was shipwreck'd the third time, and much more unfortunately, on the coast of *Malabar*. There he was in danger of perishing; and could not save, of all his substance, above 2000 crowns. In this sad condition, being oppressed with grief and weariness, he laid himself down on the shore; and, whether asleep or awake, (for he often protested to our author *Tachard* that he could not tell which), thought he saw a person full of majesty, who, with a smiling countenance, most obligingly said to him, *Return, return, from whence you came*. These words so wrought on him, that he could not sleep the rest of the night, his thoughts being taken up with contriving how to return to *Siam*. Next day, whilst he walked by the sea-side, meditating on the same subject, he saw a man coming towards him, dropping-wet, and with a most dejected aspect. It proved to be an ambassador from the king of *Siam*, who, in his return from *Persia*, had been cast away on the same coast, without saving any-thing but his life. As both spoke the *Siamese* language, they soon became acquainted with each other's adventures. The ambassador having thus discovered himself, and told what extreme necessity he was reduced to, Mr. *Faulkon* condoling his misfortune, offered to carry him to *Siam*. To accomplish this design, with the money he had saved he bought a small bark, and provision for the passage. This generous behaviour so charmed the ambassador, that, when he got home he related it to the *Pra Klang*, or *Barkalang*,

¹ TACHARD ubi supra, p. 134. & seq.

(E) And perhaps by being court, as captain *Hamilton* tells interpreter for the *English* at us he was,

then chief minister; who was so pleased in his turn, that he had a mind to know so rare a man.

THE minister sent for Mr. *Faulkon*, and, on discoursing him, liked him so well, that he resolved to keep him about himself; in which station he soon gained the esteem and confidence of his master. This chief minister was a man of parts, and well versed in business; but, as he loved his ease, he was glad to meet with a person so capable to relieve him. He often spoke of him to the king, and his majesty soon found reason to take notice of him: for, being disposed to send ambassadors to some foreign prince, as he loved magnificence, he was willing to spare no cost: but the *Moors*, or *Mohammedans*, whom he made use of on those occasions, demanded such an immense sum to furnish out the embassy, that he complained of it to the *Pra Klang*. The *Pra Klang* mentioned the thing to Mr. *Faulkon*, who said, if the king would honour him with that commission, he would undertake to provide every thing for less money than what was offered the *Moors*, and yet prepare much finer presents than they had inserted in their inventory. The king being informed of this, sent for *Faulkon*, and gave him orders for the purpose: which trust he executed so much to his majesty's satisfaction, that from thenceforth he conceived a great opinion of his abilities. The *Moors*, vexed to find their exorbitant demands rejected, thought to make themselves amends, by a petition to the king, for payment of what he owed them, in which they brought him in their debtor, to the amount of a considerable sum. But the account being put into *Faulkon*'s hands to examine it, he found that, instead of the king being indebted to them, they owed his majesty above 60,000 crowns.

THE *Pra Klang* dying not long after (F), the king would needs put lord *Faulkon* (G) (for as such thenceforth he ought to be considered), into his place: but he declined it, as well as that of *Chakri*, to avoid the envy of the great men (H).

* TACHARD, p. 135, & seqq.

(F) *Chaumont* says it was two years before his arrival in *Siam*, which places it in the year 1683. *Embassy*, p. 79.

(G) According to *Hamilton*, lord *Faulkon* was the name by which he went: nor is it probable it could be any other, much less *Constance*, which was not his name, but given to him by the *French*; doubtless to de-

note his attachment to their interest and religion. His *Siamese* name was *Oya Visbayjen*. See *Tachard*, l. 7. at the end.

(H) And possibly because this post was so slippery, that the *Siameses* could not reckon up the number of *Barkalongs* since the king began his reign. *Low-bere*, p. 106.

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Chaw
Naraya.

nor would he ever accept of any place, though every-thing passed through his hands, and nothing was done without him: so that he was, in effect, prime minister, which rendered him the object of envy, as much, perhaps, as if he had held the post to which it was then annexed: for the *Malay*, who succeeded the deceased *Pra Klang*, looking on him with a malicious eye, made use of one Mr. *Bacon*, an *Englishman*, to create an ill impression of him, and render him suspected by the king. But *Chaw Naraya* perceiving that minister's malice, deprived him of his office, and had him bastonado'd to death¹.

WE know not what it was which Mr. *Bacon* laid to this minister's charge; and the affair of captain *Hamilton*, before related, will always make us judge with caution of accusations laid by the agents of interested companies. Perhaps his turning papist, after he left their service, might induce the *English* to think that he would support the *Portuguese* or *French* interest against theirs: although we are told² he took all occasions to do our nation service.

His great
abilities.

HOWEVER that be, he was certainly a person of more than ordinary abilities, of which his being advanced to so high a post by a judicious prince, is a sufficient proof. He was admired for his affability, dexterity in business, and eloquence; for which *Tachard* highly commends his speech made to the king, on delivering Mr. *Chaumont's* memorial. The same author says, he was much surpris'd, considering lord *Constance* was a man of no studies, at the reply which he made the king, who asked him what he thought the ambassador would say to the reasons contained in his answer to the same memorial? and that the most consummate divine would have been hard put to it to make a better³.

THE abbé *De Choisy* often speaks of him in raptures, praising him for his wit, address, sincerity, and charming conversation⁴. He says lord *Constance* did more business in twenty-four hours, than all the officers at court in fifteen days⁵: that he heard 100 men, and answered their petitions, all in half an hour: that, with all the vivacity in the world, he was prudent: that nothing embarrassed him⁶: and that, when he found out no expedients, it was because there were none⁷. This, it is true, is the character given of him by the *French*, whose favourite he was: but writers of other nations have spoken very disadvantageously of him, as we shall see hereafter.

¹ CHAUMONT's embassy to Siam, p. 79, & seq. hereafter. ² TACHARD ubi supra, p. 219, 227. ³ P. 344, & 385. ⁴ P. 411. ⁵ P. 463.

⁶ See CHOI-
P. 434.

Mr. *Chaumont* left *Siam* about the middle of *December*, in the same year 1685, accompanied by the *Siam* ambassadors, and *Tachard* the *Jesuit*, one of the six destined for *China*, who was sent back to *Europe* to solicit the twelve missionaries, and other affairs. The *Siam* ambassadors were three in number, all persons of the first quality at court. The first had (1) transacted in all the affairs of *Siam* for fifteen years, under his brother, who was the *Barkalong*, or *Pra Klang*. He was very polite; a man of parts and abilities. The second had been twice ambassador to *China*: and the third had been at the court of the *Great Mogol*. They were attended by twelve officers of the court, who embarked with them, and carried very rich presents to the king of *France*, in return for those which had been sent to their master¹. But the chief end of their embassy seems to have been to solicit engineers to fortify some of the king of *Siam*'s most considerable towns, and a certain number of forces to garrison them. In the mean time Mr. *Le Mare*, an engineer, was left behind, at the king's request; and likewise the chevalier *De Fourbin*, a well experienced officer,* who was soon after posted at *Bankok*, with some troops under his command, which proved of service two years after, in suppressing the *Makassars*²; of whose revolt we are next to treat.

25. King
Chaw
Naraya.
Siam em-
bassy to
France.

S E C T. III.

*Revolt of the Makassars. Plot to kill the King: Its Discovery. Intrepid Behaviour of a Makassar. Ob-
scurity of their Prince. Slain with all his People.*

THIS revolt happened in the year 1687, and might have had as fatal effects as that of the *Japaneses* in a former reign, if it had not been timely prevented, by the vigilance of the king, and diligence of his first minister. After the *Dutch* had vanquished the king of *Makassar*, a kingdom situated in the island of *Selebes*, or *Celebes*, about the year 1664, one of that monarch's sons, with many of the natives, retired to *Siam* (K); where the king generously received him, assigning him

¹ CHOISY, p. 362, 401, & 509. ² CHAUMONT, p. 61.
TACHARD'S 1st voy. p. 234. 2d voy. p. 93.

(I) His name was *Manpay*, as we learn elsewhere, and will appear hereafter. usurped the throne, on his father's death, through discontent, retired first to *Java*, and then to *Siam*. For a full account of him see the history of *Makassar*.

(K) This prince, named *Dain Ma ali*, whose nephew had land,

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Chaw
Naraya.

land, two cannon-shot distance from the capital, for his followers to build houses on for their habitation; and this was called the camp of the *Makassars*, according to the custom of that country. This camp is situated partly on the great river *Menam*; and partly on another called *Kachon*, which falls into the great one in that place. It was allotted them that they might be next to the *Malayans*, who, being also *Mohammedans*, might be ready to assist them, and accommodate them with their churches.

Plot to kill
the king,

ABOUT five years before a plot was laid for taking away the life of *Chaw Naraya*, and placing the younger of his two brothers on the throne. The treason having been happily discovered, his majesty generously pardoned not only his brother, but also the prince of *Makassar*, who was concerned in the conspiracy, and all his accomplices. This act of grace ought to have laid an eternal obligation of gratitude on this fugitive prince. But instead of repenting of his former crime, about April 1687, he entered into a new plot, at the solicitation of the princes of *Champa*, fled likewise for shelter to the court of *Siam*; who intended to have placed on the throne the same brother of the king, and then oblige him either to turn *Mohammedan*, or put him to death. Nay, in case he had so far complied, their design was quickly to have deposed him again, in order for one of themselves to ascend it; on whom the election should happen to fall. After this, all the inhabitants of *Siam*, both *Christians* and *Pagans* (if our author's intelligence is to be relied on), were either to change their religions, or to be slain *.

by the
Champa
prince.

THESE princes of *Champa* were three brothers, sons of the late king of that country, who, on their eldest brother's coming to the crown, fled hither for fear of him. One of the three was made an officer of the king of *Siam*'s household, and was not in the conspiracy which was set on foot by the younger of the two others, who lived like private persons. The young prince having communicated his design to a *Malayan* captain, born also in *Champa*, a man of parts and learning, as well as courage; this officer entered into his measures, and, with the assistance of one of their priests, conducted the whole affair. He began by giving out, in the camps of the *Malayans* and *Makassars*, "that he had seen in the heavens " a sign which he had often seen before, and was every time " attended with some extraordinary events, which affected " those of the *Mohammedan* religion." He advised them therefore to pray their prophet, that it might turn out to their

* TACHARD'S 2d voy. p. 86, & seqq.

benefit; and, in the mean time, to be upon their guard. After he had, by this means, filled them with terrible apprehensions, without declaring his design, he disclosed it to each of them by degrees, as he found they gave into it; so that, in less than three months, he induced them all into the snare, excepting 300 *Malayans*. When matters were in this state, he assembled the three chiefs, to know what was to be done with those who were in the opposition: and it was resolved, when the plot was ripe for execution, to assemble the 300 *Malayans* with the rest, flattering themselves that they would stand out, when they saw their countrymen so readily embrace the party of the conspirators. Their design was also to set all the prisons open, and free the galley-slaves, in order to augment their forces with such desperate recruits; and their first exploit was to seize the palace, and give the plunder of it to their men.

THE time approaching for putting this plot in execution, is timely which was the 15th of *August*; at eleven o'clock at night, the princes of *Champa* wrote to their brother, who was at court, acquainting him with what was intended, and advising him to make his escape as fast as he could. At eight in the evening the letter was delivered to the prince, who, suspecting something more than ordinary, from the haste with which the messenger made off, carried it unopened to lord *Faulkon*, who having read the contents of it, ran with it to the king. The *Siamese* majesty, without seeming concerned, sent 3000 of his guards to defend the palace of *Siam*, and dispatched the chevalier *De Fourbin* to *Bankok*, to prevent its falling into the hands of the rebels. The rest of his guards, to the number of 5000, were posted in the palace; and other troops defend the avenues and walls of the city.

THE hour being come, the conspirators met in a long and the region of land, which separates the two rivers, opposite to the camp of the *Makassars*. But as soon as the 300 *Malay-Perse* understood their prince's design, they refused to obey him, declaring their abhorrence of such an act of ingratitude to the king their benefactor. This resolute answer having wrought upon others, who had their scruples before, they began to disperse; which the priest observing, resolved to go and discover the plot himself to the governor of the city, lest any-body else should be beforehand with him. As soon as the governor received this information, he posted the few men he had in the palace in such a manner, as to let the conspirators see that the plot was discovered; and he was on his

* TACHARD, p. 91, & seq. Also FOURBIN's mem.

guard.

25. *King Chaw Naraya.* guard. This news greatly alarmed the princes, who were still more surprised next morning, to see 3000 of the king's soldiers arrive in the palace, and all the inhabitants of the city in arms upon the ramparts.

*The king's
clemency.*

MEAN time *Chaw Naraya* being informed that the rebels had returned home, sent lord *Faulkon* to *Siam*, to reclaim them by gentle methods, and learn all the circumstances of the conspiracy. By a promise of pardon the captain, who laid the scheme, surrendered himself to the minister, and discovered the whole affair, so far as to confess that his real view was to declare himself king, and make away with the three princes. After this, lord *Faulkon* published a general pardon to all those who should, within four days, come in and discover their accomplices. The *Malayans* accepted of this grace, but the *Makassars* stood out, resolving to perish rather than submit. Their prince was several times summoned to give an account of his conduct, but still refused, alleging, "that he never would enter into the conspiracy, though much pressed; and that, if he had committed any fault, it was only in not discovering the authors of so black a design: but that he judged his quality of a prince and a friend, would excuse him for not doing the office of a spy, and betraying those who had intrusted him with a secret of such importance."

*One of the
conspirators*

AN answer so very improper, determined the king to bring him to reason by force; which resolution, instead of intimidating the *Makassars*, only roused their courage; and an action which about the same time happened at *Bankok*, helped to render them the more daring. The captain of a galley, which came from the king of *Makassar* with a present of money and slaves to the prince his relation, seeing the bad success of the plot in which he had been himself engaged, thought it his best way to retire in time. But accordingly he applied for a *fara*, or passport, and obtained it. But, at the same time, orders were sent (A) to the chevalier *De Fourbin* to stop him, and his men, at the passage of the chain which was drawn across the river at *Bankok*. On his arrival the chevalier sent for him, to come and let him know the number of hands on board his galley. The captain, after many excuses made to avoid this danger, sent word he could not come, unless he was followed by his men in arms; and, to

*stop at
Bankok.*

^c TACHARD, p. 93, & seqq.

(A) *Fourbin* complains heavily of those orders, as contrived by Mr. *Constance* to sacrifice him, by making him fall into the hands of the *Makassars*.

tak

take off his suspicion, it was at length agreed, that he might enter the fortress with eight men, armed only with the *Krit*. This is a kind of poniard, from twelve to eighteen inches long; the blade is flat, and about two inches broad at the handle; from whence it goes tapering (often in scollops) to the point, which is very sharp. Some of these blades are poisoned; and this is done two ways; either by applying the poison every time it is used, or else working it in the temper of the metal. *Krits* of this sort are a long time in making, and some blades cost 1000 crowns. To be asked to give up his *Krit* is a great affront with a *Malayan*; and to draw it, without killing his man, a mark of cowardice^d.

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Chaw
Naraya.

THE captain, at landing with his attendants, took leave of the rest, declaring, that if they demanded his *Krit* he would run a muck; and they promised to follow his example, and revenge his death. As soon as he entered the citadel, he was ordered to send for his men to be counted; *Fourbin's* design being to surround them with a company of soldiers, and thus oblige them to deliver their arms. The captain answered carelessly, that he had fifty men on board, and they might take his word for it: but as the thing was insisted on, and he found himself under a necessity to obey, he sent two of his eight followers to acquaint the rest with what was required of them. The chevalier *De Fourbin* took that opportunity to plant some pikemen and musketeers at the entrance of the hall where the *Makassars* were. The captain, seeing the danger he was in, discovered great agitation of mind, inasmuch that the sweat fell from his face in great drops. Mean time the chevalier sent an officer to demand his *Krit* in the king's name. The captain made him no answer, but plunged the weapon into his breast, and laid him dead at his feet. The blow was so violent, that he cut through three of his ribs. Two *Siamese* soldiers, who attempted to seize him, were served in the same manner; and having killed a fourth, he ran furiously to force his way through the pikes. But finding that impracticable, after receiving a few wounds, he leaped with three of his people through a window, into a port-hole of the bastion, on which the hall stood, with design to jump down from thence; but the leap seemed so desperate, that it required some shot to make them take it: another volley was sent after them in their descent. For all this, some of them had strength enough to rise, and run staggering upon the soldiers who were posted thereabout, but they were soon dispatched. A *French* captain perceiving the

His intrepid behaviour.

Slain with others.

^d TACHARD, p. 96, & seqq. FOURBIN's mem.

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Chaw
Naraya.

The rest
revenge
them.

Are all
destroyed.

Makassar chief not quite dead, though pierced with several balls, advanced to take his *Krit* from him : but laying hold of the scabbard, instead of the handle, the almost expiring man had yet strength enough to draw it, and rip up his belly : for in striking they give the arm a twist, which makes a wound as large as that of a halberd.

FOURBIN finding by this sample what the rest of the *Makassars*, who were on their way to the fortress, might do, was obliged to alter his measures ; and drawing out his garrison of 3 or 400 men, post them so as that the enemy would be surrounded when they came up. These desperadoes hearing the muskets go off, and being in pain for their captain, sent to demand him. The chevalier gave them good words, to gain time to make his preparations. On the other hand, the *Makassars* put themselves in a posture of defence, rolling the cloth which covers their thighs about their arms, to serve as a shield. When every-thing was ready for the attack, an *English* captain advanced with some soldiers, sending the *French* commander word, that he would bring all that rabble bound neck and heels before him. The *Makassars* thinking this a proper time to fall on, ran to meet them ; and, after they had lost a few of their party, with the fire-arms, or pikes, cut him in pieces, with all his followers. Some were found pierced with no fewer than a dozen stabs of the *Krit*. The remainder of the garrison were so terrified at this first charge, that they would not wait a second ; but fled in such disorder, that *Fourbin*, who endeavoured in vain to rally them, had much ado to escape himself.

HAD the *Makassars* taken the advantage which this panic gave them, they might easily have become masters of the fortress : but they contented themselves with killing all who came in their way, without distinction of age or sex ; and then fled to the woods for shelter themselves. Here they remained ten or twelve days ; and, though weakened with hunger and other miseries, yet they were strong enough to kill five or six more of those who went to exterminate them. A youth, not above ten or twelve years old, who with some others had gotten into a temple, made two sallies with the *krit* in his hand, and killed a man each time. Some were taken still alive, though mortally wounded : one of whom, when just expiring, cried out, *Alas ! I have killed no more than six ; if they will suffer me only to kill seven, I shall die contentedly.* Others desired to be dispatched quickly out of

the way, that they might go find their companions again, whom they were not willing to survive.

WHILE matters went on thus at *Bankok*, the king of *Siam*, unwilling to come to extremities with the *Makassar* prince, sent *Okpra Shula*, one of the chief lords of his court, to bring him to a sense of his duty. The prince owned that he was extremely culpable, and desired the *Okpra* to intercede for him; but could not be prevailed on to go in person, and ask his majesty's pardon, notwithstanding the grounds which he had to expect it, from the lenity which had been shewn to others no less guilty than himself. This obstinacy provoked *Chaw Naraya* still more; yet being averse to shed royal blood, and unwilling to destroy a prince with a whole colony of people, without being absolutely compelled to it, sent the same lord once more to try to reduce him by fair means: but the *Makassar* prince, moved neither by the indulgence shewed him on one side, nor the example made of his countrymen on the other, would not so much as see the court officer, pretending he was sick. Hereupon the king resolved to punish his obstinacy, or force him to submit, detached 5400 of his guards, under the command of the lord *Faulkon*, prime minister; imagining that the fear of such a considerable power might oblige him to what gentleness could not^f.

THE operations being fixed to the 27th of *September*, at Preparahalf an hour after four in the morning; lord *Faulkon* set out from *Siam* the evening before, in a *balon*, or bark, accompanied by captain *Tjoudal* (A), commander of an *English* man of war then at the bar of *Siam*, several other *Englishmen*, who were in the service of the king of *Siam*, a missionary, and a private person. When he arrived at the point of the horse-shoe, where the other *balons* and gallies were assembled, facing the camp of the *Malayans*, he sent all the *English*, excepting captain *Tjoudal*, on board two of the king's vessels which lay half a league below the enemies camp or habitation. The order of the attack was to be in this manner: *Ok-louang Mahamontri*, captain-general of the guards, was to inclose the camp behind with 1500 men; making a strong hedge, with all his soldiers, from the *Menam*, or great river, to a brook five fathoms broad, which was at the end of the camp. Towards the right, there was a pool behind the camp, which reached from the *Menam* to within two fathoms of the brook; so that the *Makassars* had no more room to fight in than that narrow spot of ground, which made a kind of causeway: but the general had

^f TACHARD, p. 102, & seqq.

(A) *Tudal*, according to *Forbin*.

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Chaw
Naraya.

orders to make a barricade of stakes in that place. *Okpra Shula* was to post himself on the other side of the brook, and line it with 1000 men. On the two rivers there were twenty-two small galleys and sixty *balons*, all full of men, to be employed on occasion; beside 1000 more on the tongue of land over-against the *Makassars* camp.

Siamese
general
killed.

THE hour being come, and the signal given, *Mahamontri* set out briskly, followed by fourteen of his slaves, without ordering his troops to follow him, or taking the post which had been assigned him. He advanced thus without thought to the causeway, along which he proceeded to the very houses of the revolters, where he stopt, calling softly *Okpra Shula*. One of the *Makassars*, whom he could not see for the darkness, answered in Siamese, *What would you have? Mahamontri*, believing him to be *Shula*, went forward; asking, *Where are you? Here*, replied the foreigner; and at the same time coming out from his ambuscade, with twenty-five more, killed the general, and seven of his slaves, the rest escaping by favour of the night. After this, one part of the *Makassars* passed to the other side of the brook, before *Okpra Shula* had taken possession of it.

Other
losses.

HALF an hour after five, Mr. *Cotre* (B), an *Englishman*, captain of a vessel belonging to the king of *Siam*, attacked them on the side of the great river, at the extremity of the point of their camp. The captain caused several fire-balls to be thrown to burn their houses, with a continual discharge of small arms, which obliged them to return to the upper part of their camp. As soon as he perceived this, he landed, followed by ten or twelve *Englishmen* and a *French* officer: but seeing the enemy running towards them, and their own men fly at their approach, they threw themselves into the river to get off. The *French* officer escaped by swimming; but the *English* captain was shot in the head, and died of the wound.

The Ma-
kassars

AFTER this blow, the *Makassars* abandoned their camp, which was already half-burned, and bent their course towards the upper part of the rivulet, with design to pass on to the camp of the *Portugueses*, and there discharge their fury on the *Christians*. Their drift being perceived by lord *Faulkon*, he set forward in his *balon*, followed by about fifteen others; in one of which was Mr. *Veret*, chief of the *French* factory, with all those of his nation whom he brought from *Siam*, in order to hinder the enemy from passing the river half a league above the camp. As soon as he overtook them, he ordered

§ TACHARD, p. 106, & seqq.

(B) Doubtless *Coats*.

the *Siameses* to land, and at the same time going ashore himself, went directly up to them, followed by two *Englishmen*, two *Siamese*, and a *Japanese* soldier. The *Siameses* having passed through a long hedge of *bambú* trees, 250 paces from the river, and entering into the plain where the enemy were, killed two or three of them, with the loss of one or two of their company. The *Makassars* then divided themselves into two parties, returning to the *bambús* with a design to surround the *Siameses*; and having taken their opium, ran headlong to attack the royalists. The minister prepared himself to receive them, though sixty in number; but perceiving thirty or forty others hastening to fall on his rear, he was obliged to make a precipitate retreat, in which five of the twelve who accompanied him were slain; four *Frenchmen*, and captain *Tjoulal* killed on the spot with five stabs of the *krit* in his body, and two of the *Frenchmen* had no fewer than twelve wounds each.

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Chaw
Naraya.
Lord Faul-
kon re-
tires;

LORD Faulkon, not at all discouraged at this misfortune, *renews the* landed a second time, followed by several *English* and *French*, *attack.* who killed several of the *Makassars*, without losing one man: however, this minister, finding that there was no reducing them without a much superior force, detached *Okpra Jumbarrat* with 400, to advance beyond the place where the enemy then were, with orders to fight them, if they offered to pass that way; and at the same time made a descent himself near the brook, at the head of 3000 men, among whom were all the *French* and *English*, marching towards the revolvers up to the middle in water. In his way, perceiving those desperadoes, after a vigorous attack on the 400 men sent before, to retire for shelter to the houses and *bambús* which were on the brook-sides, he detached 800 musketeers, to beat them out of that retreat by a continual fire, which they performed very well. A little after he sent the remaining 2200 men who were with him, to join the 400, and caused the *balons* to advance, in order to hinder the enemy from passing the rivulet. The *Makassars*, seeing themselves attacked thus on all sides, were struck with a panic, and began to separate; the greater part of them retired into the houses, two or three in each; others hid themselves among the *bambús*; and twenty-two of them took shelter in a mosque. These places of retreat being fired by the *Siameses*, the revolvers waited till they were half-burnt about their ears, and then sallied out, making *amuk*; that is, rushing upon the thickest of the troops, with the

¹ TACHARD, p. 108, & seqq. FORBIN'S memoirs.

25. King lance or sword in hand, and fighting continually till they are
Chaw slain.

Naraya. NOT one of all these *Makassars* escaped. The prince,
who had hidden himself behind a house, and was wounded
in the left shoulder by a musket bullet, perceiving that he was
discovered, rushed out with his lance, and ran directly towards
lord *Faulkon*, who likewise presented his own. The prince
hereupon stopp'd, and making a feint, as if he intended to dart
it at the minister, at the same time turned upon an *English*
captain, who was to the left of him; but a *Frenchman*, who
was near lord *Faulkon*, making a shot at him in the same in-
stant, killed him; at length all the *Makassars* were either
killed or taken. They who had fled to the *Mohammedan*
temple surrendered without fighting; there were thirty-three
others taken, who were all ran through the body. A son of
the unhappy prince, about twelve years of age, came and sur-
rendered himself. Being shewn his father's body, which he
knew, he said, *That indeed his father had been the destruction of*
people; but that, notwithstanding, he was very much grieved
to see him in that condition; greatly blaming those who had
slain him. Lord *Faulkon* ordered a Christian of *Constantinople*,
then in the king of *Siam's* service, to take care of him. He
was afterwards sent with one of his brothers (C) into *France*¹.

Their
arms.

THE bodies of no more than forty *Makassars* were found,
the rest perished in the river: most of them had breast-plates,
made of flat pieces of iron, fastened by the ends one over the
other, so that they could easily move in them. None of them
had fire-arms, nor do they know well how to use them. What
renders them so formidable through the East, is that fury and
contempt of danger which opium inspires them with; but
still more that wonderful dexterity which they have in throw-
ing darts and lances, as well as in using the sabre and *krit*.
Some had long trunks, out of which they blew poisoned fish-
bones fixed in shafts, wherewith some *Siameses* who were
wounded died in three hours time. There were likewise
found on the dead certain scrolls or billets, which (as charms)
contributed to render them more daring. The *Siameses* lost
no more than seventeen men, reckoning seven *Europeans*

¹ TACHARD, p. III, & seqq.

(C) Count *Fortin* says, they were carried to *Louvo*. They
saved the lives of none of the were brought afterwards by P.
prisoners, excepting the prince *Tachard* to *France*, where they
of *Makassar's* two sons, who served in the marine.

among the number, in all this action (D), which lasted from 25. King half an hour after four in the morning till four in the after-
noon. Lord *Faulkon*, having ordered the heads of the slain to be cut off and exposed in their camp, departed to give an account of what had passed to his majesty; who commanded him to thank the *French* and *English* for the share they took in this expedition. Chaw Naraya.

AMONG those taken alive there were four *Makassars* of the *Their sur-* king's guards, who deserted the day on which the conspiracy *prising re-* broke out; for which the king resolved to punish them in an *resolution.* exemplary manner. They beat them terribly with sticks, ran iron pins under their nails; broke all the joints of their fingers; burnt the flesh off their arms, and squeezed their temples between two boards: all this they bore with inexpressible resolution (E). What is more, they had the constancy to refuse being made converts by the Jesuits; who imagined, that ~~people~~, weakened by such terrible suffering, would more easily have complied with their proposal. After this, at seven in the morning, they were fastened naked to the ground, tied hands and feet, and a tiger let loose on them: but the beast only smelted to them one after the other, and then attempted to get away by leaping over the inclosure, which was *Sad in-* fifteen feet high. At noon, the executioners being impatient, *stances of* it. drew off the tiger, and fastened them standing to thick posts, as if this posture was more proper than the former to irritate the animal; he slew three of them before night, and the fourth before morning. What is admirable, they were never once heard to bewail themselves, or even so much as to fetch a sigh. One of them saw the tiger eat his foot, without offering to draw it away; another, without making the least complaint, felt him breaking all the bones of his back; the

* TACHARD, p. 114, & seqq.

(D) *Forbin* speaks of an action two months before this, in which were killed seventeen *Europeans* and above 1000 *Siamois*; but *La Maire*, who was on the spot, says nothing of it.

(E) As an instance of their intrepidity, Count *Forbin* relates, that seeing one of the first fix, who were killed at the fort, running up to him, he plunged his lance into his breast; the *Makassar*, as if insensible of any

hurt, still pressed forward, making incredible efforts to get at *Forbin*, by thrusting his body on the lance; and would certainly have gained his end, if he had not been kept back by the guard which gave breadth to the blade. he had no way to save himself but to give back, without daring to draw out his lance to repeat the thrust, until some others came up and killed him.

25. King Chaw Naraya. third, suffered the animal to lick the blood which fell from his face, without turning away his eyes, and without shrinking: one of them alone went round his post, to avoid the sight and onset of that furious creature; but he died, at last, with the same resolution and patience as the others had done^k.

S E C T. IV.

Embassy of Mess. Loubere and Ceberet. The Siamese murmur at the French Forces and Missioners. Petracha's Conspiracy. Lord Faulkon imprisoned, and the French arrested. Prince Totso and Lord Faulkon executed. The King's Brothers murdered. The French ignominiously treated, and their General trepanned to Court. Escapes by his Address, and is besieged in Bangkok. Chaw Naraya dies; his Character and Family.

Second embassy from France.

THE very same day, viz. the 27th of September, on which the revolt of the *Makassars* was suppressed, four ships arrived at the bar of *Siam* from *France*, bringing with them, besides the *Siam* ambassadors who had been sent thither two years before, two envoys from *Lewis XIV*; namely *Mess. Loubere* and *Ceberet*, with a letter to the king of *Siam*; the twelve Jesuits, and a body of *French* soldiers, under the command of *Mr. De Farges* as general, and *Mr. Bruan (Z)*, lieutenant-general.

Treaty concluded.

IN a day or two after their arrival, a treaty was drawn up between *P. Tachard* and lord *Faulkon*; which, as that Jesuit expresseth it, was very favourable to religion and the interests of *France*. At their first meeting they went both together into a bark, and remained there by themselves the rest of the day, and all the night following^a. As no other person was present, we know nothing of what passed in this long private conference; however, we may presume something was done towards furthering those very important designs which we are told were on foot between the kings of *France* and *Siam*, for the good of religion and trade^b.

To give our readers the best light we can in this affair, we shall relate what count *Forbin* hath written upon the oc-

^k TACHARD, p. 114, & seqq.

^a Ibid. p. 182, & seqq.

^b Ibid. p. 9.

(Z) He is by some named *Bruant*, by others *Bruan*.

casion.

caſion. This author informs us, that lord *Conſtance* having, 25. King beſides the circumſtance of his being a foreigner, incurred the *Chaw* hatred of the whole *Siameſe* nation, by his ingratitude to the *Naraya*. *Praklang* or *Barkalong*, to whom he owed all his good fortune (A); the Mandarins and other grantees, incenſed by a proceeding which put them all in fear for themſelves, conſpired ſecretly againſt the new miniſter; and propoſed to deſtroy him in the ſame manner as he had done his benefactor. But *Conſtance* was before-hand with them, and had ſo wrought himſelf in credit with *Chaw Naraya*, that more than 300 of thoſe who would have done him the ill office, loſt their lives on that occaſion. After this, he knew ſo well how to make uſe of his good fortune, and the foible of his maſter, that he gathered imenſe riches; partly by extortions, and partly by commerce, the whole buſineſs of which he had ſeized to himſelf. So many oppreſſions, which yet he exerciſed under the pretence of public good, had ſet the whole kingdom againſt him; however all ſtood quiet, waiting for a revolution, which, from the king's age and bad ſtate of health, they judged not to be far off.

CONSTANCE was not ignorant of the ill-will which *Conſtance* every body bore towards him, and knew better than any one how little he had to reckon on the life of the king, as well as what he had to fear from a revolution. He plainly ſaw that nothing could ſecure him from the reſentment of the *Siameſes*, but the protection of ſome foreign power eſtabliſhed in the kingdom, and therefore began his ſcheme by propoſing to the king the introduction of ſtrangers into his ſtate, to whom he was to intruſt the care of ſome principal places. He ſo dexterouſly ſet forth the advantages which would ariſe from an alliance with foreigners, that *Chaw Naraya* blindly gave into every thing which the miniſter recommended. The difficulty was to determine on the choice of a prince to be addreſſed on this occaſion. *Conſtance* durſt not truſt any of the neighbouring potentates, whoſe miniſters, inconstant like themſelves, might, after getting all they could out of him, ſacrifice him to the reſentment of the Mandarins; his view therefore was turned towards the *Europeans*, yet without all the encouragement which he might have propoſed from that quarter. He

(A) This miniſter, *Forbin* ſays, he deſtroyed by rendering him ſuſpected by falſe inſinuations to the king. But whether the count had been miſinformed, or *Tachard*, to ſave the honour of *Conſtance*, has repreſented the matter falſely, we find a different account of this affair, as already related: by which, if true, it appears that the *Barkalong*, who was put to death, was not his benefactor, but one who ſucceeded him.

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Naraya.

law that it would be in vain for him to apply to either the *English* or *Dutch*, because the trade of *Siam* was not considerable enough to allure them to settle there : for the same reason he could not address himself to the *Spaniards* or *Portugueses*. He had therefore no other course to take but to apply himself to the *French*, whom he judged most easily to be imposed on. With this view he persuaded the king to seek the alliance of *Lewis XIV.* by ambassadors, who had in charge particularly to insinuate, that their master had an inclination to become a Christian ; although, says our author, *he never had the least thought that way* ^c.

by foreign
assistance.

THE king of *France*, in the belief that religion obliged him to concur towards so good a work, sent, in his turn, ambassadors to *Siam* ; while *Constance*, perceiving his project to succeed in part so well, began to contrive how to carry the whole into execution according to his own views. He first opened his mind to Mr. *Chaumont*, by acquainting him, that the *Dutch*, with a design to enlarge their commerce, had for a long time desired a settlement at *Siam*, which yet the king would never listen to, for fear they should make themselves masters of his dominions : but that, if the king of *France*, on whose integrity he could more confidently rely, would enter into a treaty with his *Siamese* majesty, he would undertake to put into his hands the fortrefs of *Bankok* ; a place of importance in the kingdom, and, as it were, the key of it : on condition, however, that he should send thither troops, engineers, and all the money necessary to begin a settlement.

Imposes
on the
French.

MR. *Chaumont* and the abbé *Choisy*, to whom this affair was communicated, not judging it to be practicable, declined to take the management of it upon them ; but P. *Tachard*, blinded with the advantages which he imagined would accrue to the king of *France* from such an alliance, readily embraced it. He was drawn into this delusion by the artifices of *Constance*, who, concealing all his own private views under an appearance of zeal, rated to extravagance the benefits which would flow from such an union, as well with respect to *Louis XIV.* as to religion : assuring him that, one time or other, the king of *Siam* would declare himself a proselyte to Christianity ; and insinuating the liberty which the missionaries might propose in the exercise of their ministry, under the protection of a *French* garrison at *Bankok*. Nor was he less flattered by the promises of Mr. *Constance* to make a considerable settlement in behalf of the society of *Jesus*, for whom he was to build a college and an observatory at *Louvo*. In a word, this Je-

suit, seeing nothing in the whole scheme but what appeared very advantageous for the king, for religion, and for his society (A), undertook to negotiate the affair without hesitation: he even promised to bring it to bear, provided P. *La Chaize* would embark in it. From this time the whole secret of the embassy rested in P. *Tachard*, who was resolved to return into *France* with the *Siamese* ambassadors ^d.

COUNT *Forbin* had no opinion at all of this project, which he foresaw would involve his native country in a vast expence, and, after all, turn to no account. He had scarce entered within the river of *Siam*, before he perceived how much *Europe* had been abused, by the brilliant relations which had been published there of the riches and splendor of that country. He particularly expresses his surprize, how the abbé *Choisy* and P. *Tachard* could agree to write things so little conformable to truth: for, although Mr. *Constance* did all he could, during the few months of their stay in *Siam*, to conceal from them the poverty of that kingdom, yet, he says, they must have been extremely prejudiced not to see what appeared so visibly to their eyes. On his first landing at the bar he observed three or four little houses, built of reeds, and covered with palm-tree leaves, in which, he was told, the governor of the bar resided. He went into one, and found three or four *Siameses* sitting on the ground, cross-legged, without slippers, stockings, caps, or any thing on their bodies but a plain piece of cloth to cover them: nor was the house better equipped than the people, as having neither chairs, nor any other furniture. On asking for the governor: one of them answered, he was. This first appearance diminished much the ideas which he had formed of *Siam*. He was still more surprized, when, on asking for something to eat, the governor presented him with some rice; and told him, There was nothing else to be had.

AT *Bangkok* he found not much better fare; nor was there either herbs, fruits, or any other refreshments to be purchased for love or money. Those handsome houses, magnificently furnished, which, in the language of *Tachard*, were built at certain distances on the river-side for lodging the ambassador and his train, were nothing but cabins of reeds, hung with coarse cloth painted. They were likewise moveable; so that, as soon as the ambassador and his people left them, they were conveyed to the next stage, or landing-place: and thus the same sett served all the way to the capital city; of

^d FORBIN'S memoirs.

(A) This last seems to have been his chief motive.

which

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which he gives but a very mean picture. He falls foul on those who have published relations, for speaking of a pretended city of *Siam*, capital of the kingdom, which they represent as big as *Paris*, and very brilliant in appearance: whereas, our author says, it is a city merely of the imagination, for that *Siam* has no other capital but *Odia*, or *Judia*; and that it is scarce to be compared to a city of *France* of the fourth rank: that the ambassador's house, though the best in the town, was little and ill-built, only it was of brick; all the rest of the place, which is very nasty, being composed of houses made of wood or canes; excepting one street, where the *Mohammedans* and *Chineses* dwell, of about 100 brick houses, but small, and no more than a single story high. The temples also are of brick: as for the king's palace, it is very large, but without either proportion or taste.

The minister's arts

THIS is the account that *Forbin* gives in general of the country and metropolis, to which every thing ~~is~~ is suitable. But *Constance*, to dazzle the eyes of the *French*, employed all his arts to give them a grand idea of the kingdom. He made them continual feasts, served up with all the pomp imaginable: he displayed to their view the riches of the royal treasure, which were indeed worthy of a grand monarch, and capable of imposing. But he did not tell them that it was the work of a long succession of kings, who are esteemed illustrious only in proportion as they augment it; and never meddle with it, how great soever the occasion may be. He carried them likewise to the principal temples of the city, whose statues, he would persuade them, were of massy gold; whereas they were nothing but plaister, very artfully gilded (B). There was one fifteen or sixteen feet high, which *Tachard* and *Choisy* took to be solid gold, and have reported it as such in their voyages; but, soon after their departure for *France*, the chapel, in which it was, falling, broke the statue, and discovered the imposture of *Constance*; on which occasion *Forbin* could not forbear rallying him.

to display
grandeur.

IN short, that minister's earnestness to give the *French* an high opinion of the wealth of *Siam*, was seen in nothing more than the presents destined for the king and court of *France*; to compose which, he almost exhausted the kingdom, sending even to *China* and *Japan* for the most rare and curious things. Nay, that nothing might be wanting to promote his design, the very common sailors had bounty-money given them. It

* *FORBIN'S* memoirs.

(B) Or perhaps covered with very thin plates of gold, as *De Challes* observed some to be.

was thus that the ambassador *Chaumont* and the French were imposed on by this artful minister. However, he knew that *Forbin* had already seen too much to be deceived; and, for fear he should discover all, in case he returned to France with the ambassador, and so blast his project, he therefore urged the king, who had taken a fancy to the count, to require the ambassador to leave him behind. Considerable offers were made to dispose him to comply: but *Forbin* was so well acquainted with the poverty of the country, that nothing could have prevailed with him to stay, had not Mr. *Chaumont* ordered him to continue there on the behalf of the king of France. Four days after, he was created *high admiral, general of the king's armies, and governor of Bankok* (C) ^f.

BUT the more opportunities he had of being acquainted with the affairs of the country, the more he was convinced of the miserable state of things, and dissatisfied with his own condition. After the ambassadors were gone, he went to *Louvo* with Mr. *Constance*, where he was introduced to the palace for the first time. The situation in which he found the Mandarins surprised him: they were all sitting in a ring on oser mats, with a single lamp which lighted the whole court: and when any of them had a mind either to read or write, he drew a piece of wax-candle out of his pocket, and, lighting it at the lamp, stuck it on a piece of wood; which, turning on a pivot, served them for a candlestick. On asking *Constance*, If all the grandeur of these Mandarins consisted in what he saw? The minister said, Yes; and, taking him aside, told him, "The country was really poor; but your fortune shall not suffer on that score; I will take care of it." After which he let *Forbin* into all his designs, such as have been related. He went daily to the palace for two months, without seeing the king more than once; afterwards he saw him oftener; and, on a time, being asked by his *Siamese* majesty, If he was satisfied to stay at his court? He con-

f FORBIN'S memoirs,

(C) Mr. *Forbin* was afterwards honoured with the dignity of *Okpra sak di son Kraam*; that is, a divinity who has all the lights and experience for war. This new mark of the king's favour inflamed the jealousy of lord *Constance* to such a degree, as to attempt to poison him by milk, which he sent him; on

eating of which, four of his slaves died immediately. What gave first rise to his malice was to see how, for a word speaking to the king in behalf of that minister, *Forbin* had delivered him out of an ugly scrape, in which he had involved himself by an act of tyranny and oppression.

fesseth

25. *King* felleth, that he told a great untruth by answering in the affirmative.

Chaw Naraya.

*Abject
state of the
grandees.*

*Their mean
appoint-
ments.*

*Ambassa-
dors re-
turn.*

He was shocked particularly at the rigour with which the smallest faults were punished; as the cutting open the mouth from ear to ear, for not speaking enough; or sewing it up, for speaking too much: cutting off the buttocks, burning the arms with red hot irons, and running cane splinters under the nails to the very roots; a punishment which scarce any escape, at least once in their lives. *Forbin*, surprized to see the great Mandarins exposed to such kinds of treatment (nor are the sons and brothers of the king more exempt than others), asked Mr. *Constance*, if he had the like to fear from the laws? That minister answered, No: but in that, says our author, he lied; for he was bastonado'd himself under his predecessor, as I understood afterwards. In short, the count thought he had no great reason to be pleased with the provision made for him, as not suitable ~~to the~~ high posts which were conferred upon him. The king ordered a very little house to be given him, with thirty-six slaves to wait on him, and two elephants. The whole subsistence of his family cost him but five pence a day; so temperate are the men, and so cheap provisions: he had his own table with Mr. *Constance*. The furniture of his house was of no great value; to which were added twelve silver plates, and two great cups of the same metal, but all very thin; four dozen of cotton napkins, and two candles of yellow wax a-day. This, says he, was all the equipage of *monieur the high-admiral, and general of the king's armies* &c. Having related these particulars, so necessary for understanding the state of *Siam*, the occasion of the *French* embassies, and cause of the revolution which followed, we proceed in our history.

THE *French* ambassadors having discharged their commission, Mr. *Louberé* had his audience of leave on the 22d of *December*; at which time the king, who had been for some while sick, was much altered in his countenance. That ambassador departed from *Siam* on the 4th of *January* 1688; with him went three *Siamese* officers of state as envoys, who carried their king's letter to *Louis XIV*; and *Pere Tachard*, with the character of *Chaw Naraya's* envoy extraordinary to the king of *France* and the pope. He had orders from the king of *Siam* to carry with him twelve *Siamese* youths, to learn the *French* language; but was so hurried away that he could take with him no more than five. After they were gone, the twelve Jesuits performed their functions of teaching their re-

ligion, and the mathematical sciences, in the colleges erected for them in the two royal cities of *Siam* and *Louva*^h.

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THE major part of the troops were posted at *Bankok*, within the mouth of the river *Siam*, under general *De Farges*; and the remainder were sent to keep garrison at *Merghi*, a port on the western coast of *Siam*, in the bay of *Bengál*, at the mouth of the river which washes *Tenasserim*ⁱ, under the command of Mr. *Bruan*, his lieutenant-general.

THE introduction of foreign troops and foreign priests into the kingdom, occasioned various conjectures, and induced the people to suspect that the king had a design to make some considerable change in the laws, as well as religion of the country. The odium on this occasion fell chiefly on lord *Faulkon*, as the person who, influenced by these foreign priests, had given *Chaw Naraya* this bad advice. The people uneasy

THE missionaries themselves thought he was their tool: for although that nobleman continued a protestant for a considerable time after he was settled in *Siam*, yet falling at length into the hands of the Peres *Thomas* and *Maldonat*, they prevailed on him to renounce the church of *England*, and embrace his former religion, which was that of *Rome*^k.

SOME say, not only that he had recourse to the *French* to secure his power, but even that he had views of usurping the crown^l. But this is not likely: it is certain however, that the measures which he advised the king to take, gave much discontent, and at least furnished a handle for those suspicions, which soon after produced an extraordinary revolution in the kingdom.

THE intrigue was carried on at court, under the plausible pretence (B) of freeing the gulf of *Siam* from the oppressive yoke of the *Dutch*; who being possessed of the strong fortrefs of *Malakka*, situated at the entrance of the streights leading into it, had imposed a toll and duty on all the *Indian ships* at the court measures.

^h TACHARD, 279. 298.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 189, & 261.

^k TA-

CHARD, vol. i. p. 138, & seq.

^l KÆMPF. hist. Jap. p. 19.

(B) The following account is taken from a pamphlet, printed at *London* in 1690, and intituled, *A full and true relation of the great and wonderful revolution that happened lately in the kingdom of Siam, &c.* It is said to contain the substance of several letters, written from *Siam* in October 1688, and from the coast of *Cboromandel* in February

1686; never before published in any language, and now translated into *English*.—They seem to have been written partly by the *Dutch*, and partly by the *French* officers, who were then at *Siam*; and therefore we rather follow the account given in this relation, than that of *Kæmpfer*, or some others.

which

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Naraya.

The
French
forces

and the
missiona-
ries.

which traded or passed into that bay. However, the *Siam-
eses* were of opinion that the true design was first to bring the
kingdom under the *French* power, and then to change the
established religion of the country: towards the attainment of
which two ends lord *Faulkon* had prevailed on the king to ap-
point for his heir and successor, in prejudice to his two bro-
thers, his adopted son (*Mompi Totso*), whom the *Jesuits* were
said to have converted to the *Romish* faith (C). It was under
this successor that the conspiracy was to have taken effect.
The *French* were already in possession of *Bankok* and *Merghi*,
the two chief places which open a passage into the kingdom
of *Siam*; they were also allowed to have a command in the
guards about the king's person.

THESE things were said to be done for the security both
of the king and his kingdom. It is true, the *French* were
better able to fortify and defend the frontier places than the
natives, who are not at all skilled in that necessary art; they
were likewise more capable of serving the king on all military
occasions. But the *Siamese* officers of state and great men
considered these proceedings in the worst light imaginable;
so that it was with the greatest impatience and resentment that
they suffered them to be carried on. They concluded, that
these great *French* squadrons, filled with such numbers of
men, and so plentifully provided with warlike stores, aimed
at something more than securing the commerce of the *French*
company of merchants; all whose stock, says our author,
was not of importance enough to occasion the expence of
fitting out one of those fleets. Neither could they believe
that those exceeding rich presents, which arrived so frequently
from *France*, were sent for no other end than to keep up a
strict friendship between the two kings^m.

As for what concerns the *Jesuit* missionaries; they were
looked on with an evil eye by the *Siameses*, who could not,
without indignation, hear their specious discourses, wherein
they endeavoured to persuade them; that all the fatigues and
dangers which they ran through in coming to live among them,
proceeded solely from the strong desire they had of doing

^m Full and true relat. p. 2, & seqq:

(C) We rather put it thus,
than as it is in the or-
that he had been bred up in the
Romish religion by the *Jesuits*,
and had been adopted by the
king, on the persuasion of lord
Faulkon; which fact we con-

trary to what is related before
of *Mompi Totso* turning *Tala-
poin* for a time, and being ad-
opted from his birth by the
king, whose son he was sup-
posed to have been.

them good: whereas, it was obvious to every body, that their true design in teaching physic, surgery, astronomy, and mathematics, was to have the better opportunity of making converts of those who applied to them to learn the sciences. They called to mind likewise, that these were the methods which the same sett of men had practised in Japan, and what a formidable party they at length made in that empire, by virtue of their conversions (D). These were the reflexions which the grandees of Siam made on this occasion: as they judged the constitution both in church and state to be in danger, by the measures which were pursued at court, they resolved to obstruct them; but they were loth to attempt any thing that way during the life of *Chaw Naraya* ^{25. King Chaw Naraya.}.

As soon as the king fell ill, which was in March 1688, *Pitracha's* *Pecherachas*, or *Pitrachas*, who had taken his measures long before-hand to establish himself, in case of accidents, glossing his designs under pretence of the good of the state, began to insinuate to the people; that the *French* were come into their country with no other view than to destroy the royal race, their religion and their customs, by obliging them to submit to *Prapye* (or *Monpi*) and *Constance*; who would be the second person in the kingdom, in case their designs succeeded. By these artifices it was easy for him to gain all the grandees, as well as the people, on his side, and inflame them in a strange manner against the *French*: the rather as the princes, who were the true heirs to the crown, always looked upon him as a faithful subject, who acted in favour of their interests; whilst they considered *Prapye* and *Constance* as their most avowed enemies.

CONSTANCE, from whom these intrigues could not be hidden, notwithstanding the fair appearance which *Pitrachas* sent for to put on to amuse him, in February sent general *Farges* an or- to court.

² Full and true relat. &c. p. 5. * *FARGES* relat. revol. a Siam, 1688.

(D) Some authors give the affair another turn. They say, that the king, in his sickness, being desirous to secure the crown to his adopted son, lord *Faulkon* took the proper measures with that prince to fulfil his master's intentions. To strengthen his party his relations were in high posts, and had troops under their command; the *French* too were in his inter-

est: *Pitracha* therefore, to give a colour to his conspiracy, pretended that designation was unjust; and that what he did was to secure the crown to the king's brothers, as the rightful heirs (*La Martiniere introduction a l'hist. d'Asie*, &c. tom. i. p. 251.). And indeed this is more likely to be the fact, than that the *French* intended to subdue Siam, with so small a force.

der

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Naraya.

der from the king, to come up to *Louvo*, with the greater part of his troops. When that order came, he had in all under his command no more than 200 men: Mr. *Bruan* had three of his best companies at *Merghi*; and, after his departure, the general was obliged to spare thirty-five choice soldiers, with two or three officers, to send on board ships which the king of *Siam* had sent out to cruize; besides the small number of men which remained, diminished every day by sickness. He departed from *Bankok* with seventy men and five officers, under great uneasiness of mind, on account of the rest of his garrison whom he left so weak in the fort; of which there still remained unfinished two bastions, two curtains, and a cavalier (E).

He advances and returns.

ON his arrival at the city of *Siam*, near which they were obliged to pass, they found all the gates shut; and he was informed by the bishop of *Metellopolis*, the abbé *De Lionne*, and the chief of the *French* factory, that it was reported the king was dead: that all were in arms at *Louvo*, and on the roads: that they talked of arresting Mr. *Constance*, spread a thousand stories to the disadvantage of the *French*; and, in short, that they had advice, a great body of *Siamese* troops were marching for *Bankok*, to make themselves masters of it. On these tidings, general *Farges* did not think it prudent to continue his route: but, halting in the neighbourhood of the capital, he wrote without delay to Mr. *Constance*, to acquaint him with those unlucky reports; and let him know, that he judged it much better, for the good both of himself, as well as the *French*, that he should repair to them, and go offer their services to the king's two brothers, heirs of the crown, who were then in the city of *Siam*; and by that means remove the suspicions which the princes had conceived against them P.

Constance
embarrassed.

BUT that minister, either thinking the evil not so great as it was, or not being at liberty to retire from *Louvo*, or, in short, being in the interest of *Prapye* (as, it is said, he afterwards confessed), he would not listen to the *French* general's advice; who therefore, as soon as he had received the answer of *Constance*, retired immediately to *Bankok*, with a view to preserve his troops. What followed, says *Des Farges* (F), has clearly

P DES FARGES, *ibid.*

(E) A kind of high platform for cannon. *des revolutions arrivées à Siam, en 1688. Amst. 1691.* — It was the first which appeared from

(F) This relation of *Des Farges* has for its title, *Relation* the *French*; but the editor does

not

clearly evinced, that I could not have acted otherwise, without engaging myself in a party, no less unjust than weak, and causing the ruin of all the *French* who were in *Siam*. For it appeared for certain, from the information of two Mandarins whom he had in his hands, that, at the very time when *Constance* sent for them to *Louvo*, *Pitrachas* was already in possession of the palace; and had at his devotion more than thirty thousand men at *Louvo* and on the roads: without reckoning the forces of the two princes, which were at that time joined with those of *Pitrachas* against the party of *Pra-pye*, in which, as *Farges* supposes, *Constance* wanted to engage him, although he durst not declare his intentions to him.

As soon as *Pitrachas* understood that the *French* were returned to *Bankok*, and that it would not be easy to master them, as they were not divided; he had recourse to all the artifices imaginable to oblige the two princes and the princesses to repair to *Louvo*: because it was of the last importance to him to prevent their joining with the *French*; and he could not advance his affairs so long as either the one or the other remained masters of the capital city and of *Bankok*, by the assistance they were able to afford each other on the least suspicion of his designs. He therefore repeated his invitations to them, under pretence that the king, who was at the point of death, wanted to see them, in order to place the crown on the head of one of them: adding, that they ought not to delay one moment, to come and receive the oath of allegiance from all the court, in order to prevent *Pra-pye* from gaining ground to their prejudice; and that as a faithful subject, zealous for their service, he had disposed all things in such a manner that they had nothing to fear.

THE princes hesitated much to comply with these pressing solicitations; not that they had then the least suspicion of *Pitrachas*, but because they saw themselves masters of *Siam*, and were not so sure of being well received at *Louvo*, where both *Pra-pye* and *Constance* then were; a circumstance which seemed to forebode some unlucky accident. However, at length the younger prince ventured to go thither with the princess, who either was then, or was to be, his wife. They made their public entry, escorted by a great number of troops,

* *FARGES*, ubi supra.

not tell us how the manuscript the *Coche*, which were taken in fell into his hands. In all likelihood, it was brought to *Hel-* 1689 by the *Dutch*, as mentioned in a former note.
land by either the *Maligne* or

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sent for that purpose by *Pitrachas*, who received them with the utmost submission, and did them homage; in which he was followed by all the Mandarins. *Pra-pye* and *Constance* were, it is said, the only two who did not pay their attendance: however, some time after, the latter came, but the prince would not admit him.

*Affass-
nates
Monpi.*

It is likely that *Pitrachas*, having now in his hands those who might aspire to the crown, would, before he made use of arms, have waited the king's death, which was not far off: but, being informed that *Pra-pye* had caused some troops to advance, in order to try his fortune, which could not but prove fatal to him under the dominion of the king's brothers, his declared enemies; that crafty lord prevailed on the princes and great Mandarins to secure his person. This important talk he undertook to execute himself; and although *Pra-pye* was then in the king's apartment, from whence he had never stirred from the time his majesty fell sick; yet *Pitrachas* laid his scheme so well, that having drawn him by artifice to the door of the chamber, he forced him out by violence, and had him slain upon the spot, without regarding the king, who intreated him to spare the life of his favourite and adopted son.

*Sends for
Con-
stance.*

THIS first act of the tragedy being over, *Pitrachas* judged it time to seize Mr. *Constance* also, sending for him, in the king's name, to come to the palace. The minister, who knew nothing of *Pra-pye*'s death, yet was under some uneasiness, took with him three *French* officers, among whom was one of general *Farges*'s sons (A). As soon as he was entered the palace, *Pitrachas*, at the head of a great body of armed men, took him by the arm; and, with a fierce and disdainful tone, said, That he arrested him as a prisoner, for having conspired with *Pra-pye* against the state, and dissipated the public treasure. The officers offered to lend him their assistance (B); but he thanked them, and desired they would give
up

(A) According to the full and true account, he was accompanied by a train of his friends, among whom were these officers of note; Mess. *De Beauchamp*, *De Fretteville*, *Vaudrille*, *De Laiffe*, and the chevalier *De Fourbin*. A mistake for *Farges*; *Fourbin* having left the country the year before.

(B) According to *Pere D'Orleans*, as soon as *Constance* heard

Pitrachas had made himself master of the palace, he ran thither in great zeal to serve the king, with a guard of only some *French*, two *Portugueses*, and sixteen *English*; with whom he would have forced his passage, had his followers been as resolute as himself: but he was scarce entered into one of the courts, when he found himself surrounded by the *Siamese* soldiers,

up their swords without opposition. *Pitrachas*, concealing ^{25. King} his evil intentions against the *French* for the present, ordered that they should be conveyed, to *Thl Pousson*, under ^{Naraya.} pretence of securing them against the rage of the populace ^b.

As for *Constance*, he was led, as in triumph, upon the *Has him* walls of the palace, followed by a number of *painted arms*, executed. who are the guards, and, at the same time, executioners, of the king of *Siam*. He was afterwards carried into the palace, and there strictly guarded, loaded with five heavy chains, and debarred from seeing any body. He was tortured several times in different manners; and according to the common report, confirmed by the depositions of the two mandarins before-mentioned, he confessed, in his torments, that he had held a correspondence with *Pra-pye*, and also dissipated, or sent out of the kingdom, great sums of money. They, after this, drew from him all the light they could, with respect to the affairs of the foreigners, and then cut him in pieces. His house was pillaged; and his wife, with most of her family, put to the rack, in order to come to the knowledge of all his effects. There remained besides three Mandarins of that party, who were put in fetters the night after Mr. *Constance* had been seized; all which was done without making the least noise ^b.

THIS is the account of matters as given by general *Des Farges*, to which it may not be amiss to add certain particulars, which we have from other quarters.

P. *D'Orleans* tells us, that the conspiracy was formed between *Pitrachas* and *Monpi* (or *Pra-pye*), who was drawn into it in hopes ^{D'Orleans, his account.} to marry the princefs, and ascend the throne: that *Pitrachas* resolved first to get rid of *Constance*, as the greatest obstacle to his designs: but that *Constance*, apprised of it, resolved to be beforehand with him; and, as his chief dependance was on the *French*, sent for *Farges*: that *Farges* advanced with eighty soldiers; but, when he drew near the city of *Siam*, being misled by reports of troubles at court, returned to *Bangkok*, and never after could be prevailed on to march to his assistance: that *Constance*, thus left to himself, endeavoured to persuade the king to appoint one of his brothers to succeed him; but, not caring for them, he declared his daughter queen, with liberty to marry one of her uncles: that this

^b FARGES, ubi supra.

diers, and at the same time de- who were taken with him, and
fertilized by all but the *French*, put in irons.

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Naraya.



not pleasing the grandees, the factions continued; and *Pitrachas*, falling out with *Monpi* about the disposal of a place, the latter discovered the plot to the king, who thereupon chid *Constance*: that, *Constance* having pacified the king, it was agreed that *Pitrachas* should be seized the first time he appeared in his majesty's apartment; but that lord, being apprised of the design, assembled his friends, and next morning, the 18th of *May*, became master of the palace without resistance: that *Constance*, zealous to serve his master, against the advice of his friends, went to the palace with a small guard, some *French*, two *Portugueses*, and sixteen *English*; but being inclosed with soldiers, all fled from him but the *French*, who would have defended him, but he would not suffer it; and thus he was seized by them. This account of *P. D'Orleans*, being collected from letters sent from *Siam*, cannot be supposed to be so exact as the accounts of those who were chief actors in the affair.

Other re-
ports.

SOME say, that when Mr. *Constance* was sent for by *Pitrachas*, he was advised by many of his friends not to obey the order, but, instead thereof, to raise the forces of the city; assuring him that many officers of the army would come over to his party, which was much superior to the general's, as being at least 50,000 strong: that besides, he had all the fleet at his devotion, and had made himself exceeding popular by his courteous deportment to people of all ranks and degrees; but that, being infatuated, he was deaf to all advice^c. Yet, according to *Kämpfer*, he would have avoided obeying the summons, if he could have told how; and that, dreading some ill event, he took leave of his family in a very melancholy manner^d.

The
French
arrested.

HOWEVER that be, we are told, that the next day *Okpra Pitrachas* sent for lord *Faulkon*; and ordered him to acquaint the *French* officers, "That there was no design of keeping them prisoners; but that, as a most dangerous plot against the king's life had been discovered, and all the parties concerned were not yet fully known, there was a necessity of securing all persons of note, till such time as matters should be brought more to light." And as for you, Lord *Faulkon*, (said he, with an air of authority) "I charge you to say this, and no more, to the *French* officers;" letting him know, at the same time, that he should be narrowly watched. This visit to the *French* was only an artifice of *Pitrachas* to moderate their resentment, and divert them from taking mea-

^c HAMILTON, ubi supr. vol. i. p. 174.
Japan, p. 20.

^d KÄMPFER. hist.

fures for their common security. Among the several troops of guards which were about the king's person, one was made up wholly of *Europeans* of different nations, especially *French*; and the *Siamese* troop itself, consisting of 150 men, was commanded by *French* officers. These were sent to *Thalappon* (or *Thé Pousson*) a house of pleasure which the king had at some distance from *Louvo*; whither *Okpra Pitrachas* had before-hand ordered a great body of forces to encamp, and be in readiness, as occasion should require. Two days after this, the *French* officers, who had been taken into custody at *Louvo* with Lord *Faulkon*, were sent thither also, under a strong guard.

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Naraya.

MATTERS having proceeded thus far, *Pitrachas* had Lord *Faulkon* again brought before him: it was then that he opened to him the cause of all these motions. He reproached him in a very severe manner; and, having charged him with treason against the king and government, caused him to be put to the ordinary and extraordinary torture, to force him to discover his accomplices in the intrigue for making the king a christian, and subjecting the kingdom to the *French* power. When he had continued this unhappy lord for several hours under those grievous tortures, he ordered the king's adopted son to be brought to the place, and his head to be cut-off immediately (C); then, causing a string to be run through it, had it hanged about Lord *Faulkon*'s neck, after the manner of an *European* cravat. This tragedy was acted on the 28th of *May* (D). The two following days he was again applied to the torture, in the cruellest manner that could be devised; the young prince's head continually hanging at his breast both night and day. Thus they continued to torment him till the 4th of *June*; when, being unable to hold out any longer, he died under the violence of the torture.

Prince
Totto put
to death.

THIS was the unhappy end of Lord *Constance*, or *Faulkon*; Lord who, after rising by his merit to the highest pitch of grandeur, *Faulkon* executed

• Full and true relat. p. 6, & seqq.

(C) We think it better to adhere to the account of general *Farges* (confirmed by that of others), who makes the tragedy to commence with the murder of *Monpi*.

(D) *Kämpfer* says, *Petrachas* threw the head at Lord *Faulkon*'s feet, with this reproach,

See, there is your king. At the request of the king, who was exceedingly grieved at this event, his body was decently buried. *Monpi*'s father was seized by stratagem between *Judia* and *Livo* (or *Louvo*), and all their adherents dispersed.

25. *King Chaw Naraya.* fell a sacrifice to the ambition of another. He was sober, ingenious, and industrious^f. He had an agreeable aspect, was gifted with a great understanding, and very eloquent, although not bred to learning^g. His modesty, skill, and diligence in dispatching affairs (E); and his disinterestedness in refusing both the appointments of his office, and all presents from private people, daily increased the king's confidence in him, and made him deserving of a better fate. He was very civil to the *English*, and did them all the friendly offices which lay in his power. He was also very desirous of settling a trade between this nation and the *Siameses* (F): but his good intentions were obstructed^h; and who knows, but it was their slighting his kind offers which made him turn his thoughts to the *French*. In the year 1688 he sent a very considerable present to King *James II.* of all the rarities and valuable things which the *East Indies* produce, estimated to be worth about 6000 poundsⁱ.

HOWEVER we must here add, that, besides what is said of his ingratitude to his benefactor in the notes, his treatment of Count *Forbin*, if fact, shews him to have been a bad man. At first he caressed him, and promoted his advancement at court, where he was made high-admiral, general of the king of *Siam*'s forces, and governor of *Bankok*: but when he found that the count was become a favourite with *Chaw Naraya*, he did all he could to destroy him; first, by poison, and then by sending him upon the most dangerous enterprizes, which obliged him at last to desire leave to depart the country. But after he had obtained it, a *Portuguese* officer was sent, by way of honour, to bring him to court. On this occasion the Bishop of *Metropolis* said, "Take care you do not put yourself into the hands of those *Portugueses*. I know Mr. Con-

^f HAMILT. ubi supra, p. 170.

^g KÆMPF. p. 19.

^h Full and true relat. pref. p. 8.

ⁱ Ibid.

(E) Our author adds, his fidelity in managing the public revenue. And although he is charged with squandering it, to carry on his project of bringing in a foreign power; yet, in other cases, he might have acquitted his trust with great integrity.

(F) Yet there seems to have been no good understanding between the officers of the *English*

East India company and him. For we are told by Count *Forbin*, that in 1688, being at *Masulipatan*, the director of the *English* factory there, who was a sworn enemy to Mr. *Constance*, invited him to dinner, where that minister was not spared; and that, among other things, the director said, *If he could lay hold of him, he would have him hanged up.*

"*Constance*

“ *stance* well ; you need not doubt but these men have orders 25. *King*
 “ to murder you on the road — Be advised by me, and draw Chaw
 “ yourself out of the hands of so artful and wicked an enemy *Naraya*.
 “ while you may.” The *French* ambassador was suspicious }
 of him, and at last looked on him in the same light.

FARGES says, he had great qualities, but that it required time to know him. That he had no sincerity, and a boundless ambition ; was easily offended, and never forgave ; which made him hated by the *Siamites*, and most foreigners. To proceed,

KÆMPFER relates, that after he had been tortured and *with great* starved for many days, so that his body was almost reduced *rigour*. to a skeleton, he was carried in a chair to his own house, which he found rifled. To add to his affliction, his lady, who lay a prisoner in the stable, was so far from taking leave of him, that she spit in his face, and would not so much as suffer him to kiss his only son of four years old ; another, who had died a little before, being still unburied. From thence he was carried out of town ; and, after his head was struck off, his body was divided in two parts, and covered with a little earth, which the dogs scratched away in the night-time, and then devoured the corpse to the bones. Before he died, he took his seal, two silver crosses, a relic set in gold, which he always wore on his breast, being a present from the pope, with the order of St. *Michael*, sent him by the king of *France*, and delivered them to an officer of the court, desiring him to give them to his little son ^k.

As soon as this execution was done on lord *Faulkōn*, all *His lady* his effects were seized, and his family carried to prison. His *tortured* lady, after undergoing a very strict examination, was at last put to the torture ; which she endured for several days together, without confessing what they expected or desired. She was then thrown into prison, where she continued for some months, with chains on her hands and fetters on her feet. At the expiration of this term they made her and her family slaves ; in which disgraceful quality they took off her irons, opened the prison doors and turned her out ^l.

PITRACHAS having destroyed this party, applied all *Pitrach* his thoughts to ruin the *French*, whom he considered as the *rejoice* chief obstacle to his designs. He was not able to draw to court the elders of the two princes, brothers of the king, who seemed to conceive some suspicion on the repeated instances which were made to him on that account ; and at which the

^k *KÆMPFER*, ubi supra, p. 27 :
 p. 7, & seq.

^l Full and true relat.

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Naraya.

younger, as well as the princess herself, expressed their surprise. The usurper therefore, to take away all distrust, thought proper to let the elder remain at the capital, and to take a solemn oath, before the second and the Mandarins, by which he acknowledged the princes for his true lords, and promised to do nothing but what was for their service. This engagement, performed with all the ceremony necessary to render it sacred among the *Siameses*, banished all distrust against that artful minister, and gave him more authority than ever. However, although the lives of the young prince and princess were in his power; he was sensible that the elder, who was in the city of *Siam*, might, in conjunction with the *French*, give him so much exercise, that he durst not venture to destroy them. For this reason he employed all his art to inspire, as well those of the royal blood as the rest of the nation, with hatred against the *French*, in order to join in their destruction; and he had so far gained his point, that the princess herself, as our author had been assured, was the first to give into that design ^m.

to ruin the
French.

HOWEVER *Pitrachas*, before he proceeded to open force, had recourse to all sorts of stratagems to surprise the *French*. He wrote several letters to the bishop of *Metellopolis*, the Abbé *Lionne*, and the chief of the *French* lodge at the capital, to assure them, that he intended no manner of harm to either them or their religion: yet the Abbé, on going to *Louvo*, to his great astonishment, found, that all the *French* in that city had been arrested, and the other Christians imprisoned and ill-treated (G). But the Mandarin, who had

^m FARGES relat. de la revolut. a Siam.

(G) According to the full and true account, *Pitrachas*, the better to facilitate his design of driving the Christians out of the kingdom, commanded that all the *Portugueses* should come together, and retire into a little island near the capital city; threatening to put to death all those who should attempt to make their escape out of it. The *English* had the misfortune also to feel the effects of his indignation; for they were first plundered of all their effects, and then thrown into prison.

As for the *French* who were at *Siam* and *Louvo*, they were not treated with the same violence at the beginning, because their numbers were too considerable, and it might have been hazardous to provoke them; besides *Pitrachas* was willing rather to surprise those who were posted at *Bankok* and *Mergbi*, than attack them by open force. According to *Kampfer*, p. 22. the *Dutch* were assured of *Pitrachas*'s protection, and orders sent to *Bankok* to let their ships pass during these troubles.

begin

been first ambassador in *France*, protested to him that the *French* had been used in that manner, merely to secure them from insults; and that, as to the other christians, he would go forthwith and set them at liberty; which he did in a little time after,

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THE Abbé *Lionne*, who went to the palace, was received very courteously by *Pitrachas*, in the midst of a magnificent court; but, after many compliments, he declared to him, "That it was the king's intention that general *Farges* should repair to *Louvo*: that it was true, his majesty did not blame him for returning to *Bankok*, on account of the evil reports which then were current; and that he knew the general could not march since then, for the disorder which had seized him; to cure which, the king, as a mark of his esteem, had sent his physicians: but that, being now informed that he was perfectly recovered, it was necessary that he should no longer defer to obey his majesty's orders: That, for this end, he had sent the two Mandarins, late ambassadors in *France*, with design to do him (*Farges*) the more honour, and give him a new proof of his friendship; to which *Pitrachas* added, that if the general did not repair to *Louvo*, his refusal might receive a bad construction, and occasion mischievous consequences: that he hoped he would make no more difficulty in the matter; and that, in the interim, he would keep his son, the chevalier, near him, at court."

Sends for
Farges

THE ambassadors were ordered to declare farther, "That the king, having caused Mr. *Constance* to be arrested as a prisoner of state, had a design to give his place to the general's son (H): that, for this reason, it was necessary, he should stay at *Louvo* for some time, to instruct him in the business of his post; a particular which made one of the chief motives for sending for him."

FOR all their artifices to conceal the state of affairs, *Des Farges* could easily perceive that things were in a very bad situation, so that he was not a little perplexed what course to resolve upon. He could have been glad that the Mandarins would have been satisfied with the refusal which he made, to accept for his son the employments which they presented him; but they absolutely insisted that he should go up with them: to which he was likewise pressed by the Abbé *De*

(H) According to the full and true account, this interview is represented to have been with *Pitrachas* himself, who, in the king's name, offered *Des Farges* the place of *Barkalong*, which *Constance* enjoyed.

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Naraya.

Lionne (whom they had brought with them), in consideration of the state in which affairs then were. On the one side he perceived the danger he ran by putting himself into their hands; but, on the other, he saw he could not refuse going without causing an open rupture, at a time when he was in no condition to sustain a siege; having neither provisions, nor carriages for cannon in the place, which moreover was open on all sides".

*Here follows
to go.*

At length, after many reflections, he was of opinion, that both honour and duty required him to expose himself, with his two sons, to all sorts of perils; to try, if by such marks of confidence, he could remove the suspicions of the *Siamefe*, and preserve his troops: a thing which seemed impossible to be effected any other way than by obeying the order. He considered likewise, that by this means he should avoid bringing on the *French* the imputation of want of fidelity, and gain time for putting *Bangkok* in a better state of defence. He then gave the necessary orders to Mr. *Verdefale*, who commanded under him; adding, in presence of his other officers, "that he was sensible of the risk he ran in going to court; "but that the danger arising from his non-compliance would "be more general and certain: that he (*Verdefale*) should do "his duty in his absence, and sooner see him and his sons "hung up in his sight, than surrender the place intrusted to "his care."

*Brought
before Pi-
trachas.*

PITRACHAS, being informed of the *French* general's resolution, sent him a handsome *palcki*, with other voitures for those who accompanied him. On his arrival at the gates of *Louvo*, he was complimented by a Mandarin, who invited him, as from the king, to go directly to the palace (1). This

^a DES FARGES, ubi supra.

(1) We are told by others, that he set forward by water on the 7th of *June*. But he had not advanced two leagues on his way upon the river, when, perceiving himself surrounded with armed barges and gallies, he began to think that some extraordinary business must be in agitation. That his surprise was increased, when, on his arrival at *Siam*, he saw himself put into a *palanki*, or close litter, and carried to *Louvo*, guarded

by several troops of armed men, in a manner he had never been escorted before: that, as soon as he got to *Louvo*, he was conducted to the king's palace, without being allowed to go first to the jesuits house, as he desired, under design of reposing himself a little; though his true presence was, to learn the present posture of affairs, which seemed to him to be much altered (1).

(1) Full and true account, p. 10.

message he judged foreboded no good, and made him believe 25. *King*
 that he should be arrested. He passed through several courts *Chaw*
 full of armed men ; and was at first very well received by *Pi-*
trachas, who had assumed the title of *Great Mandarin*. After
 many compliments on his merit, and the affection which the
Siamefes had for his person, he asked, by way of conversa-
 tion, " Whether he had the absolute command of the officers
 " and soldiers left behind at *Bankok* ; and if any of them dared
 " to disobey his orders ? " *Des Farges* answered, without
 considering *Pitrachas*'s drift, " That discipline was very ex-
 " actly observed in the armies of his master ; and that all
 " must obey at the first word of a commander. " " Ha ! I
 " am very glad to hear that (replied the Great Mandarin) ;
 " the king sent you an order to come up with your troops,
 " How comes it then that you have brought nobody with you
 " but your son ? ".

THIS question, though unexpected, did not surprise the *Ordered to*
 general so much, as the assurance of the first ambassador (K) ; *bring his*
 who affirmed to his face, that he had importuned him to *troops,*
 bring his garrison along with him. *Des Farges* perceived by
 this that it was a concerted affair, and began to despair of
 getting out of the scrape. " Very well, replied *Pitrachas*,
 " I see it is a misunderstanding : you have only to write im-
 " mediately to your officers and soldiers to repair to you,
 " since, you assure me, that none of them will venture to dis-
 " obey your commands. " The general, without regarding
 the danger in which he was, answered " That, if he was on
 " the spot, what he had told him would be the case ; but
 " that, according to the customs of *France*, a governor out
 " of his garrison has no authority there : and that, before
 " he left his, he had desired the first ambassador to let him
 " know, whether the king had sent any other order, that he
 " might execute it at once ; since, it was most certain, that
 " Mr. *Verdesale* would not obey him in his absence. The
Abbé De Lionne, perceiving the danger in which they were
 involved, represented to the first ambassador, " That all was
 lost if the general was detained ; and that Mr. *Verdesale*
 was a person who would hearken to nothing, but would
 " push things to the last extremity. "

(K) This was *Manpay*, who, bassador ; and since his return
 the year before, had been in was made *Barkalon*, or chief
France, in quality of first am- minister of state (1).

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Naraya.

and write
to Bruan.

THIS discourse seemed to make an impression on the *Siameses*; who judged it better to send *Des Farges* back, and keep his two sons as pledges for performing his promise. Afterwards, they pretended to send him on an expedition against fictitious enemies (L), in which he was to have the whole command; and therefore, to secure the victory, proposed to him to write to Mr. *Bruan* at *Merghi*, to join him with his troops. It was to no purpose to desire leave to depart the kingdom, in case they distrusted the *French*; the king's will must first be obeyed. They then sent him a draught of the letter in *Siamese*, which, translated, formed a jargon, proper to give Mr. *Bruan* to understand, that the general was arrested, and their affairs in a very bad way. *Pitrachas* however was well pleased with the copy, imagining that what was a good stile in *Siamese*, was the same in *French*.

The

French
from Lou-
vo;

To add to his affliction, he was informed of an unhappy affair which befell the *French* who had been detained at *Louvo* (M). These, after the departure of the Abbé *Lionne*, with the two Mandarins from thence, being in fear that *Des Farges* would not quit *Bankok* to obey the summons, determined at all hazards to escape thither. With this view they took horses at that place, and made all the haste they could to get into the neighbourhood of the city of *Siam*, where they found more than 400 men (N) assembled, with a design to stop them. Presently after, certain Mandarins advancing, gave them their parole, that nothing ill should happen to

• *DES FARGES, ubi supra.*

(L) The *Kochinchinians* and *Laos*; who were said to have threatened the kingdom with an invasion. *Full and true account*, p. 13.

(M) And at *Thalasson*, or *Thli Pousson*. The most considerable persons among the *French*, we are told from another quarter, were the chevalier *Des Carges* (a mistake for *Des Farges*) and *De Fretteville*, with Mess. *De Vaudrille*, *De Larisse*, and two engineers, one named *Bresley*. Their intent was to get to the quarters of the *French* company in that city, and there, seizing on some vessel, sail to join ge-

neral *Farges* at *Bankok*, and inform him of what had passed: for these transactions had been hitherto carried on with such incredible diligence and secrecy, that not the least tidings of them had as yet reached either that garrison or *Merghi* (1).

(N) According to the *full and true account*, a body of 6 or 7000 was sent after them: so that early next morning, when within two leagues of the capital, they were surprised to see so great a detachment of the army both before them and behind them, to hinder their getting into the city.

(1) *Full and true account*, p. 3, & seq.

them,

them, provided they freely surrendered themselves. This promise prevented them from standing on their defence, which besides they saw would be to no purpose. The Siameses, however, regardless of their word, treated them in the most cruel and ignominious manner in the world. They stripped them almost naked, and conducted them back with ropes about their necks, which they tied to the tails of their horses; making them sometimes trot, not regarding the chevalier *Des Farges*, the general's son, who was one of the number: nor did they spare to beat them with sticks and lances, to oblige those to rise who fell down with such evil treatment, inasmuch that one of them died on the road (O). They were afterwards exposed at *Louvo* for three hours to the mercy of the populace (P), who struck them in the face, and committed all the outrages imaginable ^P.

As this history confirmed *Des Farges* still more in his opinion of the extreme hatred which the Siameses bore to the French, he made haste to return to *Bankok*; constrained to sacrifice his two sons (Q), whom they demanded in hostage, in order to get quickly to the place where he believed his presence was most necessary. He met with, on the road, the bishop of *Metellopolis* (R), whom the Great Mandarin had obliged to repair to *Louvo*, under pretence that the king wanted to discourse him on affairs of consequence: but, in reality, to make sure of his person, and send him to *Bankok*, sometime after

^P *DES FARGES*, and the full and true relat.

(O) This person, as we learn from the full and true account, was *Bresley* the engineer, mentioned in the last note but one; and seems to be the same, who, as *Kämpfer* relates, seeing a halter put about the neck of each of them, according to the Siamese custom on such occasions, died of the fright. But he errs in saying they were general *Farges's* hostages, who made their escape from *Louvo*, for *Farges* had not been there yet.

(P) They were chained two and two together by the neck, and imprisoned. Their domestics were treated in the same manner; and so were all the other French who staid in that

city. See the full and true account, ubi supra.

(Q) *Kämpfer* says, *Des Farges* was indeed well received; but, before he was permitted to return to *Bankok*, was obliged to deliver up that place, and leave his two sons, with twelve more of his countrymen, as hostages at *Louvo*.

(R) He had lived long among them, and was apostolic vicar in the greater part of India. Full and true account, p. 14. *Kämpfer* calls him Mr. *Louis*. Capt. *Hamilton* speaks of a French bishop named *Ciffée*, who in 1720 was eighty years of age, and had been there at least since 1708.

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Chaw
Naraya.



begins hos-
tilities.

the general, to serve his design by exposing him to danger : for he declared plainly to him in the very first audience, " That he verily believed the general would march-up with his troops ; but that he would send him, the bishop, to " *Bangkok*, to let him know, that if he did not come, he " would put him, his missionaries, the jesuits, and all the " christians, at the mouth of the cannon."

In spite of all the dangers which threatened, it was unanimously resolved, as soon as *Des Farges* reached the fortress, to perish rather than yield themselves up to the mercy of the *Siameses*, who had given them so many proofs of their ill-will. Mean time hostilities commenced, by attacking a ship belonging to the king of *Siam*, whose crew had refused to sell the *French* provisions, in very injurious terms. After this, the general withdrew the troops which were in the old fort on the west side of the river, because it was not possible to keep it ; at the same time ordering the parapets to be demolished, and such cannon, as could not burst, to be nailed up. Nor were the *Siamese* backward to annoy them in their work ; and no sooner were the *French* retired, than they set about repairing the fort and unnailing the guns. To prevent their lodgment, three officers, at the head of thirty men, were sent in two shallops against them ; but finding a multitude, which they did not expect, they were forced to retire, after the loss of three or four men. The *French* then made a great fire, to hinder the enemy from mounting a cannon, which would have uncovered the fortress. Their works were several times destroyed, yet they had the obstinacy to repair them, although it cost them abundance of men. Mean time they did not cease firing for three or four days : and few nights passed in which they did not make false attacks ; which, joined to the inconveniencies within the fortress, gave the *French* inexpressible fatigues ⁹.

Bravery
of St.
Crik.

As there was no possibility of receiving succours from without, nor hopes of obtaining composition from their enemies ; they resolved to send a small bark, belonging to the company, out of the river, in quest of two *Siamese* vessels, manned with *Frenchmen*, which had been sent a cruising two months before. This was a dangerous enterprise, but their situation required it. A lieutenant, named *St. Crik*, with nine soldiers, sailed down the river, after escaping the fire of the fort ; but scarce was the bark out of sight, when it was attacked with such fury that the *French* could not prevent boarding. However *St. Crik* cleared the deck of the multitude, by setting fire to

part of his powder and all his grenados, which he had disposed for the purpose. The bark having afterwards run aground, the *Siameses*. who imagined all the powder was consumed, entered her again without any apprehension; and were tossed into the air in greater numbers than before. Then *St. Crik*, setting fire to some barrels which he had reserved, blew up the bark, and all the *Siameses* who were in it; most of whom perished with him, to the great admiration of those who were on shore^r.

25. King
Chaw
Naraya.

PITRACHAS, on the first advice which he received, that *Des Farges* refused to advance with his troops, did not fail to send to him the bishop of *Metellopolis*, as he had promised. This prelate arriving at a time when the enemy's fort was battered with most violence, the *Siameses* took all his men prisoners; stripped him, and, putting a rope about his neck, threatened to expose him to the cannon of the fortrefs (S).^a The Grand Mandarin yet tried another expedient: which was to make the general's sons write, to acquaint their father, "That there was no more life for them, unless he came to *Louvo*; and that it was even a favour done them, that they were suffered to let him know the dangerous condition in which they were." *Des Farges* wrote for answer, "That he would willingly part with his own life to save theirs; but when the honour of the king, and the preservation of his troops were concerned, he had no interests but what he thought himself obliged to sacrifice: that they ought to rest satisfied with the consolation, that they had committed no crimes wherewith to reproach themselves; and that the king would in time revenge the outrages which should be done them^r."

Pitra-
chas's
artifices.

MEAN time the Grand Mandarin, from the advice which he received of what passed at *Bankok*, conceived little hopes of succeeding in his design against it, any more by force than stratagem; and began to think that he ought not to defer prosecuting his ambitious views any longer on that score, but clear his way to the throne by making away with the two princes, brothers

The two
princes
murdered.

^r DES FARGES.

^a Ibid.

(S) According to the full and true relation, he actually was, with a halter about his neck, fastened to a gibbet, set up in a place most exposed to the fire of the cannon. *Kämpfer* says, the bishops, and seven or eight jesuits, were imprisoned in the

court of the king's magazines, where our author saw them living chearfully. Three other jesuits, who settled at *Louvo*, on pretence to learn the *Pali* (or *Bali*) language, disappeared of a sudden.

25. King
Chaw
Naraya.

of the king, who only stood in his passage : one of them was already in his hands, and he had taken his measures to secure himself of the other. He therefore assembles the principal Mandarins in the palace, and complained in strong terms against the princes, who, he said, had sworn his destruction ; and desired to know what they thought was proper to be done with them. As his power was now too great for any person to oppose him, and he had besides gained over most of those great men by fair promises ; they unanimously gave it as their opinion, that the princes were ungrateful persons, and deserved to be punished.

IMMEDIATELY orders were sent to seize the prince who was at *Siam*, and bring him up to *Louvo*. Not many days after, both he and his brother were sent to *Thli Poufon* (T) ; where, being put into scarlet sacks, they were beaten to death with clubs of sandal wood. This is the account which general *Farges* gives of the princes, and their fate[†] but, according to the *full and true account*, they never reached that place ; for they were murdered in the way by a party of men, who were appointed to do that execution (U). After this, they fell upon all the considerable persons (who were the friends or acquaintance of the three princes, and the minister, already dispatched out of the way) and caused them either to be put to death after the same manner, or else closely confined in prison[‡].

The king
dies.

THE old king was still alive when his two brothers were put to death ; but he died the day following[‡]. According to *Kempfer*, this happened on the 11th of *July*, in the fifty-fifth year of his age (X), and thirty second of his reign.

THE

† *FARGES* relat. revolut. a Siam.

‡ Full and true account.

‡ *DES FARGES*, ubi supr.

(T) Or *Thle Poufon*, in the *full and true account*, called *Thelapfon*. It is one of the king of *Siam*'s pleasure-houses, a short league east of *Louvo*, according to *Tachard*. *First voy.* p. 231.

(U) According to *Kempfer*, they were beaten to death with sandal clubs, in a temple near *Livo*, or *Louvo*.

(X) The *full and true account* says he was about fifty-nine years old. *Kempfer* places this event in the year 1689, or that

of the *Sonkard*, the *Siamese* epocha 2232 ; but, according to *Loubers*, p. 8, it ought to be 2234. Besides, it was not in the year of *Christ* 1689, but 1688, as appears from the foregoing account of the *French*, which seems, for the general, to be most authentic. Capt. *Hamilton* relates this revolution with somewhat different circumstances ; and says, he had the account from Mr. *Balbood*, Lord *Faulkon*'s secretary, who lay

THE character of *Chaw Naraya*, as given by the French 25. King travellers, is very advantageous; they will even have him to be the greatest prince who ever reigned in *Siam*. He was for stature somewhat of the middle size, but straight and well-shaped. He had besides an engaging air, a sweet and obliging carriage, especially to strangers. He was brisk and active, an enemy to idleness and sloth; for he was always either in the woods a hunting, or in his palace minding the affairs of his kingdom. He was no lover of war, because it ruined his people, whom he tenderly loved; but no king in all the east appeared more fond of glory, or impatient to revenge an affront when offered to him by any of the neighbouring princes. His love for learning prompted him to send to *Europe* for persons who might teach his subjects the sciences. He was desirous of knowing every thing; and having had a piercing genius, easily became master of what he had a mind to learn (A). He was magnificent (B), generous, and a sincere friend as could be desired. These were the illustrious qualities which acquired him the respect of his neighbours, the fear of his enemies, and the love, as well as esteem of his subjects, which fell little short of adoration. He was never addicted to those vices, particularly the immoderate use of women, so commonly found among the eastern princes; and often punished the most considerable officers of state, for being too much given to their pleasures. He had too much understanding to believe the senseless doctrine of an annihilated God, or rather a Being who, weary of governing, plunges himself in

His character.

lay in prison three years after his master's death, with his neck in the portable pillory, and often whipt, to make him accuse those whose estates the usurper attempted to seize.

(A) This is the character generally given of him by the missionaries. But Count *De Forbin*, who was often about his person, says quite the reverse of him. He used to entertain the king with little stories, which pleased him, but never took any pains to dress them; for he observes, that his *Siamese* majesty was a prince of no genius, and very ignorant; whereas *Tachard* cries him up as a prodigy of wit and judgment.

(B) *Forbin* observes, that although the kingdom of *Siam* is poor, and one sees no footsteps of magnificence in it, yet when the prince went a hunting, or shewed himself in public, he appeared with all the pomp suitable to a great monarch; and the superb figure which he made when he went abroad was scarce to be excelled by any other prince. As for the manner in which he was served in his palace, it was known to no person; his most intimate favourites not being admitted nearer than a window, from which he talked to them.

25. King
Chaw
Naraya.

repose, and for ever after forgets what passes in the world ; on the contrary he believed the deity to be eternal, and that he governed the universe by his providence : to the same immortal being he prayed twice a day, for two hours time, in the morning when he was up, and at night before he went to rest^a.

His fa-
mily.

CHAW NARAYA left behind him only one daughter. According to *Louberé*, she was called *Nang-fa*, that is, *young heaven*^b. *Chaumont* says she was styled the *princess queen*^c and all agree that she had the rank and honour of a queen. In 1685 she was twenty-seven or twenty-eight years of age. She had her lands, revenues, soldiers, and officers, distinct from the king's. She daily gave audience, morning and evening, to all the wives of the great officers at court, who durst not fail to make their attendance : and while the princess queen received them sitting on her throne, they lay prostrate, with their heads to the ground, in the same manner as their husbands appeared before the king. She was severe even to cruelty in her chastisements of her female attendants, as hath been already mentioned. She went to see his majesty twice every day, and dined with him. Lord *Faulkon* had often been admitted, on affairs of importance, when they were at dinner, but could never see her face, for a little screen which was placed before her. It was by means of lady *Faulkon* that *Choisy* got his information concerning her.

CHAW NARAYA left a sister likewise, and several sisters at his death, who were all old women^d.

C H A P. XII.

Reign of Pitracha. Peace concluded with the French. They depart Siam ; none to remain under Pain of Death. A Pretender taken and punished. Pitracha's Successors.

Reign of Pitracha, or Picheracha.

The usur-
per's po-
licy.

THE usurper managed his affairs so politicly, that this great revolution was brought about without causing the least tumult or insurrection throughout the whole king-

^a Full and true relation, pref. p. 12.

^b Relat. p. 55.

^c CHAUMONT relat. p. 110.

^d CHAUMONT *ibid.* &

Quoy, p. 373, 374, 398.

dom. *Opra Pecherachas*, or *Pitrachas* (A), was distinguished from among the other grandees by his majestic air and by his illustrious birth; for he was said to be descended from the true royal race, from which the father of the late king had usurped the crown. He was foster-brother to *Chaw Naraya*, and much about the same age. His affected zeal for religion had gained him the esteem of all the *Talapays*, as well as veneration of the people; who besides observed in him a heart truly *Siamese*, full of esteem for his own nation and contempt for others: but being at the same time a great politician, he knew so well how to dissemble and conceal his mind, that he constantly refused the most considerable dignities both for himself and his son, seeming to aspire to no other happiness than that of a private life. The distance at which he kept himself from public affairs, removing all suspicions of his designs, he was constantly one of the first in the counsels of the king. *Mr. Constance*, who was thought to have the whole power, and omitted nothing to make the *French* think so, had not near so much credit nor access as *Pitrachas*; although he was in great favour with his master, who thought none but he capable of treating with foreigners, on account of the thorough knowledge which he had of their customs, and of all the courts of *Europe*^a.

26. King
Pitrachas.

His fa-
mily

To this account of general *Farges* we may add the report of other authors. *Pitrachas*, as hath been observed before, was one of the most powerful lords of the court, as having had the command of all the king's elephants and horses, which are esteemed that monarch's principal forces. His family had not only been long in the highest offices in the state, but was frequently allied to the crown; and it was even publicly reported, when *Loubere* was at *Siam*, that either he, or his son *Sourakak*, who was an *Ok-louang*, might pretend to it, if they should happen to survive *Chaw Naraya*, who was nursed by *Pitrachas's* mother. The people loved him because he appeared moderate; and was by them supposed to be invulnerable, because he had come off unhurt in a battle against the king of *Pegu*, wherein he exposed himself much. His courage had likewise gained him the favour of *Chaw Na-*

and cha-
rafter.

^a DES FARGES relat. revolut. de Siam.

(A) Others write *Petracha*, same with, or at least an imitation of, *Rájah*; a name of dignity equal to that of king, in the higher peninsula of the Indies.

26. *King raya*^b. *Kämpfer* tells us, that his mother was the king's *Pitrachas* sister, and that his own sisters and daughters were the king's wives. On these accounts that monarch always looked on him as his most intimate friend; and he was the more grieved at the severity which *Pitrachas* exercised against his brothers and adopted son, as he never expected any thing of the kind from his hand; the rather too because he always expressed an abhorrence for the burthen of a crown^c: the common artifice however in all times of those who coveted it most. This lord having brought all things to bear according to his mind, set out from *Louvo* the last day of *July*, and arrived at the capital, where he was crowned with great ceremony and without opposition^d.

*The king-
dom paci-
fied.*

PITRACHAS being now master of the kingdom, forthwith disposed of the great offices of the state in favour of those who had served him. He promoted all the Mandarins whom he had any reason yet to fear, and even set at liberty those whom he had caused to be arrested, in order to gain both parties over to his interest. He eased the people of their servitudes; and commanded public alms to be distributed, which effectually procured him the affections of the whole nation. With regard to the princess, he still preserved his respect for her, whom he proposed to make his consort (C). However, it was reported, that she expressed extreme grief at the death of the young prince, who either was, or was to have been her husband (D); and that, in the excess of her

^b Full and true relat. p. 17, 21. LOUBERE, p. 89. * *KÄMPF.* Japan, p. 23. ^d Full and true relat. p. 21.

(B) This account is from the *French* officer, who was made prisoner at *Mergbi* after *Bruan's* retreat, and was carried to the capital at the time when this transaction happened. See his letter in the *full and true relat.* p. 21. also, p. 17.

(C) Neither *Kämpfer* nor *Hamilton* tell us what became of this princess, or indeed so much as mention her: the first letters likewise which came from *India* after the revolution, were silent in this particular; but others, which followed them, brought

an account, that, by order of *Pitrachas*, she was put into a velvet sack, and had her brains beaten out with clubs of sweet wood; after which her body was thrown into the river (1).

(D) Reports or suggestions were various on this occasion. Some say she was, or was to have been married to *Monpi*, as before observed; and the *French* say, that she had taken a fancy to the chevalier *Des Farges*, and actually promised to marry him: but this is more than the general *Des Farges* says himself.

(1) Full and true account, pref. p. 2.

rage, she had loaded with injurious language the author of ^{26. King} his death: but time, in no long space, wore out her grief, ^{Pitrachas.} and she chose rather to live a queen, than die unhappy. But to return to the affair of the *French*.

PITRACHAS had no sooner resolved to make away *Des* with the princes, than he began to think of accommodating *Farges's* matters with the *French*, and obliging them to depart the ^{sons ran} kingdom in peace. In order to this, he sent for the sons of ^{leased.} general *Des Farges*, and told them, "That he found himself
" moved with compassion for them; that besides, he knew
" the integrity of their father's heart, and that he was not
" capable of breaking his word: adding, that he was con-
" vinced they were the troops, who, possessed with panic
" fears, could not be persuaded to obey him: that he
" granted them their lives; and farther, out of consideration
" for the general, as well as friendship for them, would send
" them to him." Their return to *Bankok*, which happened
on the 24th of *June* (E), gave extreme joy to all the garrison,
as well as their father, who at first could not conceive what
lucky motive to impute it to: but when afterwards he was
informed of the death of the two princes, he concluded that
the Great Mandarin was willing, by this action of generosity,
to open the way to a peace with the *French*; and the two
Mandarins, whom they consulted on that occasion, confirmed
him in that opinion.

FROM the time the general's sons arrived at *Bankok*, the *Sufferings*
fire diminished on both sides, and several proposals were made ^{of the Eur}
towards an accommodation; but the distrust of the garrison ^{ropeans.}
was so great that they could rely on nothing. Toward the
end of these long and fatiguing negotiations (F), during
which

¶ *DES FARGES*, ubi supr.

(E) This was after the death of the princes and the king, who, according to *Kämpfer*, died the 11th of *July*. There is great disagreement in the dates of different authors: the *French* officer made prisoner at *Merghi* says, he died in *July*, but could not learn the day. He mentions nothing of *Des Farges's* sons being sent to *Bankok*, but says, on the 9th of *August*, he, with five more officers, were sent thither, as men-

tioned hereafter; and if his dates be right, the general's sons could not have been returned to him before *August*.

(F) Authors give no particulars of this long negotiation; only the writer of the *full and true relation* informs us, that, on the 25th of *July*, the bishop of *Metropolis*, being released from the dreadful situation in which he had been posted before *Bankok*, was sent into the place to obtain a commission from ge-

26. King which *Des Farges* found means to procure provisions, the *Pitrachas* two *Siamese* vessels, manned with *Frenchmen*, mentioned before, arrived at the fortrefs: they returned them also the officers, who had been detained at *Louvo*; and some other *French* of that place, as well as the capital, having found means to join them: they then were informed of all the ill-treatment which they had received from the *Siameses*, as well as the persecution which the *Siamese*, *Peguan*, and *Portuguese* christians still suffered in a cruel slavery: that the seminary of the bishop of *Metelopolis* had been pillaged, and many young christian girls seized to make concubines of. They learned also from a missionary, who had been put in the kanghe, with all the christians of the province of *Porfeluk*, at the farther end of the kingdom, that ever since the month of *January*, they had not ceased to threaten them with the evils which afterwards befel them. This shews that *Pitrachas* had concerted his measures a good while before, for executing the design which he had in view.

Bruan
abandons
Mergui.

THEY were also informed by a *Frenchman*, who had been made prisoner at *Mergui*, that Mr. *De Bruan*, and the *French* of his garrison, had been attacked; but that water failing in the place, which besides was commanded by a *Siamese* battery, they had forced their way through the enemy, and seized a vessel belonging to the king of *Siam*, by means of which they had gotten safe out of the country^f. But of this more particularly hereafter.

THE officer above-mentioned was made prisoner the 25th of *June*, as he relates himself (the day after *Bruan* had retreated), and sent up to the capital, where he arrived the 17th of *July*. The day after *Okpra Pitrachas* was crowned (which must have been the 1st or 2d of *August*), he ordered all the *French* and *English*, who were in that city and *Louvo*, to be set at liberty. On the 9th he, with four other officers, *De Fretteville*, *De Vandrille*, *Des Carges* (G), and *De Laisse*, were

^f *DES FARGES*, ubi supra.

neral *Des Farges*, to negotiate a peace with such persons as *Pitrachas* should appoint for that purpose. The commission was immediately granted him; and next day he returned to *Siam* in order to execute it: from that time the *Okpra* began to desist from his cruel treatment of the

French, and other *Europeans* who were in his power (1). But as it appears from the account of *Des Farges* that he desisted earlier, perhaps *June* should be put in the place of *July*.

(G) Sure this cannot be a mistake for *Des Farges*, one of the general's sons. If it was he,

(1) P. 17, & seq.

were all sent by the new king's orders to *Bankok*; not to their own general, as they hoped, but to his general, who commanded the *Malayans*, by whom they were kept prisoners almost a month. All the *French* left at the capital, were delivered into the custody of the *Jesuits*, and (*Vivet*) the chief *Jesuits* factor of the *French* company, who were to be responsible for them. However, the king being resolved to have a peace (H) at any rate, sent them at last to Mr. *Des Farges*, who would hearken to no treaty unless they were comprehended in it.

SHORTLY after advice came to *Bankok*, that the *Oriflame* the Oriflame of war, commanded by Mr. *L'Esfrille*, was arrived in the road, where he had continued for some time in no small pain, to hear neither from the garrison nor from some officers of his ship, who had first landed; for it seems the *Siameses* had artfully conducted them to the capital, without passing by the fortresses, or mentioning any thing of what had happened: so that if the affairs of the *French* had not been already in terms of accommodation, those officers must have run great hazard; nor could the ship have given the garrison any assistance, or even had the least correspondence with them. This shews, says *Des Farges*, how ill-situated *Bankok* is, and that sooner or later we must have abandoned it.

In the interim another accident happened, which had like to have broken off all their negotiations. The lady of Mr. *Constance*, after having been cruelly tortured to make her declare all her late husband's effects, and suffered many other outrages, as well from the painted-arms, who guarded her, as from the son of *Pitrachas*, who was passionately in love

§ See full and true relat. p. 21.

methinks the author of the letter would have mentioned that circumstance.

(H) *Kempfer* gives an account of the conclusion of this affair very different from all the *French* writers: he says, That the general, being enraged at his disappointment, on his return to *Bankok*, fired on the *Siameses* and their ships: he likewise hung up on the ramparts two of his garrison, who were natives, for appearing not quite so ready to act as he would have had them, and committed all sorts of hostilities. That this

conduct had like to have provoked the *Siameses* to act a bloody tragedy with him and his sons; for which purpose they had begun to raise forts on the river, to cut off his retreat by sea; but on his abating his firing, and laying all the blame on his people, who would not obey his orders, the *Dutch* resident persuaded the court to slight his bravados; so that soon after he obtained leave to depart with his people. The *French* pique themselves much on the triumph of *Des Farges*: must we believe them, or the *Dutch*?

26. King with her, at length found means to escape, and take refuge at Pitrachas. *Bankok*^h.

P. D'Orleans relates the circumstances of madam *Constance*'s escape in the following manner: a *French* officer, named *St. Mari*, being arrived at the city of *Siam*, to look for materials to equip the ships which were to transport the garrison of *Bankok* to *Pondicherri*, having had an opportunity of seeing that lady, made a tender to her of his services, with his purse. This civility encouraged her to propose the design of making her escape with him; which motion, being a man of gallantry, he embraced. The third of *October* in the evening, the time fixed for their departure, *St. Mari* repaired to her door well armed, as he was resolved to run all risks to bring her off. Things succeeded beyond expectation; the lady, with her son and one chamber-maid, following the officer, got safely on board the balon which waited for them, and next day they arrived at *Bankok*ⁱ. To return to the general's relation:

arrives at
Bankok.

THE new king, fearing that if she got out of the kingdom, she would be mistress of the riches which her husband had conveyed abroad, sent the *French* word, that unless they delivered her up, he would not come to any accommodation with them. This proved a most unlucky event; for the sails, cables, anchors, and other things, without which they could not depart, were still in the hands of the *Siameses*; and the general saw he should have all the difficulty in the world to get them restored. Although he was extremely uneasy upon this new affair, which happened without his knowledge, yet he was of opinion, that he ought not to surrender her, without at least providing for her safety. He tried to obtain leave for her to go out of the country: but the king would not hear of it, and hostilities began to break out with more fury than ever. They had already at the city of *Siam* the *Sieur Veret*, chief of the *French* factory, whom the general had sent to finish their affairs, with all the missionaries, and one Jesuit, who still remained there. In short, they threatened the relations of the widow-lady with the most cruel punishments; so that her mother wrote to *Des Farges*, intreating him to accommodate the affair. This he did by a treaty, in which the king of *Siam* himself promised to allow the lady *Constance* liberty of conscience, with that of marrying whom she pleased; and that he would not permit any violence to be done either to

Delivered
up again

^h DES FARGES, ubi supra.
M. *Constance*.

ⁱ P. D'ORLEANS hist. of

her or any of her family : on which conditions he sent her back ^{to the King} ^{26. King} ^{Pitrachas} ^{usurper.}

P. D'Orleans relates, that all the French officers of the garrison of *Bankok* were extremely pleased at the arrival of lady *Constance*, and were determined to protect her ; but the general, to their great surprize, did not approve of it. A council of war was twice called upon the occasion by his orders, to deliberate on the affair ; in which he endeavoured to prove, that it was for the interest both of religion (I) and the nation itself, that she should be sent back : but, says our author, he could not bring any into his opinion excepting his two sons. However, he was inflexible ; yet, that things might be done with the less violence, he endeavoured to induce the unfortunate lady herself to submit to his reasons. As this attempt proved in vain, on the 19th of *October* (sixteen days after her arrival), she was confined in the prison. She submitted to this force, after protesting against the violence which was offered her under the protection of the king of *France* ; and thanking the officers for the good-will which they had testified in her behalf. She was from thence delivered into the hands of an old Mandarin, one of the ambassadors who had been in *France*, and was conducted by water to *Siam* ; where her last lot was to be sent down to serve in the kitchens of the palace^k. *Kämpfer* informs us, that in the year 1690, lady *Faulkon* and her young son went begging about the streets, none daring to intercede for them^l. But afterwards she recovered somewhat of her former condition ; for in 1719 she was honoured with the superintendency of the king's confectionary. She was born in *Siam* of honourable parents ; and at that time respected both in court and city, for her prudence and humanity both to natives and strangers, whom she was ready to relieve when they fell into difficulties, or under the oppression of the men in power^m. To return to the *French* at *Bankok*. ^{Her future condition.}

ⁱ DES FARGES, *ibid.*
stance, &c.

^l KÄMPFF. p. 21.
account of the E. Ind. vol. ii. p. 175.

^k ORLEANS hist. Mr. Con-
^m HAMILT. new

(I) According to the full and true relation, Mr. *Des Farges*, before he left *Bankok*, was prevailed on by the Jesuits to deliver her up to *Pitrachas*, upon this suggestion, that, being a christian, and extremely beloved by the usurper's son, she might marry him, and contribute her endeavours to make a convert of her husband (2).

26. King
Phrachas.

The
French
depart
Siam.

At length their negotiations, which had been so often interrupted and renewed, were terminated by a capitulation; whereby the *Siameses* engaged themselves to give the *French* three vessels, with provisions and all other necessaries, besides two great Mandarins in hostage, to conduct them out of the kingdom (K). It was farther stipulated on the part of the *French*, that they should leave the works of the fortrefs entire, and that they should march out with their arms and baggage; which they did on the first (L) of November^a.

As they always apprehended some treachery on the part of the *Siameses*, they were continually on their guard. However, those people discovered no signs of intending to attempt any thing against them: but, on their arrival at the road, they refused to deliver them some tackle and pieces of cannon, which had been left on the shoals near their forts. By way of reprisal, the *French* thought fit to detain their Mandarins, who were responsible for their baggage.

Siamese
works

It is almost incredible how many works the *Siameses* were obliged to make during the siege. Besides the cavalier, which, in spite of the fire from the *French* artillery, they had raised against them in the western forts, of which they were masters, they had surrounded the fortrefs at a small cannon-shot distance with palisades, and afterwards with nine forts, from whence they battered it on all sides. From *Bankok* to the mouth of the *Menam*, the banks were defended by several other little forts, built with design to hinder succours coming to the *French* from without. On these forts were mounted more than 140 pieces of battering cannon, which had been brought from the capital by an arm of the river opened for the purpose, to avoid passing in sight of the *French*. They had likewise, by immense labour, secured the entrance of the bar with five or six ranges of thick trees, fixed extremely firm in the ground at low water, leaving only

to block
up the
French.

^a DES FAROES, ubi supra.

(R) According to the full company; a ship of the *French* king's, called the *Oriflamme*; and a fourth of seventy-four guns, on which the king of *Siam* was to embark them, and transport them out of his dominions.

1. That the *French* should surrender the fort of *Bankok*.

2. That all the *French* should have leave to depart the kingdom.

3. That they should have two frigates belonging to the *French*

(L) According to P. D'Orleans, they set sail the 29th of November, and arrived at *Pondicherry* the beginning of February 1689.

a narrow passage; which might easily be shut with an iron chain, and was guarded by several armed galleys. The *French* could not have believed the *Siamers* capable of so many contrivances (M): but their fury at the beginning was so great and general, that the very women, making it as it were a point of devotion, repaired in crouds with victuals for the foldiers who worked at their forts. They were besides assisted by most of the foreigners who were in the country: they had *Englisb* and *Portugueses* to command their ships at the entrance of the river, and *Dutch* to play off their bombs; while the *French* were blocked up not only by an army of the *Siameses*, but also by the *Peguers*, *Malayans*, *Chinefes*, *Mohammedans*, and others, who had their respective forts, where they were intrrenched °.

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Pitrachas.

It had indeed been easy for the *French* to have hindered Des the building of these forts if they had been sufficiently furnished with powder: but their general *Des Farges* chose rather to husband it and gain time, than put it out of his power in seven or eight days to repulse the enemy, in case they should make an attack: and the event, says our author, has made it appear, that no other course could have been taken, considering the circumstances they were in. On one hand, it was very uncertain whether the proposals of the *Siameses* were sincere; but, on the other hand, it was most certain, that all had been lost if he had not hearkened to them. This made him often say to most of his officers, who breathed nothing but fire and flame, that they should always have an opportunity to make the push of despair; but that time might produce that lucky turn, which they durst not hope for from all their too precipitate efforts. *Des Farges* gave the enemy sufficiently to understand by letters, that if they did not act sincerely, and grant him his demands, he would first blow up their fortresses, burst all their cannon which were at his disposal, and then would fall upon them with his whole garrison; only desiring of them, in such case, the favour not to give any quarter to a *Frenchman*, as he was resolved to deal the same way with every *Siamese* who fell into his hands. The event convinced him, that one need never despair of getting out of a scrape with time, which may produce altera-

Farges's
defence

of his com-
duct.

° *DES FARGES*, *ibid*,

(M) This shews how little *Europeans* know of foreign nations, or are curious to enquire into the state of arts and sciences with them; which are far from

being so contemptible, as by superficial travellers, to conceal their own ignorance or want of curiosity, they are represented to be.

tions.

26. King tions. That which happened on the death of the princes, *Pitrachas*, began to put the affairs of the *French* in a better situation than they were before. The resolution, which they made the *Siamfes* sensible they had all put on, and of which *St. Crik* had given them proofs, served also not a little to intimidate them: but, after all, *Des Farges*, like a true *Frenchman*, was ready to acknowledge, that the fear of vengeance from his grand monarch, contributed more than every thing else to the advantageous conditions, which the *Siamfes* had been constrained to grant the *French*, after they had been exposed for five months to the most rigorous treatment^p.

THIS is the account of the revolution of *Siam* in 1688, and the conduct of the *French* on that occasion, as given by general *Des Farges*, who must certainly have had opportunities of knowing whatever past of moment; and, in all appearance, has been sincere, though not particular enough, in his relation of facts, notwithstanding the reflections passed on him by some of his own countrymen as well as others; of which, however, it will be proper to inform our readers.

Accused by others IT hath been already intimated, that the *French*, according to P. D'Orleans, loaded *Des Farges* with reproaches on several accounts: 1. For not advancing to *Lauvo* to support Mr. *Constance*. 2. For delivering up Lady *Constance*, who had fled to the banners of *France* for protection. 3. For surrendering up *Bankok*, which, they say, he might easily have defended against all the forces of the king of *Siam*; and therefore go so far as to tax him with cowardice, and even with crimes of a blacker die, breach of trust and robbery.

of heinous offences. WE are told that Mr. *Constance* entrusted the general *Des Farges* with immense riches; and that it was the desire of converting them to his own use, which was the true cause of the revolution which happened in *Siam*. To this our author imputes the loss of *Siam*, and the death of the king, as well of Mr. *Constance*, and others; with the delivering up of Lady *Constance*, and her only son, to *Pitrachas*; lest, if they should pass over to *France*, the vulturs would be obliged to quit their prey. To the same cause he ascribes the persecution which the Christians underwent; and, in short, suggests, that, but for the father's avarice, the son would have been king of *Siam*: for he affirms that the princefs, heirs to the crown, had given her hand to marry the young Marquis *Des Farges*, who was forced to abandon her. But, for this our author seems to have had no other authority than that of the general's sons, who boasted at *Martinico*, that their father

had deprived the Marquis of the throne of *Siam*, and the 26. King
Chevalier of the post of generalissimo¹. *Pitrachas*.

HAVING thus given an account in what manner the French ^{The} forces, which were at *Bankok*, quitted that fortress and the ^{French} kingdom of *Siam*; let us next see what became of those which ^{fortify} were posted at *Merghi*, under the command of lieutenant-general *Bruan* (N). This officer signalized himself on several extraordinary occasions. He took possession of the place in *March* 1688, with all the satisfaction which he could wish. The *Siameses* furnished him with plenty of victuals, tools, and workmen, for building a fort. He had already pretty much advanced the fabric, when he found the workmen ^{The Siamese} gradually to desert him; and that the Mandarins of the province had ^{refused} not the same regard for him as before. He had a dispute ^{fractory} with the governor of *Tenasserim*, which increased his diffidence. The *Siameses* had raised a little fort at *Mergui*, commanded by an emineace, which was also fortified; and as the guard of both posts was too much for a garrison of 120 men (O), the court ordered the lower fort to be demolished as soon as the upper was in a condition of defence. When Mr. *Bruan* went to execute that commission, the Mandarin opposed it; and the courier, whom he sent with a complaint to the minister (Mr. *Constance*), was arrested on the road. At the same time, having received advice from other quarters, that bad designs were forming against the *French*, he caused a small *English* vessel, with a frigate (P) belonging to the king of *Siam*, to be rigged, and brought under shelter of the fort. In this interval he received the letter which *Pitrachas* obliged *Des Farges* to write to him, with orders to evacuate the place: but the extraordinary stile of that letter, which, besides, was not signed, was sufficient to hinder this able officer from obeying them.

THIS refusal was the signal for war, which immediately ^{Hostilities} began by the siege of that place. The enemy, having been ^{commence}.

¹ DE CHALLES journ. d'un. voy. aux Ind. Orient.

(N) So *Des Farges* names him; P. *D'Orleans* calls him *Bruant*; and his name is spelled *Bruhan*, in a letter of one of his officers, inserted at the end of the *full and true relation*, so often cited in this history of the revolution.

(O) According to the *full and true relation*, he had with him only fifty-two soldiers, three

captains, three lieutenants, and as many ensigns, in all, to guard a large fortress, open on all sides. The forces seem to have been divided between the greater and the lesser fort, from what is mentioned hereafter.

(P) It carried twenty-six guns, according to the *full and true relation*.

often

26. King
Pitrachas.

The
French
retreat.

often repulsed, gave over their approaches to raise a battery upon a temple near the fort, which from thence they battered at first with pretty good success: but the *French*, having built another against it, that of the besiegers was soon dismounted. They likewise killed their chief gunner, who was a *Portuguese*, and threw them into such disorder that they had no hopes of becoming masters of it but by famine, which proved their friend. However, they would not so soon have had their wishes gratified, if the well of the fortrefs had not of a sudden gone dry; so that, water failing, the garrison thought fit to retire (Q). This they did in such good order, on the 24th of *June*, that the *Siameses*, believing they were going to attack them, fled as fast as they could, and left the *French* a free passage to the sea. They might have embarked without any misfortune, had not some soldiers, who marched last, slipped, through the steepness and slipperiness of the glacis, and stumbled on those who were before them; which struck them with such a panic, that it made them break their ranks, and run in disorder towards the vessels.

Pursued by
the Siameses.

THE *Siameses*, perceiving the *French* in this confusion, came pouring upon them in great numbers, and slew some soldiers; others were drowned; and, among them, one captain *Hilton*, with part of his company. *Du Bruau*, and his officers, who had bravely sustained the efforts of the enemy while their men were embarking, entered last into the vessels; and, after receiving some shot of cannon from the fort which they had abandoned, set sail in spite of the *Siamese* gallies which came out of the port to follow, but durst not approach them; and thus they escaped the hands of the *Siamers* (R).

† P. D'ORLEANS, ubi supr.

(Q) After they had been closely besieged for seventeen days together, by an army of 12,000 *Siameses*, who often attacked the place, but were as often repulsed. *Full and true relation*, p. 16, & seqq.

(R) But they had not such good luck at sea: for, besides meeting with violent storms, on the coast of *Martuban*, *Espagnac* the Jesuit, and Mr. *Beauregard* (who was governor of *Bangkok* after *Forbin*), going ashore for provision, were made slaves of. They were afterwards driven on

a desert island, and reduced to the utmost extremity at the end of *September*, when a *French* ship put in there and took them in. Bad weather forced them into the river of *Arrakan*, where one *De Du* was prime minister, and relieved them; but in *Balassor* road, meeting with fourteen *English* ships, they were seized as ships of *Siam*, with whom the *English* said they were at war. From thence they were carried to *Madras*, and got to *Pondicherry* the 15th of *January* 1689.

NEXT

NEXT day, the 25th of June, a French officer, who com-
manded a company of fifty Siamese soldiers, being upon duty
in the little fort of *Mergui* (S), he was seized by his own
men; and for four days fastened to a stake, with chains about
his body as well as hands and feet. On the 29th he was
carried to view the French who were killed during *De Bruan's*
vigorous defence and retreat. There were about thirteen
dead bodies on the place; and when he had made his report
to the Mandarins who commanded the besiegers, they ordered
him to be tortured, to force him to declare, "That *De*
"*Bruan* was sent to *Mergui*, unknown to the king of *Siam*,
"solely by Mr. *Constance's* order, to make himself master of
"the country; and that *De Bruan* expected several ships
"from *France*, with men, arms, and ammunition, to enable
"him to carry that design more effectually into execution."
He suffered the torture for four hours together.

THE 7th of July they sent him for *Siam*, in company with
one *Picquard* (T), a soldier, who was made a prisoner on the
day of *De Bruan's* retreat; and although both were chained,
yet above threescore soldiers were ordered to escort them.
The 17th he arrived at the capital *Siam*, and two days after
he was conducted to *Louvo*. He was led without stopping to
the great hall, where the *Barkalon* (U) sitting with the Man-
darins about him, ordered him to be examined strictly with
relation to *De Bruan*.

NEXT morning a missionary, discovering the place where
he was confined, told him, that the bishop of *Metellopolis*
was gone to *Bankok*, by order of *Okpra Pitrachas*, to nego-
tiate a peace with general *Des Farges* (X); and that they
were in daily expectation of hearing it was concluded. This
news gave him the first hopes he had of life since he fell into
their hands. The 25th of July the bishop returned to *Louvo*,
with full power from Mr. *Des Farges* to treat of peace; and
from that time *Okpra Pitrachas* began to desist from his cruel
treatment of the French, and other Europeans then in his
power.

• See full and true relat. p. 21.

(S) It is called *Morgen* in the original; which is a letter containing the journal of the French officer himself, mentioned in a former note N. we find the several particulars of moment; and by it the dates of several facts are supplied as well as rectified.

(T) This probably was the

Frenchman mentioned in the relation of *Des Farges*, by whom he was informed of what passed at *Mergbi*.

(U) By the *Barkalon* probably must be meant *Pitrachas*.

(X) It is much *Des Farges* mentions nothing of this.

26. King Pitrachas. THE new king, the day after his coronation (which was the 1st or 2d of *August*), ordered all the *French* and *English* who were in *Louvo* and the capital to be set at liberty. The 3d of *August* our author came from *Louvo* to *Siam*, with four other officers, as before-mentioned, who on the 9th were all sent to *Bankok* to the *Malay* general; but preparatory to the peace, which was concluded on the 30th of *September*, were put into the hands of Mr. *Des Farges*.

And back to Merghi. Two days after the peace, the general sent our author from *Bankok* to *Merghi*, to see what was become of Mr. *De Bruan*, and acquaint him with the same (Y). He was accompanied by a Mandarin, who, by the king's order, was to provide him with all kinds of necessaries during the journey. The 12th of *October* he arrived at *Merghi*, and not finding *De Bruan* there, on the 1st of *November* he embarked on a small frigate of the king of *Siam*, and went upon the rivers *Tavay*, *Martavan*, and *Sorian* (or *Siriñ*), belonging to *Pegu*, in quest of him. As he could not hear of him in any of these places, he was obliged to pass by the islands of *Rey*, and go on shore at *Serside*; where by some pieces of the *French* soldiers cloaths, and other marks, which seemed to be left on purpose, he perceived they had touched there. On the 12th of *November* he returned to *Merghi*, where finding the ship *Le Coque*, belonging to the *French India* company, he embarked two days after for *Pondicherry*, where Mr. *Des Farges* had ordered him to wait his coming^u.

The French leave Pondicherry. THAT general arrived the beginning of the year 1689 (Z), with all the *French*, as well secular and military, as ecclesiastics, on board the four ships, with which he set out from *Siam*. On the way he put into the port of *Balassor*, and there, by advice, as it is said, of the *Jesuits*, set the two Mandarins on shore. This is one of the things for which he is censured by his countrymen; who thought *Merghi* a much properer port, not only as it belonged to *Siam*, whither those officers were to return, but as they expected he would in revenge have plundered the *Siamese* temples, and stripped the images of their golden cases (A).

THE

^u Full and true relat.

(Y) This we are told was necessary; as *Pitrachas* had published a declaration forbidding any *French* to stay in the kingdom, or *Europeans* to harbour them, on pain of death. *Full and true relation*, p. 17, & 21.

(Z) P. *D'Orleans* says the 15th of *January* 1689.

(A) They would not have liked that their own should have been served so, though they no less deserve it as idols, and objects of idolatry. But what with them

THE *French* being now all met at *Pondicherri*, sent two ships to *Europe* to inform the king of the state of their affairs: and then, full of resentment for the miseries received from the *Siameses*, resolved to subdue the island of *Ansalam*, on the coast to the south of *Merghi*. But in this also *Des Farges* disappointed them; for he departed for *Europe* not long after, without making any attempt on that island before he went. He set sail in the *Oriflame* with his two sons and four Jesuits, carrying with him the immense riches which *Mr. Constance* had trusted in his hands; and which, according to our author, were to be divided between him and those ecclesiastics.

MR. *Des Farges* died in the voyage a little on this side the *Cape of Good Hope*; from whence the *Oriflame* steered her course for *Martinico* in the *West Indies*, whither she arrived about two months after. The general's two sons no sooner landed than they made acquaintance. They were both in the flower of their age, well-shaped, full of vivacity, and profuse in their expences. During the two months which they staid there, they spent no less than 50,000 crowns each in balls, feasts, and other gallantries. About the end of *March* 1690. they left the island in the *Oriflame*, which, in quitting the *Antilles*, met with an *English* ship. The vessels attacked each other, and boarding both sunk to the bottom, in sight of the *Caribbees*. In the *Oriflame* perished, besides the marquis and the chevalier *Des Farges* (who, we are told, were as brave as their father was otherwise), the four Jesuits, with their riches and their writings. Thus ended the long and expensive expeditions of the *French* to *Siam*, with all their sanguine hopes of either getting footing in the kingdom, or converting the king and the natives. In these expectations they were the dupes of lord *Faulkon* or *Constance*; who, being a foreigner himself, seems to have had nothing more in view than to provide for his own security, by the assistance of foreigners against the *Siameses*, whom he knew to be his enemies*.

HOWEVER, while these things were transacting in the *P. Indies*, *P. Tachard* was very busy in *France*, soliciting new troops to be sent to *Siam*, in consequence of the secret treaty concluded with *Mr. Constance*. But it may be presumed, that the account given by his two ambassadors and Count *Ferbin*,

* DE CHALLES voy. ubi suprà.

them would be sacrilege in one reason of man differ from reason
case, would be virtue in the itself, or the reason of things.
other: so much often does the

26. King made Louis XIV. perceive that he had suffered himself to be imposed on too much already by the intrigues of that Jesuit, to give ear any more to his remonstrances. The news brought afterwards by the two ships sent from *Pondicherry* (B), no doubt completed the ruin of his project with the king. Notwithstanding *Tachard* did not change his resolution; but in *March* 1690 embarked with three *Siamese* Mandarins, who had received baptism in *France*, on board a squadron of six ships, all equipped half for war and half for merchandize, on account of the *East India* company, under the command of Mr. *De Quesne*.

Meets
with a
repulse

from the
king.

P. D'ORLEANS, from whom we have this intelligence, seems to speak as if *Tachard* had succeeded in his suit, and had actually set out with more ships and soldiers for *Siam*. But nothing like this was the case. That Jesuit arrived with the fleet at *Pondicherry*, at which place terminated all his grand projects, which the revolution in *Siam* had brought to nothing: for he saw he had no business to proceed to that kingdom, where he should never be acknowledged as ambassador from the king of *Siam* by the enemy of Mr. *Constance*, who then sat upon the throne. As to the court of *France*, it was in vain for him to look on that side, after being the means of drawing the nation into a vast expence, by two fruitless expeditions, undertaken almost solely on the credit of his report. In short, we are told, that when he solicited Louis XIV. to send ships once more to re-establish by force the mission of *Siam*. The king, who received him not at all favourably, with an air which shewed a dislike to his proposal, said, "You have made voyages for a long time, and laboured much; you would do well to rest yourself." Our author adds, that his superior had notice from the king to send him at a distance; and, in effect, the report ran, that he was banished as it were to *Pondicherry*^a.

^a P. THOMAS let. apologetique.

(B) These were *La Malique* and *Le Cocbe*; they were taken by the Dutch at the Cape of good Hope. There were unluckily aboard them four Jesuits, who, wanting to make some astronomical observations, by intreaties and threats prevailed on the two commanders to put in there. These were rich prizes: M. *D'Armagnan*, going to blow up the *Cocbe*, of which he was cap-

tain, was killed by the gunner; and the gunner, delivered up by the Dutch, was hanged by the French for saving their lives. These particulars *De Challes* had from the armourer of the *Cocbe*. And P. *D'Orleans* informs us, that those ships being carried to *Zeland*, he composed his relation from the letters and accounts brought by the prisoners.

WE have been the more particular in relating the circumstances of this remarkable revolution, both to give our readers a sketch of *Siamese* politics, and enable him to form a judgment of the conduct of the *French* in the part they acted therein, as it is differently represented by authors even of their own nation. Two things at least may be observed from the premises: one, how ready the *French* are to catch at every occasion of extending their power or commerce; the other, that they are as easily to be made dupes of as other nations, whom they laugh at for being made dupes of by themselves. It only remains, before we proceed to other particulars, to give some account of the state of the *Romish* mission and the missionaries, both before and after the said revolution.

COUNT *Forbin*, on his return to *France*, being introduced to the king, who was inquisitive to know how matters stood *Siam's* in *Siam*; his majesty asked, if the king of that country had really any thoughts of embracing christianity? *Forbin* answered, that he never had such a thought; and that no mortal would be bold enough to make such a proposal to him. It is true, continued the count, that Mr. *Chaumont* in his first audience spoke much about religion; but Mr. *Constance*, who served as interpreter, dexterously omitted that article. The apostolic vicar, who was present and understood the *Siamese* language perfectly well, took great notice of this, although he durst not say any thing of it, for fear of incurring the resentment of that minister, who would never have forgiven him, had he once opened his mouth: That in the private audiences which the ambassador had during his stay, he never failed to introduce the affair of religion; but Mr. *Constance*, always the interpreter, acted two parts on the occasion, telling the king of *Siam* that which pleased him, and returning as an answer to Mr. *Chaumont* what he thought convenient; so that in effect both were imposed on by the artful minister, and nothing concluded on. Our author added, that he had the above account from the bishop of *Metellopolis*, who always assisted at those private conferences, and told it him as a great secret. *Louis XIV.* surpris'd at this discourse, which he listened to with much attention, said to Count *Forbin* laughing, *princes are very unhappy in being obliged to have recourse to interpreters, who are often insincere*^b.

THE king enquired afterwards if the missionaries reaped the fruit of their labours, and had already converted abun-

^b *FORBIN's memoirs.*

26. King
Pitrachas.

No con-
verts
made

by the
Jesuits.

Anecdote
about Ta-
chard.

dance of *Siamefes*. Not a single soul, replied Count *Forbin*; but as far the greater part of the people is made up of different nations, and there are among the *Siamefes* a considerable number of *Portugueses*, *Kochinchineses*, and *Japanois*, who are christians, the missionaries took care of, and administered the sacraments to them: that they went from one village to another, and got admittance into houses by practising physic and distributing little remedies; but that, after all, their industry thitherto had been quite thrown away: That their chief success consisted in baptizing infants, whom the *Siamefes*, who are very poor, make no scruple to expose in the open fields; and that to this single article was to be ascribed all the fruit which the missions had produced in that country.

IN discourse with P. *La Chaise*, the king's confessor, who spoke of the king of *Siam*'s being desirous to retain the Jesuits in his dominions, by building them a college and an observatory; Count *Forbin* said thereupon, that Mr. *Constance*, standing in need of the protection of *France*, had promised more than he could perform: that the college and observatory would perhaps be built during the life of the king of *Siam*, and the Jesuits for so long maintained there; but that, in case the king died, *France* must be obliged to provide funds for the subsistence of those fathers, there being but little probability that a new king would apply any of his revenues to that purpose.

P. *La Chaise* observing to him, that he did not agree with P. *Tachard*, the Count answered, that he neither knew what P. *Tachard* had said, nor the motives which induced him to speak; but that his friendship for Mr. *Constance*, who had his reasons to seduce him, might well have blinded him, and afterwards rendered him suspected: That during the short stay which he made in *Siam* with Mr. *Chaumont*, he had wholly engrossed the confidence of the minister, to whom, on certain occasions, he served as *French* secretary; and that he had seen briefs, written by that same Jesuit, and signed, *By my lord*; and lower down, *Tachard*. At this word *La Chaise*, for all his accustomed gravity, could not forbear laughing^c.

THIS unfavourable account given of the mission of *Siam* before the revolution, receives no melioration from the account we meet with after it. *Des Challes*, clerk to one of the ships which in 1695 went to *Pondicherri*, where he learned all the circumstances of the late revolution, informs us (C), that the

^c FORBIN, ubi supra.

(C) In his account of the *Orientales*, &c. without the author's name, in three volumes
voyage, under the title of, *Jour-
nal d'un voyage fait aux Indes* 12mo. Rouen 1721.

Christians were always persecuted there; and the missionaries, in particular, every day exposed to the most cruel torments. He adds, that the only persons who were spared were the Jesuits, who had played their cards with so much policy, that, far from meeting with any vexation, money was given to them by the new king to leave the country.

GENERAL Martin, governor of Pondicherry, in a discourse which he had with our author, censured their conduct very severely. He observed, that if it was true that they suffered no cruel treatment like other Christians, and received rich presents from the usurper, it was also as true, that neither the French officers nor soldiers, though reduced to the last extremity, received the least succour from them; who chose rather to let them die for want, as most of them did, rather than relieve them.

THAT all their converts, not excepting one, renounced their religion as soon as ever the persecution commenced; which shewed how ill they had been instructed: that Mr. Des Farges, his sons, and all the officers, had affirmed those things at his table; and that none of the Siameses had stood firm but the proselytes of the missionaries (D), who secretly retained christianity: that what the Jesuits understood best was the science of the world and of commerce, whereof they had extracted the quintessence as it were by the alembic, and knew how to turn it to profit.

THE general laid to their charge the setting ashore the two Mandarins at Ballasor^d; they ought, said he, to have brought them to Pondicherry; but they rather chose that the Dutch (who with the English transport their merchandizes to Europe), should be thought more their friends, as well as more capable to serve and protect them, than the French. That thus they would complete the ruin of the French reputation, to which the desertion of Madam Constance and her son; the infamous and cowardly rendition of Bankok (E); the being forced out of Merghi and the kingdom of Siam, after the tragic death of the king, and that of Mr. Constance, whom only the French

26. King
Pitrachas.

Jesuits in-
humanity.

Their con-
verts re-
lapse.

Disbonour
France.

^d See before, p. 384.

(D) A distinction is made between the Jesuits and the missionaries; by which last term are denoted the regulars of other orders.

(E) Mr. Des Challes is of the same sentiments. He says ge-

neral Des Farges was in a condition to have defended Bankok against all the forces of Pitrachas. But to assert things is not to prove them; nor has any body undertaken to refute those which Des Farges has advanced.

26. *King* could have saved (F), have already given a terrible shock : *Pitrachas*. that the missionaries, with *Pere Tachard* (G), and other Jesuits, remained at *Pondicherri* ; but he knew not any business they had there : that they behaved with so much complaisance one to another, that any one would take them for the best friends in the world if he did not know them ; but that possibly at the same time they were contriving how to give one another pain in *Europe*, where he heartily wished they had staid*.

State of the mission. THIS character, given by general *Martin*, of the hatred which reigns between the Jesuits and other orders in the *Romish* church, is too well known to be doubted : but whether there be that difference which he mentions between the converts of one party and the other, or those of the Capuchins be better instructed and more stanch than the converts of the *Ignatians*, we will not pretend to determine ; as the authors who since then have given an account of the *Siam* mission, do not make any distinction on the occasion. According to Captain *Hamilton*, it was in a very low state in 1720. He observes, that the *French* had a bishop then with a church, and a seminary for the education of converts, which stood a little above the city of *Siam*, on the opposite side of the river ; but that they made very few proselytes except when corn was dear, at which time some of the poorer sort admitted baptism, which intitles them to a maintenance from the church ; but when plenty comes they throw away their beads and brazen saint, and bid adieu to christianity. In the above-mentioned year, the Christians in and about *Siam* did not exceed seventy, and they the most dissolute, lazy, thievish rascals, says our author, to be found in the whole country†. A great credit to the popish mission !

Remarks on Siam.

WE have now finished our account of this remarkable revolution, with its causes and its consequences : which, besides its use as a very curious piece of history, helps to fill up the reign of the prince who brought it about. And as we are possessed of very few other materials relating to it, we shall subjoin some farther remarks on the kingdom of *Siam*, made

* DE CHALLES, ubi supra.
E. IND. vol. ii. p. 165.

† HAMILT. new account of

(F) This censure is too severe ; since it does not appear that it was in the power of the *French* to have saved any of them.

(G) P. Thomas, superior of

the Capuchin missionaries, says expressly, in his *Lettre Apologétique*, that the Jesuits contributed not a little to the ruin of the mission of *Siam*. It is true, the Capuchins are their enemies.

by Count *Forbin*, who was not only more sincere than the 26. *King*
 generality of those who have published relations of *Siam*, but *Pitrachas*
 had much better opportunities of coming to the knowledge of
 the matters he treats of; qualifications fit to render every
 thing acceptable which proceeds from the pen of such a
 person.

IN discourse one day with Mr. *Ceberet* the French ambas- *The coun-*
 sador, who had travelled by land from *Louvo* to the port of *try a de-*
Merghi, where he went on board the same ship (H), Mr. *sert.*
Forbin told him, that what he had seen was yet the most
 beautiful part of it: that the whole kingdom, though very
 large, was scarce any thing but a vast desert: that in advanc-
 ing into the country, one meets with nothing but forests and
 wild beasts: that all the inhabitants dwell on the sides of
 the river, because the lands, which it overflows for six months
 of the year, produce, almost without culture, great plenty
 of rice, in which the whole riches of the kingdom consist;
 so that in ascending the river from the bar to *Louvo*, you see
 every thing which may deserve attention in the whole king-
 dom, with respect to either the people, their cities, or the
 products of the earth.

IN answer to the question proposed to him by *Louis XIV.* *The people*
 Whether *Siam* was a rich kingdom? He made answer, that *miserably*
 it neither produced nor consumed any thing. To explain this *poor.*
 paradox, he added, that as no person has any property in
 lands, the greater part of the country lies waste; and the
 people are so very abstemious, as well as so very poor, that
 he who can earn fifteen or twenty franks a year, has more
 than is necessary for him to live upon: that the only food of
 the inhabitants is rice and fruits, which they have in abun-
 dance; for they dare not touch any thing which ever had life,
 for fear of eating their relations.

THAT there was among them neither nobility nor condi- *Abject*
 tion, being all born slaves to the king; for whom they are *slavery.*
 obliged to work one part of the year, unless he dispenses with
 it by raising them to the dignity of Mandarins: that this dig-
 nity, which raises them from the dust, does not screen them from
 the displeasure of the prince, which they incur with a great
 deal of ease, and is always attended with rigorous punish-
 ments. That the *Barkalon* himself, though prime minister,
 was as much exposed to it as the rest, and did not support
 himself in that dangerous post but by crawling before his

(H) The ship in which *For- Merghi*, on the west coast of
lin went from *Siam*, after being *Siam*, to take in provisions.
 at *Masulipatam*, returned to

26. *King* master like the basest of the people ; that if he happens to
Pitrachas. fall into disgrace, the mildest treatment he can expect is, to be
 sent to drive the plough, after being severely chastised : that in
 short, when a Mandarin has by his address gotten a little sum
 of money, he must conceal it very carefully, otherwise the
 king will be sure to take it from him^s.

A Man- As a proof of the difference there was between *France* and
darin's re- *Siam*, he relates, that the Mandarin who had been ambassa-
mark. dor in *France*, and was among those who attended Mr. *Ce-
 beret* to *Merghi*, ran up to him as soon as he saw him, and
 told him, that he had great reason to desire to return into his
 own country : then, having made a pompous eulogy of the
 court, added in bad *French*, *France is a great good ; Siam a
 small good.*

King's re- THE *French* ambassador *Ceberet* being desirous to know
irement. how the king of *Siam* governed in his palace ; Mr. *Forbin*
 told him, he could not satisfy him on that head : for that
 they who are without, however eminent in station, never
 enter that part of it where the king is lodged ; and that those
 who once enter never go out any more. Every thing passes
 there in profound secrecy : every person has his fixed em-
 ployment, and his separate apartment, from whence he is
 never permitted to remove. Those who serve in one cham-
 ber are ignorant of what passes in the rest. Thus all the
 apartments have their particular officers even to that of the
 king ; who passes almost his whole life shut up, making part
 of his grandeur to consist in being rarely seen. When he
 would speak to his ministers most in favour, he shews him-
 self at a window about six feet from the ground, from whence
 he hears them speak ; and disappears after he has made known
 his will to them in a few words.

His reve- WITH regard to the interest of the king of *France* and
nue. that of commerce, he observes, that the principal revenue of
 the king of *Siam* consists in the trade, which is carried on
 almost solely by himself throughout the kingdom ; where no-
 thing is to be found excepting rice, areka, a little tin, some
 elephants which are sold, and certain skins of fallow beasts,
 of which the country is full : that they have no sort of manu-
 factures excepting some muslins ; of which the Mandarins
 only have the privilege to make a kind of waistcoat, which
 they wear on days of ceremony.

Commerce THAT the kingdom of *Siam*, which forms almost a pen-
inconsider- insula, might indeed be made a very commodious staple to
able. facilitate the commerce with *China*, *Japan*, and other countries

of the *Indies*, being washed by two seas, which open a communication with many countries, as well to the east as west; whose merchandizes were imported every year to *Siam*, as to a kind of market, where the *Siameses* gained some profit by selling their provisions: but that, as it produced nothing of value, it could serve only to the use above-mentioned; and consequently the new establishment made by sending troops thither was absolutely unnecessary, that which the *French* company already had in the country being more than sufficient for the purpose.

LASTLY, as to the fortress of *Bankok*, he said it might *The* remain in the power of the *French* during the life of the French king of *Siam*, and of Mr. *Constance*; but that, when one of *duped*. the two came to die, the *Siameses*, prompted by their natural interests, and the enemies of *France*, would not fail to drive its troops from a place which rendered them masters of the kingdom^h. The event had already verified these predictions when Count *Forbin* arrived in *France*; whither soon after his return tidings came of the strange revolution which happened at *Siam* in the course of the same year, in the manner as hath been already related. It is now time to return to *Pitrachas*:

THIS usurper was scarce seated on the throne, when he *A preten-* was in danger of being thrown out again by a priest of *Pegu*. *der starts* This *Talapoy* had been formerly taken into custody at the *up*. capital for some misdemeanour, and during his confinement became so well acquainted with the affairs of the court, that *A. D.* he gave himself out to be the elder of the late king's brothers, who had been put to death by *Pitrachas*, as before *1689.* related. This impostor gained so much credit in all parts of the country among the common people, that in a short time he drew together about ten thousand men; when being informed that the king's son (*Sourakak*), intended to be on a day appointed at a certain place, in order to divert himself with his whole court, he went thither with his followers, and hid himself in a neighbouring wood; purposing, as soon as the prince and his retinue were arrived, to put them all to the sword, then to surprize the city, and treat the king and his adherents in the same manner. The prince, who knew nothing of this plot, when the day came, set forwards towards the place: but perceiving such a multitude of people as he drew near, suspected some ill design, and fled back to the capital, leaving part of his treasure behind him. *Pitrachas*, on this alarm, with great speed assembled an army of

^h FORBIN, ubi supra.

26. King 12,000 men, and sent them to meet the pretender, who was
 Pitrachas. marching with his forces towards the city. This unexpected
 opposition threw the undisciplined rabble into such a consternation that they immediately dispersed; flying with so much precipitation that, for all they were diligently pursued by the king's forces, not above 100 of them were killed and 300 taken, the soles of whose feet were burned, to prevent their escape. A few days after, the priest himself was found in the wood, sleeping under a tree, with only a boy along with him, and was carried to *Siyuthia*. There he was exposed to public view for several days, chained about the neck and breast to a post; after which his belly was ripped open, and his bowels being taken out while yet alive, were thrown to dogs to be devoured before his face¹.

Pitrachas's successors. WE are strangers to the subsequent transactions of this king's reign, and even to the time of his death. But according to the account we have of his two immediate successors, he did not long enjoy the fruits of his usurpation. We are told he was succeeded by his son, by whom we understand *Sourakak* before-mentioned; and that he married his father's widow, though against her will: that he died in 1708, and left the throne to his son *Chaw*, who would have married the same lady, but that she absolutely refused to comply with his inclinations; and the better to avoid his importunities, retired into a convent, where she died in 1715^k. We meet with nothing in the authors before us, relating either to this prince or his successors, excepting that in 1717 the king of *Siam* invaded *Kamboja*, with an army of 50,000 men by land, and 20,000 by sea; but was obliged to retire, after losing half his forces, for want of provisions^l.

C H A P. XIII.

The Kingdom of Kamboja.

S E C T. I.

Description of the Country.

Authors. **K**AMBOJA is a country very little known to *Europeans*; for although both the *Dutch* and *English* have had opportunities of viewing it from one end to the other, by means of the river, which they have ascended, and along

¹ KEMPFER, p. 24.

^k *Souv. du monde*, vol. iv. p. 132.

^l HAMILTON, *ubi supra*, p. 181. 196.

whose banks the lands principally inhabited lie, yet very few *Name*, have regarded the improvement of geography, or the curi-*extent* osity of their countrymen sufficiently, to give any tolerable account of it. The chief, or indeed the only authors, who may be said to have treated of it in any degree expressly, are *Gaspar da Cruz*, a *Portuguese* Dominican frier, who went thither on the mission about the year 1559; *Argensola*, in his history of the *Philippine* islands, which he wrote about 1592; *Henry Hagenaar*, who went to *India* in 1631, and was sent from *Batavia*, as ambassador to the king of *Kamboja*, in 1637; the embassy of *Gerard van Wusthof* in 1641, from the city of *Kamboja* to *Winkjan*, then capital of the *Laos*, up the river *Mekon*; lastly, Captain *Alexander Hamilton*, who was at *Kamboja* in 1720, and gives some account of it in his *New Account of the East Indies*, published in 1744. These are the principal funds from whence the following history of that country is compiled, interspersed however with remarks from other authors.

THE name of *Kamboja*, like that of other countries, has *Name*. its variations, being found differently written (A) in different authors. But this is not owing so much to the difficulty which *Europeans* find to adjust their orthography to the *Siamese* pronunciation, as some have imagined; as to the difference arising from the different force given to the letters of the alphabet by the several nations of *Europe*, and to the want of the *j* consonant in most of them; for which some use *y*, others *di* and *dj*, while the *j*, in *Camboje* of the *French*, has the sound of *zh* (B).

THIS country, situated between the ninth degree, and the *Bounds*, sixteenth degree thirtieth minute of latitude; and between the *extent*. 19° 30' and 126° of eastern longitude, reckoning from the meridian of *Paris*, is bounded on the west by *Siam*; on the north by the kingdom of *Lanjang* and the *Laos*, with part of *Kochinchina*; on the east by *Kochinchina* and *Champa*; and on the south by the bays of *Kamboja* and *Siam*; or more distinctly by the former on the south-east, and by the latter on the south-west, on which side its greatest extent of coast lies.

(A) As *Camboje*, *Camboje*, hardly to be expressed in any *Camboya*, *Cambodia*, or *Cam- European* language beside the *bodja*, and the like. *French*, except the *English*;

(B) As *je*, I myself, which is sounded not like the *English je*, which shews the copiousness of its alphabet; while the *French* can neither pronounce our *j* consonant, nor express it by their letters, especially before *a* or *u*.

Air and soil. as it stretches seven degrees thirty minutes from south to north, its greatest length that way is about 520 *English* miles; and its greatest breadth from west to east, including six degrees thirty minutes of longitude, about 398 miles.

Superficial form. THE land of *Kamboja*, as to its superficial form, may be compared to a great valley with a spacious river running through the midst, lying between two chains of mountains which extend from north-west to south-east; separating it on one side from the kingdom of *Siam*, and on the other from those of *Kochinchina* and *Champa*: so that in a good measure it resembles *Egypt*, with this difference, that the valley or space between the mountains is not so long as that of *Egypt*, but is much more extended as to breadth.

Air and soil. THE air must needs be very hot, in consequence of its being situated so near the line; and as it is inhabited almost solely near the great river and its branches, it is attended with the inconvenience to which countries over-grown with woods and uncultivated are subject, that is, of being much pestered with muskittos, which are extremely troublesome to the navigation of the river ^m.

THE soil however in fertility is equal to most *Indian* regionsⁿ; it produces corn, rice, pease, butter, oil, and other provisions in such plenty, that *Spaniards*, *Persians*, *Arabs*, and *Armenians*, resort thither to bring them away. It abounds with fruits of various kinds and drugs, such as bangué, sanders, and opium. The sugar is very good; and indigo is prepared here after an excellent manner.

Commodities. KALAMBA, aloes, and other odoriferous woods (C), are^o found in *Kamboja*; with variety of precious stones, such as amethysts, garnets, hyacinths, cornelians, chrysolites, and acates, cats-eyes; not to mention milk-stones and blood-stones, besides a sort of crystal found in the mountains, which is exceedingly transparent^o.

RAW silk and elephant's teeth may be had in this country at reasonable rates; the first at 120 dollars *per pekul* (D); and the largest teeth for fifty or fifty-five dollars each. Gold likewise is among the productions of *Kamboja*, of twenty-

ⁿ HAGEN. apud recueil des voyag. Holland. de la compag des Ind. Orient. tom. v. (vol. 8. bound) p. 339. ^o ARGENSOLA's discovery and conquest of the Spice Islands, apud Stephens collect. voy. and trav. p. 142. & 3. ^o ARGENSOL. ibid.

(C) Sapan wood, sandal wood, agala wood, sticklack, and lack for jappanning; besides many sorts of physical drugs. *Hamilton's new account of the East Indies*, vol. ii. p. 107. (D) The *pekul* is about 140 pounds weight.

one carats fine. Provisions of flesh and fish are exceeding *Ports,* cheap, and may be bought without a permit from the king: *islands.* our author has purchased a bullock of between 4 and 500 weight for a *Spanish* dollar; rice at eight pence *per pekul*: but poultry are scarce, because the country being for the most part covered with trees, when the chickens grow big they repair to the woods and shift for themselves. The woods also give shelter to great numbers of elephants and tigers, besides wild cattle, buffaloes, and deer (E); all which animals are free for every body to catch or kill.

THE coast of *Kamboja* is known by several sorts of marks; *its ports*: among the rest, that of numerous trees, and even entire woods, which appear in view. But although it extends about 140 leagues along the sea, yet there are not in that space above five or six ports fit to receive ships; at least *Europeans* have not discovered more. Of these the first is *Kupang-soap*, on the south-west coast towards *Siam*; where may be had elephants teeth, sticklack, and the gum named from the country *Kamboaj*, or *Kambodia*: but then no free commerce is allowed there without a licence from the court of *Kamboja*.

THE next place is *Pontemas*, or *Pontiamo*, which drove a *Pontea-* considerable trade for many years; having the conveniency of a mas. pretty deep, though narrow river, which, in the rainy seasons of the south-west monsoons, hath communication with *Bansak* or *Kamboja* river. This conveniency drew to it the foreign commerce from the capital city; which lying near 100 leagues up the river, and a continual stream running downwards for most part of the way, made the navigation thither so long and troublesome that few ships cared to go up to it. For these reasons they chose rather to resort to *Pontemas*, which thence increased and flourished till the year 1717, when it was destroyed by the *Siam* fleet¹, as mentioned hereafter.

ALTHOUGH there may be other ports on the coast of *Islands on* *Kamboja*, yet these two are all which we are acquainted *the coast.* with (F). On the south-west side it is crowded with little islands, especially towards *Siam*; but those which are largest, and of most note in navigation, lie at a considerable distance from the shore. Yet none of them are inhabited, because the

¹ HAMILT. *ibid.* p. 198.

¹ *Ibid.* p. 195.

(E) *Argensola* adds, lions, boars, and other wild beasts common to other *Asiatic* countries. *Ubi supra*, p. 143.

(F) There is a place mentioned in the journal of *Hage-naar's* voyage, p. 355. called

Cinchebanes (which in our characters we presume should be written *Sinkebanes*): but it is not said whether a port or island. There are many such inaccuracies in the same journal.

Pulo Kon-dôr. *Saliters*, or pirates, who infest that coast, rob the inhabitants of what they get by pains and industry. There is one called *Quadrol*, about three leagues west of *Ponteamas*, which has the proper requisites for a settlement. It is about three leagues long and one broad, has plenty of wood and water. The land is moderately elevated; the soil black and fat, excepting on the east side facing *Ponteamas*; where yet it has several fine sandy bays, which make good harbours in the seasons of rain and wind.

Pulo Panjang and Ubi. ABOUT seven leagues south-by-west of *Ponteamas* river, and eighteen west of the nearest coast, is *Pulo Panjang*, consisting of a cluster of eight islands, which form a pretty good harbour. Thence south-east about twenty-two leagues, and almost eight due south of the point of *Kamboja*, is *Pulo Ubi*; which lies in the way of all ships bound from either the gulf of *Siam*, or the south, to the river of *Kamboja*. It is about seven or eight leagues in compass, the land pretty high and very woody, affording good masts for shipping. It hath water on the north side, where vessels may ride; but the best anchoring place is on the east side, against a small bay.

Pulo Kon-dôr. THE last island of note on the *Kamboja* coast is *Pulo Kon-dôr*, about forty leagues to the eastward of *Pulo Ubi*, and twenty south of the *Bansak* river (G). It belongs to a great parcel of little islands, and is the only one inhabited. There is good anchorage on the north side; and at the south end lies another island, stretching from north-west to south-east, about three miles long and one broad, in such a manner as to form a harbour between. The entrance is from the north-west, where the two islands are about one mile asunder; but towards the south end of the harbour they almost meet, there being only a small passage for boats.

THIS island stretches with a great bend from north-east to south-west, forming a great hollow or bay on the south-east side. It is not above three leagues long and one and a half broad (H). It has two good ports (I), one parallel to the other;

^r HAMILT. p. 204. & 206.
p. 390. Eng. Pilot, p. 65, & seq.

^s DAMPIER'S voyage, vol. i.

(G) Captain *Hamilton* says, about fifteen leagues south of the west channel of *Kamboja* river. *New account of the East Indies*, vol. ii. p. 204.

(H) *Pere Gaubil*, in his voyage to *China* in 1722, found the latitude of *Pulo Kon-dôr* to be $8^{\circ} 34' 14''$; and computed it

to be one degree more east than *Batavia*, consequently in 105° degrees of longitude, according to *De la Hire's* tables: but only $99^{\circ} 24' 45''$ according to those of *Harris*. See *Souciet observ. math. astron. &c* p. 112.

(I) Captain *Hamilton* says, there were two harbours or anchoring

other; and both lying from north-west to south-east. The Pulo Kon-inhabitants call it *Konon*, and some *French* the Isle of *Orleans*. dôr. It may in fair weather be seen sixteen leagues off.

THE sea abounds with fish, particularly large turtles of a *Fish* and delicate taste; with whose shells and oil the inhabitants drive *fowl*. a profitable trade on the continent. Of a fish like anchovies they make a brine or pickle, which the *Kochinchineses* mix with their rice. There are very few birds here: the most remarkable are spar-hawks, who are at continual war with the fishes; and a bird as large as a wood-hen, which is of a beautiful green, with a stripe of white at the end of the tail; the flesh is greyish, and very delicious: but fowl are plenty.

APES are here in prodigious numbers. Of lizards there *Apes and lizards*. are five kinds: one sort like those in *France*; the rest are of the size of common serpents. Some of them have wings, and are of the bigness as well as colour of lizards: under the chin they have a purse, white, and shaped like a heart, which swells and falls in breathing. Other lizards are covered with scales, and of a frightful aspect; what is worse, their bite is mortal. They get into the hollows of trees in the evening, and set up a cry so loud that one would think it came from some great bird. It is called *koka*, from that word which it seems to utter at those times. The lizards of the fifth kind, which are likewise scaly, have hands and feet, armed with claws, as large as those of a boy of fifteen; the tail is triangular: they are seven or eight feet long, and, it is said, are good to eat (K).

ONE sees in *Pulo Kondôr* flying squirrels; rats which have *Flying* ears like the human; dormice as large as fowl; butterflies *squirrels*. with trunks. Serpents and insects of all kinds are numerous, and very troublesome. In the island to the south-west of the port, there are several sorts of wild beasts¹.

THIS island, as well as the lesser surrounding it, are covered with trees ever-green, for the general very thick, tall, *Trees,* *kinds*. strait, and the wood hard. The *areka*, mango, ebony of all sorts, and milk-trees, are very common; also bambû, rattan, and wild muscadine. There is a little shrub which bears wild grapes, or rather a kind of gooseberry. Many of the trees are odoriferous, and some yield gums; whereof one

¹ DAMPIER'S voyage, vol. i. p. 390, & seqq. P. GAUBIL ap. Souciet observ. math. astron. &c. p. 107.

choring places at *Pulo Kondôr*, but neither of them good. One at the north-east end, for the south-west monsoons; the other on the west side, for shelter against the north-east winds:

but the bottom of this last being rocky, is bad for anchors and cables.

(K) These may be the guanos *Dampier* speaks of, p. 392.

fort

Pulo Kondôr. fort much resembles benjamin. The tree, which affords an oil, called *goudron* by *Dampier*, is here very common. It is of the kind whose body is tall and wood hard; the leaves and bark much like those of the chefnut-tree. The oil is drawn in this manner; three or four feet from the ground they make a hole in the tree, a foot high, one and a half wide, and half a foot deep. Here they put fire, and in a little time the oil begins to drop: at first it is brown, then it grows whitish, and at last reddish; it has then the consistence of butter, and a very sweet smell. The best times for gathering this oil are in *September*, *January*, and *February*; but it may be had all the year round. The inhabitants make torches, by steeping in this oil the bark of a tree, which afford a very clear light. This tree, as well as many other forts, is very proper for masts, yards, plank, and other ship timber (K); the rest afford wood for all kinds of works.

Masting.

Fruit trees. FRUIT trees are very numerous, but for the most part wild; as almond and medlar trees, a kind of services, and other fruits; fair to the sight, but insipid, and perhaps dangerous. Here are found however kernels in a large red pod, which when roasted taste like chefnuts.

Of cotton, papaya, citron, and tamarind trees, there are but few in the island. All the palm trees and aloes are wild: so are the latan and bannana trees. One meets also with the *squolante*, the capillaire, and *ananas*; besides many beautiful plants and flowers, worth the observation of botanists^a. This account of the natural productions of *Pulo Kondôr*, may, in some measure serve for the natural history of *Kamboja*, with regard to which our authors afford very few materials: for although this island at present is subject to *Kochinchina*, yet it ought properly to be considered as part of the country to whose coast it lies opposite.

*The vil-
lage.*

THERE is but one village in the whole island; and that only is the place which is inhabited. It stands at the bottom of the great bay before-mentioned, among several little rivers, in a plain. The habitations are no better than cabins. In one part of the village you see several oratories, called *Flan*, ranged in a semicircle, with a great tree in the midst, on which they erect a flag on festival days. In this place, which is called *Tour*, that is *Lord*, they render honour to the souls of their heroes, princes, and literati; the same they do to

^a GAUBIL, *ibid.* DAMPIER, *ibid.*

(K) *Dampier* observes, that there are trees bearing a kind of wild or bastard nutmegs, but insipid; also wild mangos, which are delicate. The grape tree is strait; and the fruit grows in clusters about the body of it, like the durion and kakao.
their

their ancestors, in the private oratories which every body has in his hut. To the north-east there is a temple where a priest resides. Towards the south-east part of the village between two rivulets there is a magazine, a bake-house, and the foundations of a fort (L), built by the *English* *.

THE port between the great island and the smaller, before described, is little, but exceeding good. Vessels are sheltered from the winds by the hills which inclose it on the sides; but in the rainy season the place is frightful. The *French*, who began a sort of settlement on the east side of this port in 1721, suffered much there. The plain in which the village stands forms a kind of semicircle, whose semidiameter is about three quarters of a mile: it is very marshy, and the soil sandy, yet if cultivated might produce nourishment for men and other animals; but the inhabitants have neither fowl, cattle, rice, pulse, nor plants. Excepting this plain, all the rest of the island is nothing but rocks, precipices, and steep mountains; covered indeed with beautiful trees, but cut with a thousand rapid torrents, and full of insects and serpents, without any fruits, flowers, or other useful vegetables; all which, especially in the rainy season, that is for near two thirds of the year, make *Pulo Kondor* one of the worst places in the world. There is good water in some of the rivulets; but those of the village grow dry in *March* and *April*, when the people are forced to drink well-water, which is none of the best.

THE inhabitants are only poor fishermen, who have properly no fixed habitation, but go and come as their business obliges. They are sometimes two, three, or four hundred; at other times the island is quite deserted. Hence it is that scarce any of the necessaries of life are to be met with in *Pulo Kondor*; which sometimes serves for a place of banishment to the Christians in *Kochinchina*, whose language, religion, and manners, the people of this island have received. They have all long black hair, believe the migration of souls, and understand the *Chinese* characters, although they speak a different language. The reason is, that those characters express or convey to the mind the images of things themselves, and not the

* GAUBIL, ubi supra, also DAMPIER, ubi supra.

(L) According to an exact plan of *Pulo Kondor*, inserted by *Soucier* before P. Gaubil's voyage, the village is above two miles from the bay; consequently Captain *Hamilton* must err in suggesting, if not expressly saying, vol. ii. p. 206. that the *English* fort was built on the side of this port.

PuloKondôr. founds of the voice, as ours do. The *English* were formerly possessed of this island till extirpated by the *Malays* and the inhabitants^y, which happened in the manner following :

English factory. IN 1702, when the factory of *Chusan* (*Chew-jhan*) on the coast of *China* was broken up, Mr. *Allan Ketchpole*, who was then director for the affairs of the *English East India* company, made choice of *Pulo Kondôr* for a colony; although, says our author, it produces nothing but wood, water, and fish. He hired some *Makassars* to serve for soldiers; contracting however to discharge them at the end of three years, in case they required it. When the time was expired, Mr. *Ketchpole* still detained them contrary to articles; yet still intrusted them with the guard both of his own person and the garrison. These eastern desperadoes (who are very faithful where covenants are observed with them, but, in case of failure, revengeful and cruel) took an opportunity in the night, when the *English*, who lodged in the fort, were in their beds, and murdered them all.

The garrison massacred. THE noise made by some who were awake, giving the alarm to those who lodged without the fort, they ran to the sea-side; and were scarce put from shore in a boat, which they luckily found ready fitted with oars and sails, before the *Makassars* (M) came in quest of them. After sailing and rowing above 100 leagues, in which space they suffered much by hunger and thirst as well as fatigue, they reached some place in the king of *J-bôr's* dominions, where they were kindly treated (N). " Since a factory was thought necessary, " to be settled on that coast, I wonder, says our author, why " these islands were chosen rather than that of *Quadrole* before-mentioned."

River Mekon. FROM *Pulo Kondôr* let us pass to the river of *Kamboja*; the west branch of which, as hath been observed, lies fifteen or twenty leagues almost due north of it. The name of this river, according to some authors, is *Menon* or *Menan*, but more properly *Mekon* (O); though it usually goes under the

^y GAUBIL, *ibid*.

HAMILT. *ubi supra*, p. 206.

(M) Captain *Hamilton* says, the *bloody villains*: not considering the provocation given them, and that what they did was to free themselves from the slavery which the perfidy of *Ketchpole* had reduced them to. A circumstance which renders

their action not only excusable, but also lawful.

(N) The reverend and ingenious Dr. *Pound* and Mr. *Solomon Lloyd* (an old acquaintance of our author's), were among those who escaped.

(O) Or *Menam-kou*, as in some maps.

appel-

appellation of the river of *Kamboja*, and of the *Laos*. It is *River* by many reckoned the largest in all the *Indies*; carrying so much water in summer that it overflows the adjacent country, like the *Nile* in *Egypt* ^{the Mekon.}

THIS river is so little known to *Europeans*, and they have *Branches* given such different names to the branches of it, that it is *little* not easy to describe it. In its course through *Kamboja*, from ^{known.} north-west to south-east, it seems to divide or send out streams in several places. The most remarkable is that, which separating from it about thirty-six miles below the capital city *Lowek* (or *Lovék*), and 250 miles from the sea, runs parallel to it at a few miles distance; this is called by some *Mat-siam* and *Oubequame*, by others the west chanel. About fifteen miles from the mouth it divides in two or three streams, the most western of which is named *Bassak* or *Bansak*. The main stream, which below the first division is called the river of *Japan*, about seven miles from its mouth divides also into two branches; the two main chanel communicate with each other by several cross streams, and fall into the sea by different mouths about thirty miles asunder.

LET us hear what those relate of this river who have ascended it as high as the capital city. *Da Cruz* speaks as if ^{The pass. ;} he had failed much farther up. This author says, from the report of the *Laos*, that it rises in *China*; and passing through their country from north to south enters *Kamboja* at a place called *Chudurmuch* (P), it receives a large river also which comes from a great lake (Q) in the utmost borders of *Kamboja* towards *Siam*; and passing by *Loech* (or *Lowek*), the capital of the country, thirty-six miles lower meets the *Mekon* at the place above-mentioned. There it discharges most of its waters into the *Mekon*; and the rest pass by another chanel to the sea (R), especially in the time of the winter floods,

* ARGENSOL. ubi supra, p. 143.

(P) We cannot absolutely determine whether the *ch* in this word is pronounced like the *English* or the *Latin*; *Argensola* calls it *Chordemuc*, which should incline us to be of the latter opinion. It cannot be on the borders of *Kamboja*, as it is south of the capital.

(Q) Our author says, it is so large, that no land can be seen from the middle of it. *Hagenaar* observes, that from a

great lake or inland sea there proceed abundance of rivers and streams; which afford more waters than the river of *Kamboja*, and its branches, are able to contain.

(R) So we apprehend the *English* translation, which is very bad, is to be understood. This is by some called *Oubequama*, and the *Western Chancel*, of which *Bassak* is a branch.

River
Mekon.



caused by the rains in other northern countries, for it does not rain then in *Kamboja*. At this place the river of *Laos* is called *Sistor*, and rushes with such fury into that of *Loech*, as to force it back with a strong current, which runs upwards from *July* to *September*. All this while the country is overflowed, and the inhabitants go from place to place in boats. It is on account of these inundations that they build their houses on piles, raised many feet above the ground ^b.

In effect, in *August* the river sometimes is seen to swell in a few days eight, nine, and even twelve feet, and inundate the lands on each side; so that they may be sailed up in *June*, but not so easily in *July*, nor is it possible to ascend them in *August* ^c. That we may give our readers as good an account as can be had of this river, we shall insert what is said of it in the journal of *Hagenaar*, who in 1637 made the navigation up it as high as the capital of *Kamboja*.

Hage-
naar's
passage.

HE entered the branch of *Bassak*, which he calls a little river, with his four ships, and in three or four days (S) passed into the river *Matsiam*, whose mouth is narrow, and banks adorned with trees. The same day, *May* 16, both wind and tide favouring them, they coasted some little isles, and saw the entrance of the river *Sinmeding*, where one of the ships had been the year before. Here while they lay at an anchor, waiting for the wind and tide, the ships were covered with such a multitude of muskittos, that the candle scarce gave any light. Next day they struck on a bank, and could hardly get off, having no more than four or five fathom water. The 18th they towed along the east side of the river, which is best for navigation. At noon they came to the narrowest part of it, where they moved their yards, that they might not be embarrassed with the trees. Here a strong gale, accompanied with rain, springing up, they first were towed by the shallops, and then hauled along by means of a bambú cane, till the ebb. The 20th they continued to proceed the same way; were twice entangled with the trees, and twice run aground at low water, but were freed by the tide ^d. The breadth of the river in those places was not over twice or thrice the length of a ship; and the muskittos plagued them all the way. The 23d they found the river somewhat broader, and in that place it begins to be called the river of

^b DA CRUZ apud Purch. Pilgrim. vol. iii. p. 169. ^c HAGENNAAR, apud Recueil des Voyages Holland. vol. viii. p. 361.

^d Ibid. p. 338, & seq.

(S) Thus we compute; for the journal is extremely defective.

Japan.

They saw many vessels which sailed along the bank (where herds of buffalos were at pasture), but none would come near them. River Mekon.

THE 28th, the wind turning to the west, they set sail and made a great deal of way. At noon there came a Mandarin and an interpreter to welcome them from the king. They brought a present of ten great varnished cups with covers, filled with fruits and other things, according to the custom of the country: likewise koko nuts, ananas, sugar canes, and two pots of arrack. These refreshments were very acceptable; and after entertaining the person who brought them, and his companion, they presented him with a piece of ordinary silk. The 4th of June they arrived at the point of the Japanese quarter. The 7th two *Nampras* came to visit *Hagenaar* with a present from the king. All this while they advanced so slowly, that the factors at the Dutch lodge were uneasy at the delay, which yet could not be avoided^d. River of Japan.

THE 10th they were towed along with extreme difficulty as far as the point of the river of Japan. Next day they were towed to weather the point where the river of *Lau*, which is very rapid, divides into three arms; and sent to examine if they could pass along the bank in the river *Natsiam* to the north-west, beyond the shoals. Mean time a south-west wind rising, they hoisted all their sails; and having stemmed the currents, passed the banks and mouth of the *Matsum*, ascending as far as the town of *Buomping*, where there is a fair gilded tower. As the currents were then favourable they advanced to the third elbow, where the wind being against them, they cast anchor. They proceeded again by moonlight, and at day-break arrived opposite to the company's lodge, at the capital of *Kamboja*, in five fathom water. From thence he passed along the quarters of the *Japaneſes*, *Portugueſes*, *Chineſes*, *Kochinchinois*, and merchants of *Kamboja*: having thus sailed a league and a half, he landed in order to go to the king's palace^e. With regard to the river in general it is remarked, that the bottom of its chanel is a firm sand; that its stream is three fathom deep, but that the tide rises and falls two fathom^f. Town of Buom-ping.

FOUR years after, the Dutch sent an ambassador, named *Van Wuythof*, from thence to the court of *Laos*, which furnished an account of this river so much higher: but the journal we meet with of this voyage is neither very particu- Wuythof's passage

^d HAGEN. p. 340, & seq.

^e Ibid. p. 342, & 344.

^f Ibid. p. 360.

River lar nor exact (T). They embarked in little pirogue
Mekong. shallops, and spent eleven weeks in the navigation. In some
 places they found the stream very broad, in others very narrow and full of rocks (as in the former voyage); so that they were often obliged to unload their boats, and carry the goods for a time by land.

THEY from time to time passed by towns and villages on the banks, pretty well built after that country fashion. The most remarkable places were *Loim*, *Gokkelok*, *Loim*, *Simpow*, *Sombok*, *Sombabour*, *Baatsong*, a small city twenty-two days journey beyond the city of *Kamboja*, which formerly had a king of its own. *Namnoy*, where much gold is found, some days journey from the frontiers of *Laos*: *Bassuk*, *Oknum*, *Naewein*, *Samsana*, *Beenmouk*, *Saymoun*, *Tapanom*, and *Lofkan*, another little city belonging to the king of *Kamboja*, who keeps a viceroy there (U); *Huysoun*, a town famous for the beauty of its silk manufactures; *Meunkok*, a city of pretty considerable commerce, whither the *Laos* carry all their merchandizes.

as high as
 Laos.

THE *Dutch* passed by several other places of less note; they met also with very high mountains, and some isles (X) formed by the river. At length they arrived at *Winkjan* (Y), capital of *Laos*, 250 miles from whence they set out^s. But here it must be observed, that no distinction is made with regard to the rivers which they navigated in this journey: for the capital of *Kamboja* is not situated on the great river which passes through *Laos*, but on a branch of it, said before to have its source, with many other rivers or streams, in a great lake; which branch therefore must have a communication with that river.

Chinese
 pirates IN the year 1687, the king of *Siam* sent Captain *Howell* and Captain *Williams*, *Englishmen*, who commanded two fri-

^s VAN WUSTHOFF's embassy, apud Hist. Gen. des Voyages, Hague edit. tom. xii. p. 287.

(T) It is in the *Hague* edition of the *Histoire Generale des Voyages*, tom. xii. p. 287. and was taken from *Valentine's* collection of voyages and travels in *Dutch*, consisting of three folio volumes.

(U) It does not appear from this journal where the kingdoms of *Kamboja* and *Laos* join;

nor which is the last town of the one, or the first of the other.

(X) They named them *Saxenham*.

(Y) The capital of *Laos* is by other authors named *Lanjan* or *Lanchang*. But whether they are the same, or different cities, is uncertain.

gates in his service, against some *Chinese* pirates, who nested *River* themselves in an island up the river of *Kamboja*. These were Mekon. some of those who, when the *Tartars* conquered *China*, fled in their own ships; and, turning freebooters, took many of the *Siamese* ships trading in those seas. They found this river very large, especially at its mouth; and to be navigable for very great vessels for the sixty or seventy leagues which they ascended, whence they concluded that its depth and wideness extended much farther upwards. The course of the river is generally from north to south, and the land low on each side, with many large creeks and branches; likewise considerable islands in some places. They steered up that branch which seemed most capacious; having the tide of the river. flood with them, and the river commonly so wide as to give them room to turn and make angles, where the bending of the chanel was such as to receive a contrary east or south-east sea wind. But these reaches or bendings of the river east and west were very rare, at least so as to make their course to be against the sea wind, which commonly blew in their stern, and so fresh that with it they could stem the tide of ebb. In the night, when the land winds came, they anchored and lay-by till ten or eleven a clock next day, when the sea breezes usually sprang up again and enabled them to continue their course^h.

As soon as they came to the island they fired upon the *Dislodged* pirates, and landing their men routed them, burnt their *by the* houses, ruined their fortifications, and took many prisoners. *English.* These people, on their flight from *China*, finding the river of *Kamboja* open before them, made bold to enter it and settle on the island before-mentioned. There they built a town, and fenced it round with a wall of trees, laid along four in a breast, and about as many in height. As the land was exceeding good, and they were provided with all sorts of instruments fit for planting, they might have lived happily enough had they made use of them instead of arms, to get wherewithal to subsist. The *English* captains having done their business, they returned out of the river; but the south-west monsoon being already set in, so that they could not proceed to *Siam*, they went to *Ma-kau* in *China*. There, to ingratiate themselves with the *Tartars*, they delivered up their prisoners to the governor, who entertained them handsomely; and were afterwards received at *Siam* with great applauseⁱ.

^h DAMPIER'S voyages, vol. ii. p. 105.

ⁱ Ibid.

Capital
city.

WE learn from the report of a late navigator, that west entrance (Z) of *Kamboja* river is very deep; the shallowest part of the chanel going in being four fathoms, and that within it deepens to twenty in some places: that the north entrance, ten leagues distant, is broader, but much shallower, and little frequented: that the river in some places is three leagues wide; and that the navigation above the capital city is performed in small rowing vessels, of which great numbers are employed^k.

The capital
described.

ALL the towns in *Kamboja* which are known to *Europeans* have been already mentioned and described, excepting the principal city. This commonly is denominated from the country itself, but it has its proper name, which yet is variously written. *Da Cruz* calls it *Loech* (A); the author of *Van Wusthof's* voyage, *Eauwek*; perhaps this last is misprinted for *Lauwek* (B). It stands on a branch of the great river (C), thirty-six miles above *Ghudurmuk*, where it falls into it^l. It is fifty or sixty leagues from *Pontemas*, a hundred from the bar of the great river (D), and forty from the borders of *Laos*^m. Its situation is most agreeable, all the houses are contiguous and ranged along a bank (E). The king resides in a palace, whose fabric is very simple, and appears like a cloister, being inclosed with a palisade six feet high. However it is defended by a great number of cannon brought from *China*; and twenty-four pieces of artillery which were saved out of the wreck of two *Dutch* vessels on the coast

King's palace.

^k HAMILT. new account of the E. Ind. vol. ii. p. 204, & 206.

^l DA CRUZ, apud Purch. Pilgrim. vol. iii. p. 169.

^m HAMILT. ubi supra, p. 197, & 206.

(Z) He says it is commonly called *Bocca de Curangeru*. A name given doubtless by the *Portugueses* to the mouth of the *Bassak* chanel.

(A) From what follows, we judge that the *ch* in this word stands for *th*, or simply *k*.

(B) In the maps of Mess. *De L'Isle* and *D'Ancille*, it is written *Leuek*, which is not very conformable to either of the names mentioned in the text.

(C) The relation of *Wusthof's* embassy placeth it on the *Me-ken* itself. But all the accounts are so defective, one

scarce knows how to determine any thing relative either to the city or river.

(D) In the relation of *Hage-naar's* embassy, p. 360. it is said to be sixty *Dutch* leagues from the sea.

(E) According to the plan of it inserted in *Wusthof's* embassy, it is inclosed with double rows of trees, and walks between, instead of walls or fortifications; and must afford a beautiful prospect when viewed from some of the neighbouring eminences.

that kingdom. They are planted round the inclosure, with *Munners*, all the necessary implements in great order. Within the *customs*. same are the stables of the elephants, ascended by two or three steps: in 1637 there were fifteen or sixteen large ones, each of which had his own stable. The inside of the palace, though built with wood, glitters with gold and silver; the whole finished with charming propriety. The second ornament of the city is a temple of a peculiar structure, the art and beauty of which was extremely admired by the *Dutch*. It is raised upon pillars of wood varnished (F), with foliage and reliefs gilded. The pavement itself is precious, and preserved with magnificent mats and carpets. In it there was a tomb built with brick in form of a pyramid, all gilded likewise; as were five great images and five small ones, which were on the south side of the templeⁿ. This possibly was the tomb of one of their principal priests; for when any of them dies they build such a monument, which is square at the base, but goes rounding and terminates in a point, twenty or twenty-five feet in height: these are gilded and polished, but in a coarse manner^o.

THE city is inhabited by *Japaneses*, *Portugueses*, *Kochin-Nations chinoise*, and *Malayans*. Some of these different nations are settled there, others not; but repair thither in one monsoon, ^{there} and return in the other, staying so long as necessary to carry on their commerce^p. There are of *Japaneses* seventy or eighty families^q, and of *Topaßes* or *Indian Portugueses*, about 200, *Topaßes* with their wives of the country: some of them have pretty *Portuguese* good posts in the government, and live great after the fashion of the place. But they are without priests, nor will any venture to go amongst them: for in 1710 a poor capuchin went thither to officiate; and finding that one of his principal parishioners, who had two wives, disregarded his admonition to put one of them away, proceeded to excommunication, for which the other knocked out his brains. Since that time they wrote both to *Siam* and *Ma-kau* in *China* for pastors, but none it seems would go amongst them.

ALL the *Portuguese* have pensions from the king of *Kamboja*; but as they are too small to maintain them, they repair to the woods, and shoot wild elephants for their teeth, which they sell to strangers. Their way of killing them is very sin-

ⁿ HAGEN. ubi supra, p. 361, 349. WUSTHOF, ibid. p. 290.
^o Ibid. ^p HAGEN. p. 360. WUSTHOF, p. 290.
^q HAGEN. ibid. p. 364.

(F) So says the relation of *Hägenaer*; that of *Wusthof* says black.
 gular.

Manners, trade. gular. They form a piece of iron like a slug, and one end sharp, drive it into the bark of a certain tree, which is of a violent poisonous quality. A little time after they draw the slug, and coming near the animal fire it into his body: the elephant being thus wounded flies, but before he has gotten out of sight, drops down dead. They kill cattle and buffaloes, for their tongues, after the same manner. What is no less strange, this poisonous juice has the property to preserve as well as destroy life; for if, while in the woods, either hunger or thirst seizes them, they squeeze a few drops of it on the leaf of a tree, and find immediate relief by licking the leaf; but if the skin should be broken, and the juice enter the flesh, it proves mortal without remedy^r.

Subtle poison. *Natives of* THE kingdom of *Kamboja*, though very fertile, is but *Kamboja*. thinly peopled^s. The natives are of a light brown complexion, and very well shaped, their hair long and beards thin. The women very handsome, but not very modest (although our author gives no reasons or instances to support his censure). The men wear a vestment like our night-gowns, but nothing on either their head or feet. The women's dress is a petticoat reaching below the ankle, and a frock made tight to their bodies and arms: both sexes dress their hair.

Commerce and manufactures, THE *Kambojans* do not trade much themselves by sea; but foreigners resort to them for sake of the commodities which their country affords, and especially provisions, which are very plentiful and cheap, as hath been already remarked. Their chief native commodities are gold, raw silk, ivory; odoriferous woods, and drugs especially. *Kochinchina* likewise abounds with the same; which are brought to *Kamboja*, to be disposed of there^t. This country hath some manufactures: the people make divers sorts of cotton cloths, calicoes, muslins, buckrams, white and painted dimities, and the like, exceeding the finest made in *Holland*, when our author wrote. They have carpets also (though not like those which come from *Persia*), and a sort called *Bancales*, resembling *Scotch* plaids. They both weave and work with the needle rich silk hangings, and coverings for chairs, *palekis*, and other furniture^u.

of what importance. WHEN *Hogenaar* was at *Kamboja* in 1637, the *Portugueses* from *Malakka* brought thither cloth, and carried back with them benjamin, gum-lak, wax, rice, copper basons, and

^r HAMILT. ubi supra, p. 198.^s WUSTHOFF, ubi supra,

p. 290.

^t HAMILT. p. 197. 207.^u ARGENSOL.

apud Stephens voy. and trav. vol. i. p. 143.

Moves made in *China*. He was of opinion, that if the *Manners*, *Dutch* could oblige the *Portugueses* to quit the country, the *trade*. company might carry on an advantageous trade; particularly in black lack, much in request, and in the skins of deer, buffaloes, and oxen, very proper for *Japan*; also in benjamin, part of which would yield a good price in *Persia*. In exchange for these they were to carry thither *India* cloths of several sorts, and cotton yarn, by which he computed they would be gainers from forty to seventy *per cent*. However the *Dutch* met with great opposition from the *Portugueses*, and other obstacles to their settling there. Among the rest, as they were obliged to have their lodge at the end of the *Japanese* quarter, neither the natives, nor the *Malayans*, much less the crafty *Chineses*, durst repair thither by day to buy any thing for fear of these people. For this reason the ambassador desired leave to build a lodge on the other side of the river: but the king did not grant it; because the *Dutch* general at *Batavia* had not mentioned any such thing in his letters.

In effect the *Dutch* had a factory in the capital city of *The Dutch Kamboja* at different times: but the treacherous designs of *quit Kamboja* those people, to which they saw themselves exposed, made them at length abandon the country. And the rather, as most of the merchandizes which come from *Kamboja* and *Laos*, are to be found in the neighbouring dominions, where they had factories already, especially in *Siam*; to which the first of these kingdoms is at present (as it then was) tributary*. But it should seem, that the cause of their quitting *Kamboja* was owing to some fault of their own, rather than of the natives, in case what a late author reports be fact; viz. that they will not suffer the *Dutch* to settle factories in their country, at the same time that they are very desirous of having a trade with the *English*†.

WHEN Captain *Hamilton* was at *Ponteamás*, an officer *The Eng-* who could speak a little *Portuguese* came on board, and ad- *lish in-* vised him to notify his arrival to the king, and desire per- *mitted*. mission to trade with his subjects. The captain did so; and in twelve days received an answer, with liberty to trade: but was desired to send up some person with musters of his goods, that the king and his merchants might see them. Two *Portugueses* likewise were sent for interpreters; one to remain on board his ship during his stay, and the other to accompany his second supercargo, whom he dispatched to court with the

* HAGEN. ubi supra, p. 363, & seq. WUSTHOFF, ubi supra, p. 290. † HAMILTON, ubi supra, p. 197.

Religion,
worship.

goods, accompanied by twenty-five men well-armed. When they arrived at the city they were well supplied with provisions, and visited by many persons of distinction. After some delay, the supercargo returned with a letter of compliment to the captain, in the *Portuguese* language, and another to the governor of *Bombay*, inviting the *English* to settle in his country; with liberty to build factories or forts in any part of his dominions for the protection of trade. He would not enter into any correspondence with the *English*, without the knowledge and consent of his guardian the king of *Kochinchina*, who at last consented to allow them commerce both in *Kamboja* and his own dominions. This was all the advantage which Captain *Hamilton* reaped by sending to court: for the country had been laid so waste by the *Siamers* wherever they marched, that the natives had nothing ready then to barter with his cargo, but in a year or two they said they would be provided^a. From this account of things the trade of *Kamboja* seems to be precarious enough, and not very considerable.

Objects of
worship.

ACCORDING to *Da Cruz* the *Kambojans* worship several different gods. One they call *Prohar Missur*, who they say made the earth and heavens. This power he received from another god named *Pra Lokussur*, with the permission of a third called *Pra Issur*. The frier tell us, that having convinced the priests that *Prohar Missur*, far from having created the world, was a very wicked man, they promised to worship him no longer, having till then adored him in conjunction with *Pra Put Pra sar Metri*^a. *Da Cruz* says no more concerning this last god; and indeed the whole lame account seems to be brought in chiefly for sake of relating this passage, and how much ill-will he got of the king as well as the priests, for speaking disrespectfully of their gods. However, *Pra Put* is probably the *Puti Sat* of the *Siameses*; and this seems confirmed by Captain *Hamilton*^b, who observes that the *Kambojans* worship the same gods who are worshipped in *Siam*. They adore the supreme god under the name of *Tipedah*, giving him *Praw Prumb* and *Praw Pout* (G), for his sons^c. It may be presumed from hence, that, as *Argen-*

^a HAMILTON, p. 200, & seqq.
Pilgr. vol. iii. p. 166.

^b DA CRUZ apud Purch.
HAMILTON, ubi supra, p. 203.

^c Ibid. ubi supra, p. 203.

(G) *Pra*, or *Praw Pout*, is *Buddah*, as hath been observed before, supposed to be the same with *Fo*, or the god of *Tibet*: of

which name *Tipedah* hath some resemblance in sound; but we will not presume to say in signification.

(sola

folá observes, they hold the transmigration of souls. Temples *Religion,* and pyramids are very numerous throughout the country; *priests.* some are built with wood, others with stone, and all well gilded within, as their idols are on the outside^d.

THEY believe there are twenty-seven heavens or mansions *Future* one above the other, for the reception of souls after this life. *state.* Some of them are furnished with sensual pleasures, such as delicious food, with liquors of various kinds, and beautiful women. Hither all living creatures but priests do go, not excepting the flea, and smallest insects; for they say, as they have souls, they must live in the other world. The next worlds above these are reserved for their holy priests who dwell in the deserts, whose felicity is to consist in sitting, and being refreshed with cooling winds. In the heavens beyond those again, the gods have bodies round like bowls; and they who ascend thither have the privilege of assuming bodies shaped like those of the gods who reside there. As there are so many heavens it is but fit that there should be several hells, which they limit to thirteen: these likewise are situated one above another; and the wicked are doomed to the higher or the lower, according as the sins which they have committed are greater or lesser.

THE clergy have among them a kind of hierarchy, consisting of five orders. The first or highest order are named *clergy* *Massankrachés*; these are as supreme over all others, and sit above the king. Those of the next order are called *Nassen-deches*, who are like our bishops, and sit equal with the king. The third order is that of the *Mitires*, or priests, who sit below the king. Besides these there are two orders still lower, named *Chaynizes* and *Sazes*.

THE clergy, priests, and religious, were so numerous, *very nu-* that *Da Cruz* judged them to be one third of the people in *merous.* the kingdom of *Kamboja*. This friar says, they are exceedingly proud and vain: nor is it to be wondered at, if, as he pretends, they are worshipped for gods by the laity; and that the inferior priests worship their superiors in the same manner^e.

ACCORDING to *Hagenaar*, they hold the first rank in the *Their* state, and sit before the *Ohnias*, or lords of the court, *power and* very near the king, with whom they discourse very fami- *classes,* liarly^f. Yet we are told by a late navigator into this country, that the priests are not much respected, as being generally chosen from the lower sort of the people, and are maintained

^d WUSTHOF, ubi supra, p. 291. ^e DA CRUZ, ubi supra, p. 166, & seq. ^f HAGEN, ubi supra, p. 363.

Govern-
ment,
nobles.

by free-will offerings^g. However they have much the advantage of the other classes of natives, who are all slaves except themselves^h. They shave their beard, head, and eyebrows, like the *Taleboys of Siam*, but are not permitted to marry like those of the *Laos*. Their power extends even to civil affairs. They have a particular head or chief priest, who bears the title of *Rajah Pourson*, or *king of the priests*. This chief resides at *Sombrapour*, on the frontiers of the *Laos*, and has under him a *Tivinia*, with some inferior officers, in conjunction with whom he decides all the affairs of his district. The boats which in their passage arrive at this place, are obliged to give him an account of whatever they carry, which is always accompanied with some presentⁱ.

Papish
mission.

DA CRUZ, who calls the priests of *Kamboja* *Brammans*, says, in his time, the king was a *Bramman*, that is a priest; and it was to this connection between the king and them that he imputes the bad success of his mission. He observes, that their influence over the people was so great, that if, whilst he was preaching to them, any of the priests passing by only stopped, and said, *This doctrine is good, but ours is better*; they would all disperse at once. For this reason, and because the king shewed no inclination to favour his religion, after a whole year spent in the country, he neither found any fruit of his labour, nor the least encouragement for missionaries to repair thither. It must however be noted, that he places the disorderly behaviour of the *Portugueses* among the obstacles which rendered his attempt unsuccessful^k.

Govern-
ment and
nobles.

THERE are two ranks of state officers, who may be called the nobles or great lords of the kingdom. The first have the appellation of *Oknias*, or *Okinas*; and on them, as principal officers of the crown, is conferred the government of provinces, cities, and towns. Of these *Oknias* likewise the council of the king is composed; and all causes or suits of whatever kind are tried by them. Hereof they make report to the king, and his judgment or sentence is decisive; nor dare either party offer to complain of it^l. The *Oknias* are known by a gold box for containing their betel; in which there are two or three lesser boxes of the same metal, filled with cardamum and other perfumes, wherewith they rub their lips; and another full of lime, with scissars to prepare their pinang or betel. This box they either hold in their

^g HAMILT. ubi supra, p. 203.

^h DA CRUZ, ubi supra.

ⁱ WUSTHOF, ubi supra, p. 291.

^k DA CRUZ, ubi supra,

p. 167.

^l HAGEN. ubi supra, p. 345, 352, 362, & seq. WUSTHOF, ubi supra, p. 290.

hand, or order to be carried before them. The officers of Govern-
the second rank named *Tonimas* or *Tonimnes*, are allowed ^{ment,}
only to have silver boxes for their pinang or betel. They are ^{nobles.}
placed behind the *Oknias* or privy counsellors; who, on all
occasions which require ceremony, sit in a semicircle about
the king, and persons of lesser rank behind them. The
principal *Oknia* lays the affairs before his *Kambojan* majesty,
but takes great care not to say any thing which may displease
him^m. There is a third sort of nobles called *Nampra*, but
this is purely a title of honourⁿ; although the lords of this
rank are often sent to meet ambassadors, and on other special
messages or matters of ceremony, in which alone they seem to
be employed.

WHEN the king has a mind to confer an honour upon any ^{Marks of}
of his minions, which however he never does without some ^{honour.}
considerable present, he delivers to such person two swords,
which are always to be carried before him in public: one is the
sword of state, the other of justice. Our author, who seems
to speak of the *Oknias*, adds, that all people as he passeth
with these ensigns of grandeur, must give way, and salute
him in a settled form of words: but in case he happens to
meet with another vested with the same dignity, they must
compare patents, and he who first received the marks of ho-
nour must be first saluted. In all places where-ever they go,
they hold courts of justice both civil and criminal. They have
the power also to lay fines on people, which are paid into the
king's treasury; but in capital cases their sentence is law,
and execution immediately follows sentence^o. The laws or
sentences of these judges must be very severe, since we meet
with an instance of a man being condemned to die for only
breaking of a glass (H); and would have been executed but
for the *Dutch*, who begged him off^p.

THE king of *Kamboja* is so despotic, that not only the *Kingdespo-*
lands but the effects of his subjects, or rather slaves, fall to *tic*.
him upon their deaths; so that the wife and children have
nothing to trust to, but what they can conceal or convey away
by stealth. Nor is it very easy to do this, considering that
as the meanest person may have access to the king, every
body is busy to pick up news, that he may get an opportu-

^m HAGEN. *ibid*.
MILTON, *ubi supra*.
Voy. vol. iii. p. 215.

ⁿ *Ibid*. p. 341. 360 363. ^o HA-
^p VAN NECK *voyag.* apud *Rec. des*

(H) Mr. *Woolaston* might break a glass is a breach of
have brought this instance to truth; or perhaps he took the
support his position, that to hint from this passage.

King, his
power.

nity of speaking to him ; and by this means scarce any thing is done but what comes to his knowledge¹.

His forces.

THE country not being very populous, the king's forces cannot be supposed to be very great : according to *Hagenaar*, they amount to no more than 20 or 30,000 men². If so, his power must have greatly declined since the time of *Da Cruz*, who says, that the king was able to send 100,000 into the field³. It is likely that their strength had been much exhausted by civil wars, and the invasions of their neighbours ; especially the king of *Siam*, by whom *Kamboja* had often been reduced to a state of dependency.

His state.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, his *Kambojan* majesty takes some state upon him, and is not a little jealous of his honour. When *Hagenaar* went ambassador to *Kamboja* in 1637, the king took offence that the letters to him and his son, whom he had associated in the throne, from the *Dutch* general of *Batavia*, were directed wrong ; the letter which was for each being directed for the other : he was likewise disgusted because they were not written on gilt paper. But there was a third matter which gave most cause of discontent, and that was a demand which he made of four pieces of cannon, not being immediately complied with by the *Dutch*. Their hesitation upon this article occasioned much delay and slight towards their ambassador ; of whom, at one audience, the king took no notice when he went away. However they found themselves obliged to do at last, what in prudence they should have done at first, and then things went on very well⁴.

Hage-
naar's em-
bassy.

WHEN *Hagenaar* drew near the capital with his barks, the king sent *Nampras* two or three times with presents to salute him. The 16th of *June* the same year he landed, with a train of twenty musketeers and two trumpets. He found at the water-side a very big elephant, but without teeth, and three or four chariots. The letters for the two kings were received by a *Nampra* ; and being carried under an umbrella, were placed upon the back of the elephant. The ambassador went into the first chariot, which was gilded a little ; the chief factor in the second ; and the *Tenimne*, who came to accompany *Hagenaar*, in the third ; the captain of the vessel, with the presents, was carried in the fourth. Each chariot was drawn by two oxen, and the rest of his people followed on foot.

¹ DA CRUZ, ubi supra, p. 167.
p. 362.

² DA CRUZ, ubi supra, p. 166.

³ HAGEN. ubi supra,
⁴ HAGEN.
ubi supra, p. 343. 346. 356. 359.

As soon as he alighted at the palace he was conducted to- ^{King, his} wards the hall of audience, where a great chair was placed ^{power.} for him to rest himself a while, as being much indisposed. The hall was full of people; and having first passed between two ranks of *Tonimnes*, with their silver boxes in their hands: ^{Goes to} he then entered between two rows of *Okinas*, or *Oknias*, hold- ^{court.} ing their gold boxes great and small before them. When he came to the middle of these last, he bowed and made his reverence to the king, who appeared in one corner of the hall, supported by a wooden rail twenty or twenty-five paces from him, under which there were two horses fed with grafs. On the floor were spread two red carpets, whereon the presents were placed; which consisted of two arquebusses with rests, ten fuseses of *Spain*, two pistols, two sword-blades, and the remainder were in packets^t.

THE general's letter was presented in a piece of gold ^{His au-} stuff on a gold cup, placed in a varnished bason. It con- ^{dience} tained many wishes for the prosperity of the king; which having first been repeated by the interpreter, was afterward read aloud in *Malayan*, and then translated into the language of *Kamboja*. As the king observed the ambassador to be much fatigued, he advised him to retire into the anti-chamber; where they brought him a quilted bed, with two cushions, after that country manner, for him to lie down upon. Mean time the people being withdrawn, the king sat and discoursed familiarly with the chief factor, the captain of the vessel, and one or two more who remained in the hall. *Towards evening the musketeers were ordered to put out their matches, and the trumpets to give over sounding: after which several sorts of fruits, sweetmeats, and other delicacies, with arrack, were served up; of which the company eat, and then took leave. At this audience the king demanded the four cannon, and went away much disgusted at what was said on that occasion; however he sent certain medicines called *oubat*, which he had promised to the ambassador, while he was at the *Shah Bander's*, where there was a great entertainment made for himⁿ.

AFTER this he had an audience of the young king, sitting of ^{the} on a carpet between two curtains, as if it was a window. ^{young king.} He was received very graciously, and presented with *arrak* and *betel*, which is one of the greatest honours done to any person. *Hagenaar* was desirous of having an audience of the old queen: but the *Shah Bander* brought word she was

^t HAGEN. p. 344, & seq.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 346.

A. D. drunk; and that to make her presents would be throwing
 1559- them away². To finish this account of *Kambojan* audiences,
 we shall only observe further, that in 1717, when Captain
Hamilton's supercargo (sent to court as mentioned before),
 had audience of the king, his majesty, after ten days delay,
 received him in great state, sitting on a throne like a pulpit,
 with his face veiled below his eyes¹.

History of
 Kamboja

THE reader is not to expect much relative to the history
 of a country so little known, and seldom visited by *Europeans* :
 all which is to be met with on that subject will be comprised
 in the few particulars following. The first account we find
 of it is about the year 1559, about which time we are told it
 was subject to *Siam*². Thus it continued for some time,
 how long we know not: for in 1592 *Laudara*, a *Mohammedan*,
 the then king of *Kamboja*, sent two ambassadors, one a *Portu-
 guese*, the other a *Spaniard*, with a rich present, to *Gomez
 Perez*, the *Spanish* governor of the *Philippine* islands; to
 desire assistance against the king of *Siam*, who had marched
 with a numerous army to invade his dominions; offer-
 ing in return to become subject to *Spain*, and embrace the
Romish religion. This was the purport of the embassy;
 which was closed with a compliment, wherein the king said,
 that he concluded so brave a man as *Perez* would not be di-
 verted by any other affair, from performing an action which
 would so much redound to the glory both of god and his
 prince. But *Perez*, being then very busy to recover *Ternata*;
 and the rest of the *Molukko* islands which had revolted, excused
 himself, for not having it in his power at that juncture to send
 the king the desired aid: however promised that, as soon as
 his expedition against *Ternata* was over, he would employ
 his forces to the relief of *Kamboja*.

Breach of
 faith pu-
 nished.

THE governor set out immediately on the first expedition,
 but never lived to get to that island. For having by fair pro-
 mises prevailed on a great number of *Chineses* to go along
 with him; as soon as he got out to sea he treated them in a
 most audacious manner, obliging them to row in the galleys,
 and inflicted stripes to make them work beyond their power.
 He even threatened to put them in irons, and cut off their
 hair. This last to a *Chinese* is an affront which deserves death;
 and which he never forgives. To prevent the infamy they
 agreed to rise in the night, and destroy all the *Spaniards*.
 Pursuant to this resolution they mixed themselves with their
 task-masters when they went to sleep; and during the last

* HAGEN. ubi supra, p. 343, 356.

† HAMILT. ubi

supra, p. 200. 2 DA CRUZ, ubi supra, p. 166.

watch, at the sound of a whistle, all rose, put on white frocks, that they might know one another, and lighted wax-candles: then, drawing their *katanas*, a kind of crooked swords, slew every man with so great expedition and little noise, that the very watch knew nothing of what had been done. The governor, awakening at the clamour which they made for that purpose, they called to him to come and pacify a quarrel among the *Spaniards*. *Perez* got up; but as soon as he appeared with his breast above deck, they ran him through with their pikes: Thus arrogance and perfidy were deservedly punished.

LOUIS *das Marinas*, the son of *Perez*, succeeding him in the government of the *Philippine* islands. In the year 1594 *Langara* (I), king of *Kamboja*, sent to put him in mind of the promise made by his father, and to require the succours. This demand *Louis* thought fit to comply with; zealous to bring those nations into the bosom of his church, as well as their riches and kings under subjection to the crown of *Spain*. With this view he fitted out three ships, manned with 120 *Spaniards* and some natives of the *Philippine* islands, under the command of *John Xuarez Gallinato*, born in *Teneriffe*, one of the *Canary* islands. *Gallinato*, by stress of weather, was driven to the city of *Malakka*; but the other two ships reached *Kamboja*. In their way up the river they were informed, that the king had been defeated by the *Siamese* army, and was fled with the poor remains of his forces into the kingdom of the *Laos*. The advice added, that, while he was begging aid of those inhuman neighbours, the king of *Siam* had set upon the throne *Prâ Neâr*, nick-named, *Wry-mouth the traitor*.

THIS accident did not hinder the *Spaniards* from proceeding forward: however, as the state of things was changed, their commanders *James Velloso* and *Blase Ruyz* gave out, that they came as ambassadors to the new king. Being arrived at *Chôrdumulo* (K), four score leagues from the bar, they left forty *Spaniards* in the ships; and with forty others set out for the country where that prince then was. When they

* ARGENSOLA ubi supra, p. 135, & seq.

(I) Before called *Laudara*, if it be not a mistake of the press. *Argensola* says this king was a *Mohamèdan*, and his subjects *Baniâns* and *Guzerâts*; which we know not how to account for, unless it be that he fancied so, because they held the transmigration of souls.

(K) Perhaps it should be *Chôrdumuko*, or *Chôrdemuk* before-mentioned, p. 403.

A. D.
1594.

got thither, they demanded an immediate audience : but were told, that they could not have one till the third day after ; and in the mean time had good quarters assigned them. The *Spanish* commanders looking on this delay as suspicious, either that they were before acquainted with the nature of the court, or that they perceived some motions which gave distrust, they went to visit a beautiful lady of the royal family. By her they were informed, that the king being fond of her, she was admitted into his secrets ; and that she knew he intended to have them all slain : she added, that the reason for putting off their audience for three days, under pretence of resting after their journey, was only to gain time to put his design in execution ^b.

*Kill the
usurper.*

THE *Spaniards*, without being dismayed at the danger, returned the lady thanks for her intelligence, promising her a considerable reward ; and came to a resolution to attack the king's palace the same night, notwithstanding he had his army about him. The better to succeed in their enterprize, they set fire to the house where the powder was kept, and during the confusion into which this accident had thrown the people, entered the palace. As they were acquainted with the royal apartments, they passed through them ; and, after they had put the guards to the sword, forced open the chamber of the king, whom they ran through the body. The prince defended himself, and cried out for help ; but before any could come to his assistance he bled to death. On the news of this action the whole city, containing more than 30,000 inhabitants, ran to their arms : presently 14,000 of them, with many elephants, came upon the *Spaniards* : but their two commanders, drawing up their little body, retired in good order, fighting and killing great numbers of their enemies in the retreat. The battle continued all the night ; and next day they got to their ships, leaving the country involved in new divisions ^c.

*Gallinato
offered the
crown ;*

Two days after this strange event, *Gallinato* came up with his ship. He had been informed already of what had happened ; and halted forward, as thinking it his duty to succour the *Spaniards*. When he arrived, he found every thing in motion ; while he heard the guard-drums beating, and the bells ringing, he saw the streets and the port full of trading people all in arms. These were the militia of *Kamboja* (without which necessary and natural defence no country can possibly be secure). Perceiving things in this threatening posture, he gave strict orders to those who accompanied him in the ex-

^b ARGENSOL. p. 136.

^c Ibid. p. 145.

dition, to behave with the greatest modesty; and neither offend the people by their words, nor by their looks shew any signs of fear. He was visited in a very peaceable manner by the principal men of *Kamboja*, whom he entertained with much courtesy. He might have performed some great exploit if his forces had been more considerable; but as his strength was too small, and affairs had taken another course, he thought it best to return. From this however those great men endeavoured to dissuade him, promising to confer the crown on him; as being well affected to the *Spaniards* and a foreign government. Hence came the report that *Gallinato* became king of *Kamboja*, which was by many believed in *Spain*, and acted on the stage with applause. But that report had no other foundation than what hath been related: however, it was the opinion of persons well acquainted with those eastern countries, that if *Gallinato* had laid hold of the offer made him, he might have possessed himself of *Kamboja*, and united it to the crown of *Spain*^d.

A. D.
1594.

OUR author had seen letters from *Velofo* and *Blase Ruyz* The king to the council at *Manilla*, wherein they speak to the same purpose; and complain that *Gallinato* should blame them for what they had done. These two commanders sailed from *Kamboja* to *Kochinchina*; where landing they went alone to the kingdom of the *Laos*, which lies to the west of it, in order to seek out the deposed king *Langdra*, and restore him to his throne. They found he was dead, but had a son living; who, as soon as he was informed that these *Spaniards* had killed the usurper, set forward with them for his kingdom, accompanied with 10,000 men, lent him by the king of the *Laos*, contrary to all expectation. With these forces he attacked *Kamboja*, assisted by *Ruyz* and *Velofo*, who continued with him after the war was over. This prince sent an embassy to the *Philippine* islands, requiring supplies to quell the troubles which were then on foot; promising not only to become a convert to the *Romish* faith, with all his subjects, but also to yield a considerable part of his dominions to the *Spaniards* for their subsistence^e.

DON *Louis de las Marinhas*, who was then out of the government of the *Philippines*, undertook the enterprize at his own cost. He set out from *Manilla* with Don *James Jorisdano*, an Italian, Don *Pedro de Figueroa*, *Pedro Villestil*, and *Ferdinand de los Rios* Colonel, *Spanish* commanders. The last of them had been in the first war of *Kamboja*, and was

^d ARGENTOL, p. 145.

^e Ibid.

A. D. 1600. at this time a priest. But they had not been long at sea before they were surprised with a furious storm which continued three days, and drove them toward the coast of *China*. There two ships sunk to the bottom men and all. Of the soldiers and seamen, on board the vice admiral, only five got on shore by swimming; some soldiers likewise were saved out of the admiral, which foundered, and among the rest the military priest. The other ship, after many dangers ran, got to *Kamboja*, almost shattered to pieces. She found in the river eight junks of *Malayans*; and the *Spaniards*, perceiving that they designed to carry away certain slaves belonging to the prince whom they came to assist, inconsiderately boarded them: but the *Malayans*, by means of their fireworks, with which they were well provided, soon burnt their ship, and most of the *Spaniards* perished in the flames. Not long after *Blaze Ruyz* and *Velofo*, who still continued about the king, were beset in the house where they dwelt, and murdered by the natives. The few *Spaniards* who escaped got into the kingdom of *Siam*, and from thence to *Manilla* ¹.

Kamboja conquered. THE *Kambojans* being thus deprived of all further succour from the *Spaniards*, struggled with their war for some time; but at length, about the year 1600, were subdued by *Rajah Api*, king of *Siam* ². But during the troubles which arose on the death of his brother the white king in 1610, *Kamboja* and *Lanjang*, or the lower *Laos*, revolted. In 1637, when *Hagenaar* was there, we find it in rebellion against *Siam*; having, it may be presumed, newly thrown off the yoke ³. Besides the misfortune of being so often subdued by its neighbours, the restless spirit or ambition of the princes of the blood frequently involved the country in civil wars, which rendered it a more easy prey to invaders. We are told that it was in this distracted state from the year 1628, or thereabouts, till 1680; when, on the death of *Nak Shán* the king, new troubles arose by one prince assassinating another. The murderer applied to the king of *Kochinchina* for his consent to reign; but that prince divided the dominions between him and the adopted son of the late king. The usurper, dissatisfied with this partition, put himself under the protection of the king of *Siam*; the other applied for succours to him of *Kochinchina*: but having been defeated by the usurper's son, who succeeded his father, fled thither for shelter. Three years after he returned with forces and drove the former out. In 1685, this latter, being powerfully assisted both by sea and

*Involved
in civil
wars:*

¹ HAGEN. p. 147.
vol. i. p. 319.

² FLORIS, apud Purchas Pilgrim.
³ See before, p. 301.

from *Siam*, made another attempt to recover the kingdom, but did not prove successful¹.

A. D.

1717.

HOWEVER the war continued between the princes of the two contending branches, supported by their neighbours, who at first espoused their quarrel. But we know little of what occurred till the year 1717, when we are informed that the king of *Siam* invaded *Kamboja* with an army of 50,000 men by land and 20,000 by sea. He gave the command to his *Barkalong* (or first minister), a *Chinese*, who, being altogether unacquainted with war, could willingly have declined the charge: but the king would needs oblige him to undertake it. Yet the ill success of this expedition made it appear, that he was a better judge of his own abilities than his master². On the news of this great power coming against his country, the king of *Kamboja*, knowing himself unable to withstand it, first ordered his subjects who lived on the frontiers to withdraw, with their effects towards the capital city, and to destroy whatever they could not bring away; by which means the country for fifty leagues together was turned into a desert. He next applied for succours to the king of *Kochinchina*, who, on condition that he should become tributary, agreed to protect him. He accordingly sent an army of 15,000 men to his assistance by land, and 3000 more in nimble galleys, well-equipped, to defend the coasts.

Tributary
to Kochin-
china.

THE army of *Siam*, though three times more numerous than that of *Kamboja*, finding all the country desolate before *the Siam* them, soon began to be in distress for want of provisions. *ill* *success*

- This obliged them to kill their carriage beasts, elephants, and horses, for which they could get no sustenance; and the soldiers being obliged to eat their flesh, a diet which they had never been used to, an epidemic flux, as well as fever, seized the whole camp; so that in two months time the army was diminished above one half, and they who remained were obliged to retreat back to their own country as fast as they could, with the *Kambojan* troops continually at their heels.

NOR had the *Siamese* navy better success, although more *by sea and* than four times the number of the *Kambojan* fleet. *land.* As soon as they arrived at the port of *Ponteamas*, they sent their small galleys to plunder and burn the town. This indeed they did effectually; and of elephants teeth only they consumed more than 200 tons: but the *Kochinchineses*, laying hold of this opportunity, attacked the large junks and ships of burden, which lay in the road above four miles from the town, whilst

¹ See before, p. 321, & seq.
p. 181.

² HAMILTON, ubi supra,

Extent, situations. the gallees of the enemy were in a very narrow river, and could not come to their assistance for want of high water to bring them out. The *Kochinchineses*, who did not care to engage such a superior force, having done what they came about, retired; and the *Siamers*, fearing a famine in their fleet, steered their course homewards with disgraceⁿ.

C H A P. XIV.

Kingdom of Champa.

Extent and situation. THE country of *Champa* (L) is so small, and perhaps inconsiderable in the way of commerce, that it is scarce minded by navigators. It is commonly supposed to begin at the mouth of *Kamboja* river, and to end at *Kochinchina*, although that coast is frequently ascribed to *Kamboja*; in effect they are often confounded together. Mr. *De L'Isle* gives *Champa* but a small extent of coast bending north-east from *Kamboja*: but makes it run northward at the back of *Kochinchina*, between it and the said riverⁿ. Mr. *Danville* commences it in $10^{\circ} 30'$ north, and terminates it in $12^{\circ} 13'$, where it joins *Kochinchina* on the north-west, bounding both countries on that side by the same chain of mountains; so that their breadth from south-east to north-west is equal, about seventy *English* miles, or sixty minutes of latitude; and the length of *Champa* from south-west to north-east, either along the coast or the western borders, about $140'$ miles.

Islands and banks. OFF this coast there are several islands and shoals: the most remarkable are *Pulo Sefir do Terra* and *Pulo Sefir do Mar*. The first lies near the shore at the north point of *Sefir* bay; and the other far out at sea, about sixteen leagues to the south by east. There is a third called *Tiger* island, towards the south point of *Sefir* bay. The shoals are, the bank of *Brito*, at the entrance of *Sandy Bay*; the *Garden of Holland*, five leagues to the east of the former; with the *Rabo de Lakra*, or the *Scorpion's Tail*, which begins about the same distance more to the east, and runs in a ridge twenty leagues north-east. To these may be added the shoals

ⁿ HAMILT. p. 196, & seq.ⁿ See his map of Asia, 1723.

(L) The *Portugueses* write, as made *Tsampa* and *Tsampa*, as the *English* do, *Champa*; the wanting the *ch* in their alphabets. the *Italians*, *Ciampa*. Hence possibly the *French*, and others, have

Joining to the *Sefirs*, besides those of *Pulo Sapata*, *Middle Ports*, *burgh*, *Pedro de Andrada*, and *Basse Isle*, at a great distance from shore, yet to be avoided by navigators. towns.

CHAMPA seems to be furnished with several good *Bays and* bays and harbours, into which fall many rivers: but these *harbours.* last are neither large, nor of any great length, as descending from the mountains which bound it on the north-west. The bays are the *Sandy Bay*, with those of the *Tiger*, *Sefir*, *Padaran*, and *Buil*, which has an island of the same name within it. The isle of *Vache*, or *Bache*, is inclosed with the bank of *Brito*, and lies at the point dividing *Sandy* from *Tiger Bay*; at the east point of which lies the island called *Tiger isle*. In the cod or bottom of the bay falls the river *Baria*, by some named *Perio*.

THE state of *Champa* within land is very little known to *Towns and* Europeans. It seems to contain few considerable places; nor *villages.* are they acquainted with the names of any except the capital or chief town, named *Feneri*. The most that we can learn about it is, that there are villages on the sides of the rivers near the coasts; some larger than others, which may pass for towns: and the kings or princes of the country seem to have no better places of residence. *Feneri* is the principal *Feneri* town of *Champa* (M), where the king keeps his court. His *the capital.* palace (N) hath nothing in its prospect which may be termed sumptuous; nor doth magnificence appear about the prince himself.

THE natives of *Champa* are called *Loys*, and a very different people from the *Kochinchineses*, who are at present their masters. These latter came from *China*, at the time when the *Tartars* conquered it; and resemble the *Chineses* in their features, beard, and dress, excepting that they do not cut their hair. They wear on ceremonious occasions a large black gown, like the officers of justice in *France*. They Kochin-
chineses of
Champa.

* See DAFRES *Neptune Orientale*, p. 79. & seqq. D'ANVILLE's map of Asia. Second part English Pilot. DAMPIER. HAMILTON, &c.

(M) *Feneri* seems to lie to the west or southwest of the village from whence they set out, and not far from the coast: for in the way to it they were sometimes led back a-while, and brought to the coast under pretence of sending orders on board the ship.

(N) This seems to be spoken of his palace, or place of residence in *Feneri*: but the palace where he usually resided stood about three quarters of a mile from the city. Which the king invited the *French* officers to go see; but they declined it, as will appear afterwards.

Inhabit-
ants, man-
ners.

value themselves much above other nations, and think themselves more learned and skilful, although they have but very narrow capacities, since they are entirely ignorant of commerce, or even agriculture.

THESE *Kochinchineses* are very poor. Their forces consist in some galleys, each having on board forty or fifty men, and mounting two small guns. Their arms are muskets, pikes, sabres, and sagays, which they handle with skill. Their officers wear a gown of black silk open on the sides, and on their head a hair bonnet of conic shape, with a tail hanging behind. The soldiers have the sleeve somewhat less; and the bonnet of buffalo's hair, like a collegian's cap, which is said to be sabre proof.

The Loys
tributary.

THE *Loys*, or natives of *Champa*, after a long war carried on against them by the *Kochinchineses*; at length became their tributaries, by a treaty of peace, made in the beginning of the present century. The conditions were, that the king of *Champa* should remain in peaceable possession of his territories, but that he should render homage to him of *Kochinchina*; and that a Mandarin of this last kingdom should have the second place in the royal council of *Champa*, where nothing can be determined without his consent^p.

Persons
and dress.

THE *Loys* are large brawny people, and better made than the *Kochinchineses*. Their complexion is ruddy (O), the nose a little flat; they have long black hair, small whiskers, and little beards. Their dress is a shirt and close breeches of calico. Their outer garment is a white paigne (P), in form of a petticoat, with a gold or silk fringe, according to the quality of the person. The king's guards and the Mandarins are clothed differently from the *Kochinchineses*; having, instead of a gown, a white vest with the turbân: the officers wear it somewhat longer than the common soldiers.

THE people differ much also in character from their masters: they are more humane and affable to strangers, more laborious and rich; but not so strong by land as the *Kochinchineses*, as these latter are more numerous. However the *Loys* are superior at sea; their galleys are better built; and

DAPRES, ubi supra, p: 83, & seq.

(O) Yet elsewhere the women are represented so ugly, with complexions yellow and livid, as to give disgust, instead of inclination, to men even of the coarsest taste and keenest appetite. Perhaps this is to be un-

derstood of the *Kochinchinese* women.

(P) A kind of white calico cloth, so named by the *Portugueses*, and much used in the *Indies*.

boats, in form of tartans, serve them for catching fish, *Inhabitants, religion.* which they have in great plenty on their coast.

THERE is among them a tribe named *Moys* (Q), who inhabit the mountains, and are employed by them in all work of drudgery as slaves. A piece of cloth to cover their nakedness *Tribe of Moys.* is all their dress.

THE two nations (*Loys* and *Kochinchineses*) have nearly the same laws. There is great subordination among them; from the king, the mandarins, and the placemen, to the commonalty. But if policy and justice reign in *Champa*, it may be said that equity and uprightness are excluded from it. A *Law* *se-* person is punished for the smallest fault whatever. The lower *vere.* class of people are not allowed to keep silver in their houses: he who is discovered to have any will be condemned by the Mandarin of the place either to pay a mulct, or receive a severe bastinado. Their money, called *kash* (R), is of copper, the size of a *liard* (or *French* farthing); 100 go for an *amarad*, which is worth thirty *French* sols.

POSTS are sold here as in other parts of the world. That *Employ-* of Mandarin is granted to him who bids the king most for *ments sold* it; and the greater dues he pays; the higher he is raised in dignity. But the *Loys* have one advantage above the *Kochinchineses*, which is, that when they are not rich enough to pay those dues, they have the privilege of borrowing money, at a high interest, of the king's women, who make the most they can of this usury; and indeed it is all their revenue. Hence it happens that these principal men draw all the money they can from their respective districts, which the subjects are never the better for¹.

ALL religions are tolerated and freely exercised in *Champa*; *Religions tolerated.* but those most prevailing are the *Mohammedan* and doctrine of *Konfusius*. Nor is idolatry without its votaries also. Some adore animals; others the sun, the moon, and the stars, or the heavens. One thing extraordinary found here is, that the *Mohammedans* of this country eat swines flesh, and offer their wives to strangers, excepting their legal one; whom they cannot divorce without convicting her of incontinence. Their marriages are made without any ceremonies, and at small expence: the consent of the parties is sufficient, after which

¹ DAPRES, ubi supra, p. 83, & seq.

(Q) These *Moys* seem to be the same with the *Ks-moy*, who inhabit the mountains, which run from *Champa* along the west borders of *Kochinchina* and *Tong-*

king, between that country and the *Laos*.

(R) It is more likely our word *cash* comes from hence, than from the *French* *caisse*, a chest.

they

Inhabitants, trade. they chew betel, and all is over. Indeed for the general their diet is nothing but rice and dried fish, sometimes half-rotten; but to make themselves amends they drink much arrack, and often get drunk.

Produce and trade THE south part of this kingdom produces a little cotton, some indigo; and bad silk: so that the inhabitants have no trade but what is carried on at home among themselves; and that of fish is the most considerable.

in bad condition. SHIPS come from *China* every year loaden with tea, ordinary silk, china-ware, and provisions: they in exchange take gold, which is finer than that of *China*; and a certain sweet-scented wood (R) which grows on this coast, in order to burn on the tombs of their parents, and in honour of their images (S). This commerce was interrupted for about twenty-five years by the bad treatment which these people gave to the *Chineses*; some of whose vessels they plundered and burned, without making them any satisfaction. Ever since that time the *Chineses* have traded here with great precaution: and the others, to be revenged, have invented new duties of anchorage to lay on the merchandizes, which they oblige them to pay before they will allow them to traffick. Their Mandarins, under pretence of measuring the vessels, visit the chests of the people, and take what they think fit. Commerce cannot long subsist where the exactions are so enormous: and if they use their neighbours so ill, no wonder they should abuse *Europeans*, whom they know so little of, and see only by accident.

Some French surprised THIS account of the inhabitants of *Champa* we have from the *French*; who, putting in there some years ago, were detained, and obliged to ransom themselves. A succinct relation (T) of this affair will give our readers a farther insight into the nature and disposition of the people.

• DAPRES, ubi supra,

(R) This is the kalamba, which is reckoned better than that of other countries.

(S) This is to be understood only of the idolatrous sect of *Fo* among the *Chineses*, who make use of images in their worship; and not of the *Konfucian* sect, who use none.

(T) The relation, of which this is an abstract, was sent to

the company by Capt. *Gravé*, one of those detained, who therein inserted the preceding account of the inhabitants. The substance of this relation was, for its curiosity, inserted by Mr. *Dapres* in his great *Neptune Orientale*; containing the best charts and instructions for navigators, as to the *East Indies*, hitherto published.

IN 1720 the *Galathée* frigate belonging to the *East India* Inhabitant-company, commanded by M. *Le Gac*, put into the river *Bantara*, ^{trade.} in *Tiger Bay*, to seek refreshments. The inhabitants appeared in great numbers, on seeing the boat approach the ^{on shore.} shore with two officers, sent to require liberty to take in water. Here they found many pirogues or boats, and little galleys. They landed at the motion of the inhabitants; who carried them to a village on the river side, consisting of several huts or houses of the country. There they were disarmed and stripped. Next day the natives attempted, with two armed pirogues, to surprise the boat which brought the officers; but the person left in charge with it made his escape.

Two days after arrived a missionary named *Gouge*, who ^{The agent} went to *India* with Mr. *Chaumont*, and had been in *Champa* ^{proffers} ever since 1685. He was sent by the king to know the occasion of the ship's arrival. Next day the king's son came to the village. They complained to the prince of the ill usage received; and he promised redress as soon as he should see the captain or his second. Accordingly M. *Gravé de la Bellière*, second captain, going ashore, was honourably received, and carried to a Mandarin's, where he had a dinner, followed with a comedy. From thence they were brought to the prince's lodging, to be witness of the punishment inflicted on those who had injured them. They were produced with the *sep* (U) about their necks, and their backs towards him, as unworthy to look on him. After a severe reprimand for their breach of faith, he condemned them to pay 50,000 *kasb* (X), and receive fifty bastonados each on their backs.

AFTER this *Gravé* was permitted to take water and return, on promise to come again next day; in which case the ^{The French} prince declared he would release the two officers, and let ^{still de-} them have provisions. *Gravé* thought it best to comply; and returning next day, was invited with those officers by the prince to dinner. The comedy, which succeeded, was interrupted by a *Madoy*, or courier, with a letter from the king to the prince, signifying his pleasure that the ship should repair to a great river in a better port, eight or nine leagues from thence; and that the officers should be conducted to *Fenere*. They had leave to give notice of this to the captain of the ship; to whom the prince sent two buffalos, some hogs, and other refreshments.

• DAPRES *ibid.* p. 79.

(U) Called *kangbé* by the *Chin-ees*. A sort of pillory-board, with a hole to inclose the neck.

(X) These make about 25 *French* crowns.

Inhabitants, trade. **LE GAC**, who saw the design was to seize his ship, excused himself from removing elsewhere, under pretence of the wind being contrary, and other inconveniencies: but there was no staving off the journey of the officers to court, whither the prince accompanied them. They underwent excessive fatigues; the roads were almost impassable, and the heat intolerable: but the insolence of their conductors was still less supportable, and made them complain to the prince. They were nine days on the journey, carried round-about ways, seemingly to make the distance appear greater. They alighted at the missionary's; where several christians of the country came to visit, and brought them provisions during their stay.

The king described. **NEXT** day, by the king's order, they went to court, crossing a narrow river ten feet deep on horse-back. On the other side a multitude of people was gathered to see them. The hall of audience consisted of two great piles of building, all on a floor, supported by pillars of red wood, very plain. The throne where he sat was nothing more than a foot-stool, raised and covered with a carpet: behind was a screen of *China* varnish. His dress was a robe of black damask embroidered with gold, mixed with mother of pearl, and furnished with clasps; and over that a very fine piece of calico, adorned at the bottom with gold fringe, and a narrow gold galloon above it. His crown was of red cloth, without any precious stones, and edged only with a narrow gold lace of *Japan*. He wore on his legs little buskins or boots; nor is any body else permitted to go shod.

His guards and train. His *Champa* majesty's guard consisted of twelve men clad in red silk, with turbans of the same colour; and armed with sabres, whose handles were garnished with gold. On his left were four *Loys* Mandarins, dressed in the same manner as the king, excepting the buskins. They had their guards also. On his right-hand was a Mandarin of *Kochin-china*; then followed several other Mandarins, placed according to their respective ranks, and about 200 officers disposed in a proper manner. The strangers and missionary were posted at the entrance of the hall: The king, after surveying them for a while, ordered *betel* to be presented them; and expressed his joy to see the subjects of a prince whose fame had reached the *Indies*. Having in their answer acknowledged his favours; he testified his satisfaction by an inclination of his head, and withdrew with his train.

SOON after they were conducted into the hall to dinner, where the king and his court were already seated at another table laid for them. There were served up the four quarters of a hog, two roasted and two boiled, with some fowls, and other meats after the fashion of the country. After this first course came another, consisting of the white flesh of pullets hashed with some confections. The king ordered them some of his own drink, which was agreeable; and the entertainment was concluded with a comedy. *Inhabitants, trade. Entertains the French.*

WHEN the play was over, one of the principal Mandarins sent to demand of Mr. *Gravé* 30 *nekans*, which make 420 *Spanish* piasters. He alleged that this sum was for supplying the ship with refreshments; and that it was the custom among them to pay it before-hand. As that sum was represented exorbitant, he reduced it to one-fifth, or 70 piasters; and an officer was permitted to return on board to get the money. Mean time the king sent to ask, if he had a mind to see his palace, which was but three quarters of a mile from thence? *Gravé* thanked him for the honour intended, and retired with the rest. *Demande a large duty.*

WHILE these pretended courtesies were going on, the Mandarins resolved to send to *Kamboja* for an officer experienced in war, and give him the command of several galleys to take the *French* ship. For this purpose they caused troops to march towards the place where they were to embark; of which certain converts gave notice to *Gouge*, who, being sent along with the officer for the 70 piasters, informed the captain. *Le Gac* was at a loss how to act. If he staid, he ran a great risk; if he went away, he exposed both his officers and the missionary to popular fury. On the return of *Gouge*, *Gravé* and his companions made new efforts to obtain their liberty from the king; to whom they represented the injustice of their detention. That prince received them with much freedom, made them eat and drink with him, and carried his gallantry so far as to offer them women: to whom, it seems, they could have had no stomach, if they had been ever so much at ease. *Design on the ship.*

THE same evening *Gouge* was ordered by the prime Mandarin to go aboard the vessel and fetch the 30 *nekans*, or 420 piasters which he had at first demanded; and to urge the captain to bring his ship to a place a league above the mouth of the river *Baria*. The *French* captives, desiring of liberty, desired that *Le Gac* might depart as soon as he thought fit. The captain intreated *Gouge*, to propose the *A new demand.*

Inhabitants, trade. release of the prisoners for the sum demanded; and to tell the Mandarin he would wait his answer four days only. On this the Mandarin repaired to the village where the ship lay, to consult the other Mandarins. *Gouge*, and the *French* officers, being also ordered thither; the latter were in hopes it was to send them on board: but some converts said, the Mandarins design was to attack the ship, and, on the least resistance, to sacrifice both the missionary and the officers. Alarmed at this, they implored the protection of the king's son, who promised to assist in council, and espouse their cause. *Gravé* made him a present of his sword, which he seemed to desire; but the prince bid him not speak of it to the Mandarins, because he had measures to observe with them.

The French ransomed.

NEXT morning early, a gun being fired from the ship, the council sent to *Gravé* to know the meaning of it. As soon as they heard it was the signal to set sail, the Mandarins entered into composition; and at last it was agreed, that *Gouge* should accompany the three officers on board to receive the 420 piasters. Their boat was followed by another with ten or twelve armed men, under pretence of an escort; and thus the *French* were released after thirty days detention. Next morning the missionary returned from the Mandarins, desiring that the shallop might be sent ashore for buffalos, hogs, fowls, and other refreshments which they made an offer of. *Le Gac* said he was willing to receive them if the Mandarins would send a boat of the country: but that, for his part, he would not trust either his boats or his men in their hands a second time; and forthwith set sail *.

C H A P. XV.

The History of the Kingdom of Kochinchina.

Kochinchina described; **I**T was called by that name, which signifies *Western China*, by the *Portuguese*, to distinguish it from the kingdom of *Cochin*, on the *Malabar* coast. This kingdom was once subject to that of *Tong-king*, tho' at present independent of it. *whence so called.* By what means it shook off that yoke, and came to be governed by its own kings, will be related in the next chapter. Nevertheless, they have still continued as much tributary to the *Chinese* as they were before, when under the *Tong-kinese*. *Its boundaries.* **COCHINCHINA** is situate under the *Torrid Zone*, and extends, according to some authors *, from the 12th to the

DAPRES, p. 82.
voy. F. BORRIS, & al.

* F. ALEX. DE RHODES in collect.

It, but according to others, from the 8th to the 17th degree of north latitude^c, or about 500 miles in length; but is much less extensive in its breadth from east to west. It is bounded by *Tongking*, on the north; on the south, by the small kingdom of *Champa*, or *Chiampa*; on the east, by the *Chinese* ocean; upon whose coasts it hath a good number of sea-ports, both safe and easy of access; and the bays so deep, even near to the shore, as to contain between 50 and 80 fathom water; besides several islands, of which we shall speak in the sequel; and on the west, by the kingdoms of *Laos* and *Camboja*; both which are tributary to it, as well as that of *Champa*, and some others; of which we shall speak in a more proper place.

THE whole country is divided into six provinces; the most *Division* considerable of which is that which is called *Sinua*, or *Shanoa*, and borders upon *Tongking*; the other five are *Quam-bin*, on the north, *Cham*, *Kangtia*, and *Kinbin*, along the coasts, and *Rau-van*, on the island^d. They are all very well peopled, *Populous-* as well as the country, and have some large towns, tho' none *ness* of them considerable for any thing else, except that of *Kehue*, which is the residence of the *Chova*, or king, and is situate in the province of *Shanoa*, lately mentioned^e. And even this is nothing so remarkable for the beauty and elegance of its edifices, which are mostly of wood, and supported by painted pillars, to raise them above the land-floods, as for the numerousness and splendid appearance of its court, and the vast crouds of people which inhabit or resort to it^f.

THESE inundations, which happen regularly every year, *Fertility* as we have seen them in *Siam*, and other neighbouring king- *from its* doms^g, towards the middle of autumn, and continue two *yearly in-* whole months, render the country exceeding fertile, especially *undations* in rice, by the great quantity of mud they leave behind. But we shall say the less on the fruitfulness and product of this kingdom, it being much the same in most respects with those of *Pegu*, *Siam*, and others already described; the warmth of whose climate, and richness of the soil, occasioned by the mud with which the land-floods cover the low-grounds, naturally occasion a great plenty and variety of esculents, whilst their warmer sun gives them, especially the fruits, the most exquisite taste and flavour.

^c DAMPIER, *suplim.* sh. i. Martini. ^d DE RHODES, *ubi* *sup.* ^e *Ib.* & *al.* *sup.* *citat.* ^f DE RHODES. ^g See before, p. 40. 201, & seq.

*A peculiar
tree and
fruit.*

AMONG the fruit-trees which our author affirms to be peculiar to this country (A), there is one which he tells us resembles a sackful of chefnuts, one single one being a sufficient load for a man; the weight of which, the branches not being strong enough to bear, the divine providence ordained to grow close to the root, in large bunches. The rind of it is very thick, and when opened, is found to contain some 500 chefnuts; and larger than those we have from *Spain*: but what the natives value most in them, is a white well-tasted skin, which covers them, and which they peel off before they roast them^a.

*The incor-
ruptible
tree.*

Another, no less extraordinary for the excellent use of its wood, is that which they stile the incorruptible tree, it not being liable to rot or corrupt under earth or water; and is of so tough and solid a nature, that they make anchors of it for their shipping. This tree grows chiefly, and in great plenty, on the mountains; is exceeding tall; and so thick, that two men can hardly fathom it; they have it of two colours, one black, the other red; the former much like that which the *Siamese* and *Chinese* call the iron-tree, and put to much the same use^l.

*Moun-
tains,
Quarries,
Mines.*

THE same mountains produce the aquiline or eagle-wood, aloes, calambac, and others of the same rare and odiferous nature: they abound with quarries of several sorts of marble, gold and iron mines. The natives have learned the art of fusing and working the latter into several branches, from the *Chinese*; but are still ignorant in the art of casting it, especially into cannon, bombs, mortars, and other artillery. Those mountains abound likewise with vast quantities of wild beast, particularly the rhinoceros and the elephant; the latter of which, if we may credit Father *Borri*, exceeds all the rest in *India* in bigness; the feet of the male being full half a yard in diameter, and their teeth between four and five yards in length^k.

*Large ele-
phants.*

*A wild
people
called Ke
mois.*

THE most remarkable of all their mountains, is a long ridge of them, which extends itself along the western frontiers from north to south, and is inhabited by a wild lawless

^a DE RHODES, ubi supr.
before, p. 200. vol. viii. p. 190
Chevrier's hist. of Cochinchina, & al.

BORRI, ubi supr. See also
^k BORRI, ubi supr.

(A) This we would not, however, warrant upon his authority, it being likely he may be as much mistaken as he is when he affirms the same thing of the

bird's nest so famed all over *India* for its exquisite taste; but which, by the concurring testimony of writers, is found in many other countries besides this.

Sort of people, called *Kemoy*, who pay neither tribute, nor subjection, to any government; being exempted from it by the inaccessibility of their rocky habitations; which afford no less safe an asylum to the runaway *Chinese*, *Tonquine*, and other nations, that flee thither for refuge; and being once incorporated with the mountaineers, learn to live like them, by hunting, or making of inroads into the low-lands¹.

THE rest of the country being mostly low and flat, and as was lately hinted, yielding plenty of all necessaries for life, is extraordinarily well peopled. Their open towns, they having no walled cities, are in great numbers, and very large. *Borri* mentions some of them four or five miles long; and most of them are said to swarm with inhabitants. The villages seem almost contiguous to one another. Their fairs are frequent, and well crowded both with men and wares for all uses. But the most considerable are those which are kept during the time of the inundation, when the whole country lies under water, and looks like a sea covered with variety of boats, barges, and other vessels, going from one province to another, with great ease and expedition, and all carrying on some useful branch of inland commerce. But what the natives esteem the most profitable manufacture, is that of silk, which they weave into great variety of stuffs; which, tho' not so fine a nature as those of *China*, and other parts of *India*; yet their silk is produced in such plenty, that the sails, cordage of their ships, fishermens nets, and other such mean implements, are made of it; not but they have some of a much finer sort, which they manufacture amongst them in different ways, and which greatly exceed those which are wrought in the kingdom of *Tong-king*; but these are few in comparison of the rest. Pepper, sugar, honey, wax, and an oil which they make in great plenty from their numerous land-tortoises, are other branches of their commerce; great quantities of each of them being conveyed from their sea-ports into various countries of *India*, in foreign bottoms. The author of the *New Atlas* tells us, on what authority we know not, that the kings of this country formerly gave the *Chinese* and *Japanese* leave to build a city on a bay, not far distant from the town of *Faifo*, or *Farfo*, which he seems to intimate was his capital, and where the most considerable fairs were kept. The bay, which he places in 16, gr. lat. and 108 $\frac{1}{2}$ E. long. is very safe and commodious for all sorts of ships, and much frequented by the two nations above-mentioned, and other foreigners, who import wrought plate, silks, and other rich

No walled cities, but large towns.

Travelling by water.

Silk, and other manufactures.

Commerce.

Emporium at Faifo.

Imports, exports, and customs.

¹ BORRI, ubi sup. Chevrier Cochinchina, & al.

*Two inlets
into the
bay.*

merchandizes, during the four months which the fair lasts; the duties and customs of which make a considerable branch of the king's revenue, and of the peoples commerce. *Borri* adds, that the bay the town stands upon hath two inlets from the sea, about three or four leagues from each other; the one called *Pullo Cumpelo*, and the other *Turan*, or *Tauran*; but approaching nearer to each other, join at last into one stream, so that vessels inward-bound, after five or six leagues sailing, meet again at one point (B). The *Chinese* and *Japanese*, which inhabit the city, are each governed by their own laws, and chuse their own magistracy from among themselves; and are the chief factors and managers for all merchandises imported and exported between the natives and other *Indian* nations who trade thither. Their exports, however, are not considerable, consisting only of their silks above-mentioned, cottons, aloes, cassia, wax, sugar, and betel-root, all which are chiefly bought by the *Chinese*. They have no

(B) Our author adds, that the *Dutch* having made some attempts to obtain the like liberty of commerce as the *Portuguese* had, these immediately sent an embassy from *Macao* to the king, to beg that he would not grant them any admittance into his dominions, as being professed enemies to their nation. But before his majesty could come to a resolution, the *Dutch* had found means to land, and convey such valuable presents as easily determined him in their favour; of which the ambassador was no sooner apprised, than he hastened to court, and, in a haughty, insolent manner, accompanied with some indecent gestures, charged his majesty with breach of promise and friendship; the consequence of which was, that the *Dutch* were immediately ordered to come and land their goods, to be ready against the ensuing fair.

They put them accordingly on board their long-boats; but whilst they were sailing up the river, the king's galleys destroyed the greatest part of them, under pretence that the *Dutch* were notorious pirates; and presently after, an express order was sent from court, for them to depart, and never more to come into his dominions.

Our author adds, that as a farther mark of his friendship to the *Portuguese*, the king granted them a large convenient spot whereon to build a city for the security of their fleet, in their way to and from *China*, and for the annoying those of the *Dutch* in theirs to and from *Japan* (1). These facts, if fairly told, plainly show what an extraordinary ascendant the *Portuguese* had gained over that monarch, and what advantage they could make of it, in prejudice of other *European* traders.

(1) *Borri*, *u. i. f. fr. Asiae sup. citat. Syll. of geogr. vol. i. p. 279.*

current coin; but that brass or copper sort which comes from *China*, and will be described in its proper place.

THE *Cochinchinese* are a stout, robust, and industrious nation, and differ not much from the *Chinese* in nature and complexion, except that the coasters are of a deep olive colour. *Character of the people.* Father *De Rhodes*, who lived amongst them, doth highly extol their affability, justice, good-nature, and hospitality: but the *Dutch*, who have been worse treated by them, as we shewed in the last note, represent them as proud, treacherous, faithless, thievish, lying, ungrateful extortioners, &c. Both characters are very probably exaggerated, the one thro' favour, the other thro' resentment; but in the main, they are generally allowed to be a sober, courteous people, temperate in their diet, dress, and way of living; of a calm and patient temper, not easily ruffled into an indecent or passionate behaviour.

THEIR chief food is rice and pulse, variously dressed, and *Their food*, seasoned, and fish, of which they likewise have such plenty and variety, that a man may make a good meal of two or three rich dishes for value of three half pence or two pence. They observe great neatness in dressing and serving up their meats, each person sitting at his own little round table, with his victuals ready carved into little mouthfuls, and taking it up with their ivory sticks, as is done in *China*. But here they venture not to dress any thing within their houses, which being built of dried and painted wood, would be liable to be set on fire; but have their kitchens and stoves without-doors. Their common drink is a sort of tea, which they cultivate among them, but which hath neither the fine taste or flavour of the *Chinese*; in lieu of which, we are told, that it hath such a special fattening quality, that the king forbids his soldiers the use of it, lest they should become too corpulent. They have scarcely any vines, and consequently no wine; *Drink*, instead of which, they make themselves some strong liquors of rice, either brewed or distilled; but are generally very abstemious of the latter, unless on their weddings, and other festivities. The better sort mix with their common drink a water distilled from their calambac, which gives it a fine flavour and taste, and is, besides, an excellent stomachic and carminative. They all chew their betel, and present it to their friends, like all other neighbouring kingdoms, as a compliment and token of friendship.

THEY all affect to wear their hair at full length, in token *Long hair*. of liberty, tho', like the *Tonquinese*, they are tributary to a foreign power, and in reality no better, like them, than to a couple of despotic usurpers, who hardly allow them either liberty or property. In other respects, both sexes dress much after

- Dress* the *Chinese* manner. Their *grandees* and *courtiers* do not come behind them, either in the richness or brilliancy of their attire; only we are told, that they are much fonder of pearls than of diamonds. The women appear always veiled abroad, but uncover their faces when they receive or return a salute.
- of the women,* The garment which is next their body is always long enough to trail about a span behind them; the others are each half a span shorter than the other.
- and learn ed.* THEIR literati affect to wear high caps, in the shape of a mitre; they never cut their nails or beards, nor slash their gowns so low as the rest. Their upper garment is commonly of black damask, with a stole about their necks, hanging down to their knees, and a blue handkerchief twisted a little above their wrist^m.
- Houses neat and plain..* THEIR houses are neat and convenient; the pillars on which they stand, and other ornaments about them, are nicely painted and carved, and some of them gilt; but their furniture within is rather plain than sumptuous; yet the meanest of them have three sorts of seats, with which they accommodate their visitors; the one a mat, or cushion, laid on the floor, for those of the lower rank; the second, a square or round tabour, about six or eight inches high, and more or less rich, according to their rank or circumstance, and designed for those of a middle rank; the last kind of chair, about 12 or 15 inches high, without back or arms, for those of the highest quality. Their treats to their visitors are usually the betel, a dish of tea, and some tobacco; to which those of the better rank add some perfume, and a good deal of formal ceremony at meeting and parting; tho' the visit, unless upon some extraordinary occasion, seldom lasts above half an hour from first to lastⁿ. Their marriages, burials, festivals for the dead and living, arts, sciences, particularly physic and surgery (C),
- Visiting.* learning,
- Customs received from the Chinese.*

^m BORRI, TAVERNIER, DE RHODES, BARON, HAMILTON, & al. sup. citat. ⁿ Idem, Ibid.

(C) With regard to those two points, if we may believe Father *Borri*, who conversed so long among them, the practitioners, tho' equally boasting of their great skill in pulses, and other branches of their art, with the *Chinese* quacks and mountebanks, are, however, so far honest, that they will not under-

take a patient, if, after mature enquiry, they think his disposition likely to elude the power of their medicines. If they take it in hand, it is always with the usual caution, of no cure no pay; and of naming the precise time it will take them in performing it. He adds, that tho' there are several *European*

learning, language, writing, arithmetic, and other such subjects, being much the same with those which are used in *China*, as the greatest part was brought hither from thence, we shall not trouble our readers with an anticipation of them here. Nor must we suppose the sciences to have met with the same encouragement, or to have made as great a progress here as they *Their progress* have there, where every town of note hath its academies and *professors small*. professors, richly endowed, public exercises, examinations for bestowing of degrees, which are the only way to preferment, are yearly performed with a kind of impartial accuracy. Here are indeed some few schools and halls for that purpose, some maintained by the king and presumptive heir; but what is chiefly taught in them is astronomy, or rather astrology, and this merely for the sake of prying into future events.

SOME of their head professors have so much of the former, *Astronomy* as to be able to foretel eclipses, that is, to foresee that there *very little* will be some such defection in one or other of the luminaries, *known*. whenever the lunations happen to be near what we call the moon's nodes, which is no difficult matter to do; but as to calculating exact time, quantity, duration, and other such *Calculation* nice particulars, they are still so much in the dark, for want *tion of* of proper tables, and such other helps, as the jesuits introduced *eclipses im-* in *China*, that they often mistake in one or other of those *perfect*. particulars, if not in all; tho', in such case, they are sure to have their lands or appenage resumed by the king, in whose presence, as well as before numerous crouds of grandees, who are timely summoned to attend, the scrutiny is carefully made, how far the phenomenon doth or doth not answer to the astronomer's calculation, either in point of time, length, digits, &c.

IN these and the like phenomena, they not only follow, but *Astrology* outdo, the other *Indians*, in superstition; and as they have been *in great* taught to look upon them as portending some great and threat- *vogue*. ning event, so their superstitious fear makes them accumulate

European physicians of eminence in that kingdom, yet their own cure many stubborn distempers with their drugs and simples, which these cannot remove with their more elaborate medicines. Their way of bleeding is not unlike ours; except, that instead of a lancet, they make use of a sharp piece of broken china, fastened into a goose's quill (2).

(2) *Berri, ubi sup.*

every extravagant expedient used not only by the *Chinese*, but by their other neighbours, to avert the omen °.

Religion, three sects ; THEIR religion is almost the same with that of the *Chinese*, and was doubtless introduced amongst them, whilst they were under their dominion. The chova, or king, and his court, the *Mandarins*, and generality of the grandees, and literati, follow the sect and doctrine of *Confucius*, whilst the rest of the people follow those of *Fo* and *Lao-kiun*, and are wholly given up to the most profound ignorance, and the most stupid idolatries and superstitions. The former have neither temples, priests, nor settled worship, but as in *China* ^p; so here they address the great *Tyen* in various ways, as their reason, education, or the example of their betters, direct them. The latter, or idolaters, have their temples, and bonzas, or priests, which, if we may believe Father *Borri*, are divided into various classes, or ranks, answering to our primates, bishops, abbots, and common priests. The latter, likewise, are divided into secular and regular; the former of whom have either lands or fish-ponds for their maintenance; the other live wholly upon the alms of the superstitious people, and live in communities, under a superior, like the monks in the *Romish* church. They have some temples that excel the rest in beauty, largeness, and ornamental finery; but those are very few, in comparison of the rest, which are mostly built of wood and mud, thatched with straw, and many of them left to go to ruin; the idols, altars, and other idolatrous implements, displaying either the extreme poverty, or neglect of their priests and votaries ^q.

Temples mean and decayed. THIS may be probably owing to the success which the missionaries met with in this kingdom (D); where, according to their

° BORRI, TAVERNIER, DE RHODES, BARON, HAMILTON, & al. sup. citat. ^p BARON, CHEVRIER, & al. sup. citat. ^q BORRI, ubi sup.

(D) Besides this Father *Borri*, about nine years after, and often quoted, two other *Italian* greatly augmented the number of converts, as did likewise jesuits entered this kingdom about *Anno* 1615, and met with their successors.

such success, that they sent for a fresh supply from the society. We shall not repeat here the various accounts they sent from thence into *Europe*, of their surprising progress (3), which may be liable to be exaggerated, and only

(3) De his vid. *lett. edif. & curios. pas. satb. De Rhodes relat. ubi supr.*

their accounts, they had made some myriads of converts in the several provinces of it. Nothing, indeed, could be more easy to these good fathers, than the discovery of the many juggling tricks and knaveries of these idolatrous priests, and to convince their deluded votaries of the superior excellency of the religion, which they preached among them, and so dexterously accommodate it, as far as they dared, to their old notions and prejudices, especially whilst they were tolerated and encouraged by the men in power; who being of the sect of *Confucius*, might be pleased enough to see the whole tribe of juggling bonzas, and their extravagant superstitions, fall into contempt among the people. So that tho' the government hath since thought fit, after the example of the *Chinese* and *Tonquinese*, to persecute and banish those missionaries, and to proscribè their religion; yet the laity, once convinced of the stupidity of their former superstitions, and the crafty artifices and impostures of their bonzas, might not be easily induced to become their dupes again. This general decay of their temples shews at least how much of its pristine grandeur this idolatrous sect hath lost since the time of Father *Borri*, one of the first Christian preachers among them; who tells us, that, at his first coming thither, their temples, idols, and priests, appeared in the greatest splendor; and that the latter, especially the dignitaries among them, never officiated or went abroad, without some kind of insignia of their rank either about, or carried before them.

Bonzas become contemptible.

Teach the immortality and transmigration of the soul.

THEY believe the immortality of the soul, and its transmigration from one body to another: and tho' they are, on that account, very averse to killing or hurting any living creatures, like the generality of the *Indians*, they make no scruple to offer great quantities of hogs in sacrifice to their gods, and to the manes of their ancestors and near relations, as we shall find it also practised in *Tonking*; that creature being, by what we can find, the only one that is used upon such occasions. They have likewise a notion, that some of the souls of men, not being permitted to pass into other bodies,

Apparitions and evil spirits.

* BORRI, ubi sup.

* BORRI, ibid. & al. ub. sup.

only add, that some *Hollanders*, who were since cast upon these coasts by a storm, about *Anna* 1714, had the same confirmed by several other missionaries, both *French* and *Portuguese*, one of them a bishop, from whom

they met with an hospitable reception, and by whom they were told, that in one single province of that kingdom, which they called *Hoe*, they had no less than 40 churches, and above 10,000 converts (4).

become maleficent ghosts, and, in time, degenerate into evil spirits, or devils. Their juggling priests generally fill the common people with superstitious notions of these, and other such evil demons, as incubusses, succubusses, and other frightful apparitions; by all which they never fail of drawing some considerable gain from their credulous votaries ^t.

Arbitrary government.

THE government here is altogether despotic, the king having an absolute power over the lives and fortunes of his subjects; to make or abrogate the laws, to make peace or war, and to dispose of all dignities and offices, both civil and military, in the kingdom, without consulting any of his ministers. He governs his provinces by his mandarins, appoints the severer members of their respective tribunals; and if any of them be found guilty of mal-administration, he immediately condemns them to some capital punishment, at his pleasure. The misfortune is, that the complaints of his subjects find always so very difficult a passage to the throne, that they seldom or never are able to reach it, tho' he is often pleased to give public audience to them at the gates of his palace, the place where he commonly sits for the administration of justice.

The king's manner of giving audience,

THERE he always appears, mounted on a stately elephant, and seated in a kind of tower, sumptuously adorned; but which none, not even those who are admitted to prefer their suits or complaints, must approach nearer than at the distance of 80 paces, and convey their petitions to him by the hands of his eunuchs, either in writing, or by word of mouth. Whenever he appears in public, upon any other occasion, which happens but seldom, every one is obliged to fall flat with their faces on the ground. Whatever sentence he passes from his tribunal of justice, is immediately executed, whether it be death, amputation of a limb, imprisonment, slavery, or other punishment. High-treason and rebellion are not only punished with the most severe death, but often affects all the condemned person's relations with loss of life, as well as fortunes, tho' perhaps they may come off with a less severe death, or with banishment, or perpetual imprisonment.

and appearing in public.

Severe punishments.

THESE monarchs in general are very severe in the execution of their laws, whenever the delinquent's cause comes before them; but in the more remote provinces, where presents operate as efficaciously, a capital punishment is as often committed for a lighter ^u.

False witnesses.

FALSE witnesses is punished according to the nature of it; and if the accusation be capital, the accuser is capitally pu-

ⁿ TAVERNIER, BARON, DE RHODES, & al. ubi sup.

nished.

nished. Adultery is also capital; the woman is here condemned, *Adultery.* as in *Tongking*, to be trodden to death by an elephant, and her paramour to some more gentle death^w. Theft is punished with the loss of a finger, for the first and second fact; of an ear, for the third; and of the head, for the fourth. If a *Fugitives,* criminal flies to *Tongking* for shelter, he is not only protected, *how* but caressed; but if a *Tonquinese* come hither, on the same *treated.* errand, he is condemned to perpetual slavery, unless he can obtain a pardon from the king of the former, and pay his ransom to the latter^x.

THE kings of *Cochinchina* are very rich and opulent, having *King's op-* several princes tributary to them, tho' they, like him, assume *pulence,* the royal title. That of *Thiem* pays him a certain number of *and reve-* elephants, and a certain quantity of calambac, wax, ivory, *nue.* and other products. Those of *Camboja* and *Ghiampa* pay him a certain tribute for his protection (E); and even the wild people, called *Ka-moy*, are forced to send him some wax, betel, and other produce of their high mountains. He hath a vast quantity of odoriferous wood, of various kinds, of gold-dust, and all the elephants teeth; all which he sells to the foreign traders. He claims one-third part of all the rice of his kingdom; and the governors of his province are allowed a ninth part of all the rest. Some provinces, which, by reason of their high situation, and dryness, do not abound with that grain, are indeed exempted from this tribute; but are obliged, in lieu of it, to furnish him with a certain number of horses, slaves, odoriferous woods, or other products of their land. And for these, and especially for the rice, he has large magazines in every province.

OVER and above these yearly tributes, every man, from the age of 18 to 60, is obliged to pay him six crowns *per* year, and to work for him eight months in the year; the other four, which they call the harvest months, being all they can claim for themselves. The sale of mandarinats, *Tribute* governments of sea-ports, and other places, are, in some mea- *and pre-* sents.

^w See the hist. of that kingdom in the sequel. ^x HAMILTON, ubi supr. vol. ii. ch. xlix. p. 212.

(E) The latter in particular, bute of 200 elephants, 100 buffaloes, 100 bevers, 500 pieces of linen, and all the aquiline *Cochinchina*, doth pay him and ebony wood, and ivory, in yearly, we are told (5), a tri- his country.

(5) *Chefs journ. of the ambass. of Siam, De Rbedet, & al.*

ture,

*Inherits
the lands
of his no-
bles*

sure, sold by him to the highest bidder; and the price of them commonly runs very high; besides which, he receives considerable presents from them at certain times of the year, as well as upon other occasions, especially when they have cause to fear his displeasure; all which amount to vast sums yearly; and being added to the imposts which he lays on the *Chinese*, *Japanese*, and other foreign traders, bring him an immense yearly revenue. Over and above which, he is heir to all the princes and nobles of the kingdom; and at their deaths takes possession of all their land; leaving only their effects to be distributed among their children.

*Troops
well dis-
ciplined.*

*Their navy
chiefly
gallies.*

THIS kingdom having, as we shall have frequent occasion to hint in the sequel, been established at first by force of arms, the successors to it have not failed to maintain themselves in it by the same method: and to this it is chiefly owing, that their troops, tho' not quite so numerous, are so much better disciplined than those of any of their neighbours. Their standing land-forces, of which we shall speak under the next head, amount commonly to above 30,000. As to their naval, they have no men of war, but only gallies, of which the presumptive heir hath always the chief command. His whole naval force consisted in the year 1679 of 131 sail. Each galley hath 30 oars on each side, three officers, six gunners, two steersmen, and two drummers. The soldiers are placed at each oar, and the officers at the head and stern. Each vessel is finely varnished on the outside with black, and the inside with red, and the oars are commonly gilt. The men row standing, and without speaking, their eyes being fixed on the commander, who sits at the head, and receiving the

Their weapons, &c.

*Strict ex-
ercise.*

signal from him by the motion of his wand, as if he was beating time to a band of musicians, which is as exactly kept by them. Every rower hath his arms by him, which are a musket, a dagger, a bow and arrows, and know when and how to make use of them by the motion of the wand; so that every thing is executed with the utmost silence, order, and harmony; and tho' these gallies are not publicly exercised above three or four times a year, yet each captain hath always one of them before his gate, where his company comes every day to be exercised by him. And this is the more carefully observed, because, if any of them should be found defective at the general review, either in the command, or execution, they are sure to be cashiered, or reduced to the rank of a common soldier.

THESE gallies are easily and speedily manned, every family in the kingdom being bound to furnish one man; and these are always ready and eager to be called to the service, because they are well used whilst they are on board, and their family maintained in their absence.

EACH galley hath a cannon fixed at its courses, and two small pieces on each side. There are a good number of expert gunners belonging to the navy, and the soldiery are said to be no less so at their fire-arms, though they have not as yet learned the art of casting the one, or fabricating the other, like the *Tonquineſe*^a. Their mariners all wear the same garb, and of the same colour; viz. white silk trousers, and hair caps. But when they are going to engage, they put on a gilt head-piece, and a waistcoat, so contrived that their right arm, shoulder, and side are always bare. Besides these royal gallies, which are commonly built very long and narrow, and seldom amount to less than 100 or 150, all beautifully varnished and gilt, and otherwise embellished with sails and masts, after the *Indian* manner, they make use of large sort of them, to which our *Engliſh* have given the name of *millepedes*, from the vast number of their oars: these are chiefly employed in transporting of forces, heavy artillery, and other military stores: to all which we may likewise add a number of others, belonging to the governors of the maritime provinces; of which that of *Sinuva*, or *Shanoa*, which borders upon *Tongking*, hath 30; that of the province *Kham* hath 17; and that of the province of *Niavouel* 15. This is all that we meet with concerning his naval force; to which we can only add, that, in cases of necessity, he can order all subjects to appear in arms, that are fit for service; and at such times, all the gallies belonging to his governors, and other subjects, are obliged to join themselves to the royal navy^b, as if they belonged to it.

HIS court, which usually resides at his capital of *Kehue*, is commonly very brilliant; and the officers and ministers belonging to it affect to make the finest figure they can, both in their apparel and retinue, but without the gaudy addition of silver or gold; which are so scarce there, that a man who should be found to have of either, to the amount of 4 or 500 piaſters, would be liable to be called to an account for it. And so little esteem do they shew for that kind of finery, that if an embroidered suit, or a gold or silver tissue, should fall

^a See the hist. of that kingdom in the sequel. ^b DE RHODES, CHEVRIER, & al. ubi supr.

by chance into their hands, they immediately throw it into the fire, without regard for the workmanship, or any thing, but the metal. But whether this is owing to any royal prohibition, or to their natural indifferency for that kind of luxury, we are not told^c. All the officers and ministers, both civil and military, or at least the far greater part of them, are eunuchs, as they are at most *Indian* courts; and upon the same politic account^d, namely, that they having no children, the king may inherit their effects, as well as their lands.

*Ministers
all eunuchs.*

*Palace de-
scribed.*

THE palace is a large, square pile of building, surrounded with a double wall, the first of timber and earth, and the other of stone. It hath, besides, several distinct courts within its cincture: so that one must pass thro' six or seven gates before one can come to the royal apartments; each gate being kept by a strong guard, and the outermost of all defended by three middling pieces of cannon, each covered over with a piece of yellow silk, richly embroidered. The structure is flanked on the right and left with sundry bulwarks, bordered with 400 pieces of artillery of different sizes, some of brass, and others of iron, four of them cast at *Amsterdam*, Anno 1656, and the rest brought thither from *Portugal*. The king hath another palace, or rather pleasure-house, not far from this, to which he frequently retires. This last is surrounded only with a palisade, and the edifice is built in the form of a large *Chinese* ship, but with very spacious apartments, all commodious, and elegantly furnished after the *Indian* manner. All the lodgings and apartments are built of wood, but exquisitely painted, carved, and gilt, and supported by stately columns, no less beautifully wrought^e.

Artillery.

*House of
pleasure,
oddly built.*

*King's
household.*

*Army, by
who com-
manded.*

*Officers of
it.*

THE royal household, including the guards, is said to consist of 9000 men, that of his eldest son, of 5000; that of the next to him, of 3000; and the third, 2000. We have already hinted, that the land-forces amount to 30,000, of which the second son hath the command, as the eldest hath of the naval; but as they both reside most of their time at court, with the king, the chief management of each is committed to two favourite eunuchs, or lieutenants, who have, nevertheless, the title of generals.

NEXT them are the tyammetoos, which are the marshals of the kingdom, and commonly but three in number; and to these is committed the government of the chief provinces, under that of viceroys, when there, and under that of general when with the army. The kayvats answer to our brigadiers,

^c See hist. of Tongking in the sequel. ^d DE RHODES.
CHEVRIER, & al. ^e DE RHODES, ubi supr.

the kaydoi to our colonels, and the kay-dins to our captains. These last never are absent from their companies, but are obliged to exercise them twice a day, like the naval forces. The king is not only present at their general musters and exercises, but gives audience to all the officers, both army and navy, twice a day, that is, early in the morning, and about five at night. So that every captain is obliged to be early with his colonel, this with his brigadier, he with the generals, and they with the two young princes, whence they march in a body to pay their duty to the king; after which each of them march off, at the head of their respective troops, before his majesty, according to their ranks: those of the soldiery, that behave well, are promoted to be his life-guards; whilst others, of a different character, are sent to the public works at all spare hours; and both officers and soldiers are kept in full employ, to prevent revolts and rebellions from the one, and mutinies and disorders from the other.

BOTH army and navy are not only kept under a strict discipline, but are more severely punished than other subjects for every misdemeanor; and if any of them are found guilty of revolting, or any other treasonable crime, they are condemned to be tied naked to a post, at the head of all the forces, and every soldier is obliged to come and cut off a piece of his flesh, as long as he hath any left^f. And this is such a deterrent to them, that there are hardly any more loyal and obedient subjects any-where in *India* than they are^g. *Dreadful punishment for high treason.*

THEIR common pay is about 6*s.* in money, a bushel of rice, a certain quantity of fish, *per* month, which, together with their clothing and accoutrements, is paid to them regularly by the king. Their chief weapons are the musket and sword; and the country furnishes them not with powder and ball, but with the materials to make them, which they must afterwards fabricate for themselves. They had no cavalry in their wars, till within these 50 or 60 years, when one of their kings took it into his head to raise two companies of them, of 50 men each, by way of trial, and afterwards raised them into a regiment; since which, we hear that he gave orders to look out far and near for proper horses for that service; and hath men hired on purpose to break and fit them for it. As for the foot, their dress makes one of the gallantest appearances on their reviews; and against an engagement, every common soldier is clothed in red, yellow, or green sattin, according to the colour of his regiment. The guards belonging to the king, and princes of the blood, appear in velvet, *Their pay. Weapons, Dress, &c. No cavalry till of late. The splendour did appear-ance of the foot.*

^f DE RHODES, & al, sup. citat.

^g Idem, Ibid.

*Soldiers
children
educated.*

of divers colours, with their arms glistening with silver and gold; and the generals, and other officers, are at such times allowed to have their clothes embroidered with the same, more or less richly, according to their rank. The king takes likewise care to have the soldiers male children well brought up; and according as they prove, either tractable, stubborn, or lazy, the officers to whom they belong order them to be cloathed in silk, or coarse linen; and those who come home to their parents in this last garb, are sure to be well threshed by their parents; and, if they do not mend their manners, are turned out to beg their bread for some time, in order to shame and spur them up to greater diligence and application ^h.

*Manner of
fighting
very im-
perfect.*

BUT the reader must not suppose, from all that we have hitherto said of their martial discipline, and sumptuous appearance, that they are such adepts in the art of war, or engage their enemies, whether in a siege or battle, with that conduct and regularity that our *European* forces do. Their fighting is little else than sudden occasional incursions, accompanied by some fierce, but hasty, skirmishes between opposite parties, whenever chance, more than design, brings them together; in which the *Cochinchinese* have only this advantage, that being better trained up, and used to them, they are not so easily disconcerted, or put to the rout, as their enemies, who commonly betake themselves to flight after the first onset, unless they see their antagonists flee before them: but as for any set or decisive battles, they are seldom or never heard of among them, notwithstanding their having been so many

*Their sway
over their
neigh-
bours.*

centuries at war with the *Tonquinese* ⁱ. This defect, however, is so common among the forces of all the neighbouring princes, that instead of affecting those of *Cochinchina*, or rendering them inferior to any, it hath gained them a great advantage over the rest; inasmuch, that they have not only some considerable ones who pay homage and tribute to them; but bear such sway among all the rest, that even their bare interposition hath often been sufficient to suppress any attempt or occasion they might take, of encroaching upon one another. And if they have not hitherto aimed at enlarging their own dominions, by new conquests, it is no small credit and honour to them that they have never wanted either power or valour to preserve them entire, and to convey them unmaimed to their descendants, until this day.

^h DE RHODES, & al. sup. citat.
BARON, & al.

ⁱ Vid. CHEVRIER,

WE shall in the sequel give an account how these monarchs came to shake off their subjection to those of *Tong-king*, at the same time that these rebelled against their lawful sovereigns; and have ever since kept them in a state of inactive obscurity, and without any other mark than the bare shadow and name of royalty, according as we find this twofold revolution recorded in the *Tonquinese* annals*. But as those of the *Kochinchinese* relate that remarkable transaction somewhat differently, we shall, in justice to them, subjoin here the account which they themselves give of it, and of the foundation of their new monarchy.

IT happened, according to them, about four centuries ago, when one of the *Tonquinese* monarchs dying without issue, divided the kingdom between a brother and a sister, both highly in his favour for their excellent qualities; ordering his brother to reside in *Kochinchina*, as the most remote from court, and to take care of that government, whilst the sister did the same at *Tong-king*; enjoining them at the same time to have a meeting once a year to compare notes, and consult on the properest means for the good and preservation of both states. They had not gone long in this harmonious way, before the princess, who was young, and had perhaps taken some umbrage at her brother, thought fit to marry an ambitious nobleman, who quickly inspired her with a desire of engrossing both governments into her hands; and whilst he outwardly shewed the greatest regard to the brother, he privately used all the art he was master of to persuade her, that she having the greater title to both crowns, it was her interest, as well as her safest way, to rid herself of him; engaging himself to get him cut off without their being suspected of having a hand in it.

THE queen's brother was then, as usual, at the court of *Tong-king*, not dreaming of any such deep-laid treason against him. But, happily for him, his sister, young as she was, had prudence enough to conceal her abhorrence of it under the outward show of acquiescing with, and approving of it: but immediately apprised her brother of his danger, and easily persuaded him, under pretence of going a hunting for a few days, to hasten with all possible speed to *Kochinchina*: where he was no sooner safely arrived, than he assembled the states of that kingdom, and laid before them the treacherous designs which his unworthy brother-in-law had laid both against his life and their liberty. There needed no more to inspire

* See the next chapter.

*A war
ensues.*

*Mutual
hatred of
both na-
tions.*

*The isles
along these
coasts
dangerous
to the na-*

*These of
Pullo*

the *Kochinchinese* with utmost abhorrence against the ambition and treachery of the *Tong-kinese* usurper and tyrant: they all took up arms in defence of their prince and his government; and swore never more to submit to the *Tonquinese* yoke, and to acknowledge the worthy brother and successor of the late king, as their lawful and only sovereign. A bloody war immediately ensued between the two competitors, in which each brought an army of between 40 and 50,000 men, towards the banks of the river *Kam-bin*, which is the frontier between the two kingdoms. What the success of it was we are not told; only it appears not to have been of consequence enough to have given any great advantage to one side above the other, seeing both have since kept their own dominions to themselves; though there scarcely passes a year in which they do not make some incursion into each other's territory, accompanied with fierce skirmishes whenever they meet. yet it doth not appear that one side hath gained a single province over the other. The mutual hatred of the monarchs quickly spread itself among all their subjects, who since that rupture have broke off all friendship and commerce with each other, and affect to display a singular contempt for each other; and if the *Tong-kinese* use the fugitives of *Kochinchina* with more seeming kindness than these do theirs, it is rather done out of resentment against their king, than out of any regard to their subjects¹.

BEFORE we leave this kingdom, we must not omit to give a short account of some of the most considerable islands belonging to it: the natives give them the name of *Pullos*, and there are a good number of them along the coast. As 1. *Pullo Sicca*, which is barren and uninhabited, and looks like a group of parched rocks, without trees or one blade of grass. 2. *Pullo Secca de Mare*, a chain of other barren and rocky islands, stretching themselves from the dangerous shallows called *Paracel*. 3. *Pullo Cambir*, fifteen leagues off the shore, but near the shallows above-mentioned, and which, though large, is also uninhabited. 4. *Pullo Canton*, lying near the shore, and at a small distance from that of *Campella*, from both which the currents, which run to the southwards in the northern monsoons, oblige the pilots to keep off as far as they can, and to sail close to the coasts. These we mention on account of their dangerous nature.

PULLO KONDORÉ, or *Condore*, is another close group, situate under the eighth degree of north latitude; the most

¹ DE RHODES ubi supra. TAVERNIER, BARON, DAMPIER, CHEVRIER, HAMILTON, & al. supra citat.

considerable of which is about five leagues in length from Kondor east to west, and about one in breadth where widest. The *described.* next to it is about two leagues long, and half of one broad; and is so advantageously situated, that it forms a kind of haven in conjunction with the other, but which, as one advances more southward, grows so narrow that none but small vessels can sail through it. These two islands are reckoned very conveniently situate for those who sail to and from *China, Japan, Manilla, Tong-king, and Kochinchina*; and are chiefly inhabited by original natives of the last of those kingdoms, though since somewhat dwindled in their size, and are still subject to it. They are very poor, their chief employment being drawing *Their in-* of pitch or turpentine from the trees called *damar*, and *habitants;* selling it to the strangers that come, or carrying it to *Kochinchina*, in baskets made for that purpose; others get their living by catching of tortoises, and other shell-fish, of which there are great quantity and variety. All these islanders, *Civility to* *Dampier* tells us, are so civil to strangers, that they bring *strangers.* their wives on board their ships, and prostitute them to any of them for a small trifle^e.

ABOUT the latter end of the last century, our *East India* An Eng- company attempted to make a settlement upon these islands, lish *factory* and built a fort of earth upon one of them; which they sur- *destroyed.* rounded with a palisade, and planted a small battery upon it. *A. D.* But some *Macassar* soldiers, whom they had taken into their *1705.* pay, took an opportunity some years after to massacre the *English* that were in it, and to set fire to the fort, in the dead of the night, which put an end to that settlement^b.

To conclude this article, these islands are surrounded with *Wrecks* such a number of shallows, rocks, and shelves, and ship- *dived for* wrecks happen so frequently within their neighbourhood, *by the* that the king of *Kochinchina* sends thither, at certain seasons *king's* of the year, a number of his gallies, together with some of *ships.* the expertest divers in his kingdom to go in search of them, and to save what merchandizes, and other things of value, they can out of the waterⁱ.

^e DAMPIER voy. vol. i. p. 194, & seq. ^b DAMPIER voy. vol. i. p. 194, & seq. & Supplement. BARON, HAMILTON, in fin. vol. i. hist. Sinens. CHEVRIER, DE RHOD. & al. supra citat. See Lockier's voy. to Canton, 1704. Mr. CUNNINGHAM's letter in SALMON's Mod. hist. vol. i. p. 59. ⁱ DAMPIER, & al. supra citat.

C H A P. XVI.

The History of the Kingdom of Tong-king.

Tong-king; **T**HIS is the last country in the farther peninsula of *India*, which remains to be treated of: it is tributary to the *Chinese* monarchs, like that of *Kochinchina*, and is commonly called *Tunkin*, and *Tunquin* by the *Europeans*. It is bounded on the north and east by the *Chinese* provinces of *Quang-si* and *Yun-nan*; on the west by the two small kingdoms of *La-w-chiva*, which divide it from that of *Siam* on the south; and south-east by *Kochinchina*, and the gulph of its name, called also the gulph of *Kochinchina*, because it runs between them both. The length of the *Tonquinese* dominions is variously computed, because it hath often varied; inso-much that some pretend it once extended 1500 leagues into the inland: that is, from the confines of the province of *Quang-ton* north-westward to the kingdom of *Chiampa*. *Tavernier* affirms it to be almost as big as *France*, whilst *Baron* will have it to be no larger than *Portugal*; but adds, that it contains four times the number of inhabitants. According to the latest accounts, it is supposed to stretch about 370 miles in length, and about 240 where broadest^a. The vast bay on which it is situate extends from the point of *Chiampa*, in north latitude $12^{\circ} 14'$, to the province of *Tenan* in $27^{\circ} \frac{1}{2}'$. Its breadth, where widest, that is from the continent to the island of *Ho-nan*, is reckoned twenty leagues by *Dampier*, and thirty by *Marini*. It hath between forty and fifty fathoms water in the middle, and affords every-where a commodious and safe anchorage. Two large rivers, viz. the *Rockbo* and *Domca*; the last so called from a town situate upon it about six leagues above its mouth, flow into the gulph; the one two leagues farther north-east than the other, and open an entrance into the kingdom; but the latter is that which is most frequented by the *Europeans*, its mouth being much the larger and deeper of the two. But in approaching it, great care must be had to avoid the many dangerous shoals that lie between the mouths of these two rivers, and stretch themselves in some places several leagues into the gulph. It hath likewise a bar, near two miles broad, across the mouth of; and the chanel, which is about half a mile over, hath sands also on each side. The mark by which one

Boundaries.

Extent.

Gulph described.

Two bays.

Bar.

^a MARINI relat Tonquin. See also DAMPIER Supplem. p. 1. & seq. TAVERNIER, vol. iii. BARON, & al. mult.

Enter it is a high ridge of mountains, called the *Elephant*, and which must be brought to bear north-west and by north. Here the sailors make towards the shore till they come to six fathom water, about two or three miles from the foot of the bar; and when *Pear Island* bears north-west from them, they cast anchor and fire a gun, which soon after brings a pilot to steer them in at spring tide ^b.

THE farther end of the gulph hath likewise a number of *Islands*. small islands; the most considerable of which is situate in 20° 18' north latitude, and is called by the natives *Twonbene*, but by the *Dutch*, the *Isle of Robbers*, where the *Tonquinese* have settled a custom-house, which brings in about a million of rix-dollars. Near the island, which is about two leagues long, and half a league wide, are two small bays; the farthest of which hath a pearl fishery belonging to the king.

THE town of *Domea* above-mentioned is situate on the right shore of the river of its name, and is the first that offers itself to the sight. The *Dutch* chuse to anchor before it, but our *English* ships sail up a little higher, where the current is more gentle. No sooner do the *Domeans*, and villages about them, perceive an *European* ship coming up the river, than they set all hands to work in building of booths, and filling them with all sorts of provisions and conveniencies for their accommodation; not excepting, if we may believe our countryman *Dampier*, a sufficient number of females, to attend their pleasure during their stay. The *Tonquinese*, it seems, observing so little decency in that case, that they will even suffer their own wives to hire themselves to them for a certain sum, for the space of two or three months; and are so desirous to have some of the *English* breed amongst them, that those of the better sort, even their nobles, will think it no disgrace to marry their daughters to an *English* or *Dutch* sailor, and will make them handsome presents at their departure, especially those whose wives are found pregnant.

THE climate of this kingdom, although it be just under the tropic, is yet reckoned so mild and temperate, that the whole year appears like a continual spring, without any other material change than that of rain and sun-shine, wet and dry season. They have likewise only two winds that blow for a continuance; viz. the north and the south, which commonly blow six whole months alternately; the former from *June* or *July* to *January*, and the latter from *January* to *July*: but the most agreeable season in the whole year begins about

^b MARINI relat. Tonquin, & al. sup. citat.

September, and ends in *March*; during which the north wind blows almost without intermission, and renders the climate healthy and temperate, yet without producing either ice or snow. The rainy season seldom begins before the month of *April*, and lasts only till *August*. This is indeed the most unhealthy part of the whole year, not only on the account of the south wind, and the violent rains that fall in great plenty, but likewise of the thick mists and fogs; which the sun, then in its zenith, draws up, and which often-times cause intolerable heats and acute diseases. Yet all that while the country appears in its most elegant dress; the trees are covered with fruit and verdure, and the plains, if not with vines and corn fields, which this climate doth not yield, yet with plenty of rice, and variety of other products more natural to it.

Weather ;
tempera-
ture.
Subject to
great
floods.
THE misfortune is, that the country, mostly low and flat, is frequently overflowed by the violent rains, to such a degree as to destroy in some measure a whole harvest, and at some times not coming down in sufficient plenty to nourish the rice, which can only grow in water, a famine often ensues, that grain being the chief support of all these eastern countries. So that whenever such years of scarcity happen, the parents among the poorer sort are forced to sell their very children for subsistence; though this is not so often the case in this kingdom as in other parts of *India*, particularly the coasts of *Malabar* and *Coromandel*.

Rive
THE country on the *Chinese* side is defended by an impenetrable ridge of mountains, which extends from the sea side above 150 leagues into the inland, along the frontiers of *Quang-si* and *Quy-chew*. These mountains are covered with vast forests of variety of trees, and filled with elephants, deer, tigers, and other wild creatures; whilst the rest of the country is beautifully variegated with fertile hills and vallies, and intersected with a great number of rivers; among which *Father Tissanier*, a Jesuit missionary, reckons twenty-eight principal ones which empty themselves into the sea. From these, and other inferior rivers which fall into them, the inhabitants cut a vast number of canals, not so much for the sake of commerce, as they do in *China*, as to irrigate and fertilize their numerous plains and pasture grounds.

Provinces.
1. Eastern.
THE country is divided into eight provinces or chief cantons. The first of which, called the *Eastern*, is bounded on the south by the *Tonginese* gulph, on which are a number of islands under its jurisdiction. The ground is mostly flat and fertile, and abounds with rice; but the inhabitants are chiefly employed in the fishery. The chief town of this province is called *Heaw*, but is very inconsiderable, though

regent of the whole canton, and the residence of its governor^d.

2. THE second, stiled the *Western*, is mostly flat, and 2. West-abounds with rich pasture grounds and fields of rice, but is 2. West-thinly furnished with fruit and other trees.

3. THE third, called the *Southern*, is formed into a kind 3. South-of triangular island, partly by the sea, and partly by the two 3. South-ern. great branches of the *Song-koy*, or large river (A). It is very fruitful in rice, by reason of its flat and low situation, but is likewise subject to frequent inundations.

4. THE fourth, stiled the *Northern*, is by far the largest 4. North-of all, and comprehends the greatest part of the kingdom on 4. North-ern. that side, reaching quite to the *Chinese* frontiers on the east. It is partly flat and partly mountainous; the flat yields plenty of rice, and the other abounds with woods, forests, and wild beasts; and, among other trees, produces that of which they make their fine varnish, or japan.

5. THE fifth, called *Tenan*, is but small in comparison of 5. Tenan.the rest, and its chief product is rice.

6. THE sixth, called *Ten-hoa*, or *Ten-hie*, is bounded on 6. Ten-the east by an arm of the *Song-koy*, and on the south by the 6. Ten-hoa. gulph of *Tong-king*; its inhabitants are chiefly employed in the fishery, and drive a considerable commerce with their salt fish.

7. THE seventh, which is called *No-ghean*, borders on 7. No-Kochinchina on the west; it extends a vast way northwards, ghean. and breeds vast numbers of cattle on its fat pasture grounds, as well as great plenty of rice. Its bordering upon *Kochin-*• *china* makes it necessary for the government to entertain a good number of troops, which lie cantoned along the frontiers.

8. THE eighth, called *Cachao*, *Chaco*, and *Checo*, is situ- 8. Ca-ated in the heart of the kingdom, and is surrounded by the *chao*.

^d DAMPIER, & al. ubi supra.

(A) This is by far the most considerable river in this kingdom. It is said to have its rise among some of the *Chinese* mountains lately mentioned, and, after a long and winding course, to discharge itself by eight or nine branches into the gulph of *Hay-nan* (1). *Dampier*

indeed, in the supplement to his voyages (2), mentions no more than the two branches of the *Rokbo* and *Damea*; it is possible however that it may have a greater number, which he did not know of, seeing he says nothing of the place where it falls into the sea.

(1) See *Baron in collect. voy.*

(2) *Supplement*, p. 19.

*Fertile
soil.*

other seven*. Its soil is fertile, and in some parts mountainous, abounding with variety of trees, and particularly that of the varnish. Most of these provinces carry on some branch of the silk manufacture more or less, but this last most of all. It takes its name from its capital, which is also the metropolis of the whole kingdom; though in other respects hardly comparable to a *Chinese* one of the third rank.

*Metropolis
described.*

CACHAQ is situate under the 20th degree of north latitude, at about eighty leagues distance from the sea. Some authors make no scruple to rank it amongst the most considerable cities of *Asia*, both on account of its extent and the vast number of its inhabitants; but it will be found, on stricter enquiry, that the vast crouds of people which swarm in it are rather neighbouring villagers, that flock thither at times, but more especially on market-days, with their various commodities, and who so croud the streets that they are hardly passable. Upon which account several of the most considerable villages about it have been allowed to have their halls in particular parts of the city, where they bring and dispose of their wares. The magistracy likewise takes care to preserve such good order among all the goers and comers, as to prevent as much as possible all confusion and stoppage among them.

*Streets,
&c.*

As for the town itself, if we except the palace royal and the arsenal, it hath little else worth notice; the streets are neither regular nor handsome; the houses are low and mean, mostly built of wood and clay, and not above one story high. The magazines and warehouses belonging to foreigners are the only edifices which are built of brick; and which, though plain, yet, by reason of their height and more elegant fabricature, make a considerable show among those rows of wooden huts.

*Royal pa-
laces.*

THE chief palace of the Chowa, or king, is more a vast than a superb structure. It is situate in the center of the city, and surrounded with a stout wall, within whose cincture are seen a great number of apartments two stories high, whose fronts and portals have something of the grand taste; those of the Chowa and his wives are embellished with variety of carving and gilding after the *Indian* manner, and all finely varnished. In the outward or foremost court are a vast number of sumptuous stables for the king's elephants and horses; the inner courts can only be supposed to be answerable to that, for the avenues are forbid not only to all strangers but even to his subjects, except those of the privy

Wall and the chief ministers of state: yet we are told, that there are stair-cases by which the people may mount up to the top of the walls, which are about eighteen or twenty feet high, and walk about them, from which they may have a distant view of the royal apartments, and of the fine parterres and fish-ponds which are between the cincture and them. The front wall hath a large gate well ornamented, which is never opened but when the king goes in and out; but at some distance from it on each side there are two posterns, at which the courtiers and servants may go in and out. This cincture, which is of a vast circumference, is faced with brick within and without, and the whole structure is terminated by wide spacious gardens; which, though stored with variety of proper ornaments, yet are destitute of that grandeur and elegance which we behold in the palaces of our *European* princes.

BESIDES that vast spacious palace, one sees in this metropolis the stately ruins of a more splendid and magnificent one, said to have been formerly built by one of their monarchs, named *Li-bat-via*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel, and to have been since destroyed during their civil wars. Its circumference is said to have been between six and seven miles; some arches, porticoes, and other ornaments, are still remaining; from which, and some of its courts paved with marble, one may conclude it to have been as magnificent a structure as any of those eastern parts can shew.

THE arsenal is likewise a large and noble building, well-stored with warlike ammunition and artillery. It stands on the banks of the river *Song-koy* lately mentioned, and on that branch which *Dampier* calls *Domea*, which he says is much the deeper and wider of the two, and is that by which the *European* vessels come up to the town of its name; though, as we hinted a little higher, not without the assistance of a pilot of that country to steer them through its sandy and dangerous meanders, who always chuses calm weather and the benefit of the tide for that purpose^f.

AND here it will not be amiss to mention some curious observations, communicated to our Royal Society, concerning some considerable variations between the tides of these seas and those of *Europe*, viz. that on the *Tonquinese* coasts ebbs and flows but once in twenty-four hours; that is, that the tide is rising during the space of twelve hours, and can be easily perceived during two of the moon's quarters, but can hardly be observed during the other two quarters. In the

^f DAMPIER, p. 20, & seq.

spring-tides, which last 14 days, the waters begin to rise at the rising of the moon; whereas in the low tides, which continue the same number of days, the tide begins not till the planet is got below the horizon. Whilst it is passing thro' the six northern signs, the tides are observed to vary very greatly, and to rise sometimes very high, and sometimes to be very low; but when it is got once into the southern part of the zodiack, they are found to be more even and regular.

*No walls
or fortifi-
cations.*

*Streets
poorly
paved.*

To return to the metropolis of this kingdom, all that we need observe further concerning it is, that it hath neither walls nor fortifications, tho' it be the constant residence of the *Tong-kingese* monarchs, who have other two palaces, such as they are, in it, besides that already spoken of. The principal streets are airy and wide, but the rest narrow, all of them paved, tho' few of them otherwise than with small stones, clumsily put together; which makes it very unpleasant to walk thro' them, especially in wet weather, when they are extremely dirty, for want of a proper current for the water. Even in dry weather there are here and there some ditches of stagnated water and stinking mud, which are very offensive to strangers; yet upon the whole, its airy situation, and serene air, renders it healthy, and to the natives pleasant enough; so that it is seldom, if ever, visited with such pestilential diseases, as are common in large cities of these eastern climes.

*Subject to
frequent
fires.*

*Precaution
against
them.*

ONE sad disaster it is liable to, from the combustibility of its edifices, and the thatching of their houses, that it frequently suffers dreadful conflagrations; which spread themselves far and wide, with such surprising velocity, that some thousands of houses are laid in ashes before the fire can be extinguished. To prevent the sad consequences of which, every house hath, either in its yard, or even in its center, some low building of brick, in form of an oven, in which the inhabitants, on the least intimation of a fire, convey their most valuable effects. Besides this precaution, which every family takes to secure their goods, the government obliges them to keep a cistern, or some other capacious vessel, always full of water, on the top of their house, to be ready on all occasions of this nature; as likewise a long pole and bucket, to throw water from the kennel upon the houses. If these two expedients fail of suppressing the flames, they immediately cut the straps which fasten the thatch to the walls, and let it fall in, and

* De his variat. vide Philosoph. Transact. DAMPIER, HAMILTON, &c.

itself on the ground (B). By this means also the neighbouring houses are soon uncovered, and the flames prevented from catching at them; or if they do, they may be the more easily quenched by the water kept in reserve, and by the supply which they get by their poles and buckets from the kennels; for so strict are they to oblige every house to be provided with those two expedients, that if any are found without them, they are very severely punished for their neglect: notwithstanding all which cautions, this city is frequently damaged by such conflagrations^a.

THE house belonging to the *English* is situate on the north *English* side of the city, fronting the river. It is a handsome, low-*factory-house* built house, with a spacious dining-room in the center, and on each side are the apartments of the merchants, factors, and servants. At each end of the building are smaller houses, for other uses, as store-houses, kitchen, &c. which form two wings, with the square in the middle, and parallel with the river, near the bank of which stands a long flag-staff, on which they commonly display the *English* colours on *Sundays*, and all other remarkable days. Adjoining to it, on the south side, is the *Danish* factory, which is neither so large nor so handsome; tho' the *Danes* were settled in it long before the *English*, who were but lately removed thither from *Heau*, in our author's time. On the same side of the river runs a long *A stout* stout dike, whose timber and stone are so strongly fastened *dike on the* together, that no part of it can be stirred, without moving *river* the whole. This work was raised on those banks, to prevent the river, in the time of their vast rains, from overflowing the city, and carrying all before it; and has hitherto answered its end; for tho' the town stands high enough to be in no danger from the land-floods, it might yet have been otherwise frequently damaged, if not totally laid under water by the overflowing of that river^b.

^a DAMPIER, ubi *supr.* p. 45, & seq. ^b Idem, *ibid.* p. 49.

(B) This is the more easily bigness. These panes may the done, as the thatching is not more speedily be loosed from fastened to the rafters in small the rafters, or ratans, by cutting parcels, as it is in other parts their bands; upon which they of the *East* and *West Indies*, but immediately fall on the ground; in large panes, about seven or and in case they should alight eight feet square; so that five too near the oven where the or six of them will cover one goods are secured, may be the side of a house of a moderate more easily removed farther (2).

(2) *Dampier's supplement*, p. 45, & seq.

No cities in
the king-
dom.

Heau
town.

Popish bi-
shop's pa-
lace.

CACHAW is the only city, if it may be dignified with that title, in the whole kingdom. That of *Domca*, formerly mentioned, tho' the next in rank, is hardly worth notice, being a large scattered town, or rather village; and so we may say of all the rest, even of those which are stiled the metropolis of a province, and residence of a governor. The town of *Heau* above-mentioned hath nothing remarkable but a palace belonging to a popish bishop, who is a *Frenchman*, in which are also lodged some missionaries, of the same nation. It is a low, but handsome building, encompassed with a high and spacious wall, and hath a large gate to enter in, which is open all the day, and shut up at night; near it is a neat, but small apartment, separate from the rest of the building, which is designed for the entertainment of strangers. The bishop, who is interdicted from settling at, or even coming to, the city of *Cachao*, commonly resides in this town, which lies in the road to that metropolis, and hath several wherries constantly going up to it with the tide, and containing some 10, some 20, passengers, besides the rowers, and other lading^c.

Variety of
trees.

Some ex-
cellent
fruits.

Garden
stuff.

The betel
much in
vogue.

WE have already hinted, that the greatest part of this country is well watered by rivers, and canals cut from them; and the warmth of the climate is no less assisting to the fecundity of their ground. It were indeed needless to enumerate the various products of this kingdom, they being much the same that we have mentioned in our history of *China*, and other parts of *India*. And we shall only add, that the greatest part of their fruit-trees are affirmed to exceed all the rest of *Asia* in the flavour, beauty, and excellency of their fruit, but especially the palm and orange-tree, of the large kind. But those of the small kind, as well as their citrons, are reckoned very unwholesome; especially the latter, the juice of which, in some cases, is used instead of *aqua fortis*, for dying of calicoes. They are likewise careful to furnish their gardens with plenty of potatoes, yams, onions, &c. and their orchards with plantans, bananas, mangos, limes, coco-nuts, pine-apples, and other such esculent fruits. Their woods do likewise abound with timber-trees, for building of either ships or houses, and with stately pines, to make masts of^d.

THE betel, in such vogue all over *India*, in the leaf of which a slice of areck-nut being wrapped up, is chewed with so much delight, is here found in great plenty, and offered as a great compliment, even to strangers. Every man

^c DAMPIER, ubi supr. p. 99, & seq.
BARON, HAMILTON, & al.

^d DAMPIER,

carries his box full of those leaves, ready for use; and it would be looked upon as a high affront to refuse it when offered, as it would be likewise to take it with the left, instead of the right hand. They commonly send it as a proper present, when they dispatch their servants on any complimenting errand; for which the person sent to seldom fails of making some gratification to the messenger. They esteem it as a pleasant opiate; but *Their diet.* value it still more, as a preserver and cleaner of the teeth, and adding to the redness of the gums and lips.

THESE woods abound with the same variety of wild beasts, as other parts of *India* and *China*; and their elephants are reckoned the largest and nimblest in all *Asia*. They have plenty, and great variety, of fowl, both wild and tame, which are their usual food (C) at all their feasting, tho' at other times

(C) On solemn* occasions, whether they be festivals, weddings, burials, or anniversaries, they commonly indulge themselves, as far as their circumstances will allow, in great variety of flesh and fowl; among which buffaloes, horses, goats, dogs, rabbits, rats, locusts, geese, ducks, wild and tame, frogs, tortoises, crabs, and other fish, small and great, make up the most considerable part of the feast; and fruit in great plenty and variety, the conclusion of it. They are likewise fond of pork cut into slices, and roasted all together; but oftener choose to eat it raw, only minced and seasoned, much after the same manner as our sausages are.

They singe their oxen as we do our hogs; and esteem a raw beef stake, soaked three or four hours in vinegar, a dainty morsel. If an elephant die a natural death, the flesh of it is commonly given to the poor, but the snout, or proboscis, is esteemed a piece fit to be pre-

sented to some great person.

Among a variety of sauces, which they use with their meat, one of the most common and admired is their ballachawn, which is made of small fish, shrimps, prawns, &c. soaked in salt-water till reduced to a pulp. The liquor, which is afterwards drawn from it, is called newchmum, and both these are used as a sauce both by natives and *Europeans*; and even the poor people will mix the ballachawn with their boiled rice, to give it a hautgout, rank and disagreeable enough to those who are not accustomed to it, but which becomes pleasant by use (3).

Whatever is brought to their table is dressed and served with the greatest niceness; even their tables and vessels, as well as victuals, are perfumed. They use neither knives, forks, nor table linen, but eat after the *Chinese* manner, each person at a separate table, and handle their sticks with the same dexterity (4); but observe, especially among the better sort,

(3) *Dampier's suplem.* p. 27, & *seq.* 30, & *seq.* *Baron, Tavernier, & al.*
(4) *De boc, vid. inf. vol. viii.* p. 277, & *seq.*

times they eat sparingly of any flesh, and content themselves with their boiled rice, herbs, roots, dried fish, and pickled eggs.

*A strange
kind of
mice.*

THEY have here a strange kind of mice, the hunting of which yields them a pleasant diversion, and their flesh a dainty dish. They are about the bigness of a pullet, and have wings about a foot and an half long, and commonly make their nests on filbert, pistachio, and other nut-trees, whose fruit is their chief fare, and gives their flesh a fine relish. It is not the cats that here make war against them, but a particular breed of small dogs, which hunt and drive them up to the next tree they meet with, which they climb with great swiftness; and fastening their claws on the branches, hang all the day long upon them, with their heads downwards: they have, moreover, seven claws on each wing, by which they cling so fast, that when shot dead, they continue still fixed to the bough. These creatures are preferred to any fowl, even by the Portuguese.

Liquors.

THEIR common drink is a peculiar kind of tea, which they call *Chia-bang*, or *Chaw-bang*; the leaves of which, boiled in water, yield a liquor of a reddish-brown, not unlike the ordinary *Chinese* bohea. There is hardly any village in which one doth not see, especially on market-days, women with an earthen pipkin before them, set over some coals, with this kind of tea, which they sell to passengers. This kind is not only strong and coarse, but very distasteful to strangers, because they drink it without sugar: but in their merry meetings they commonly mix a quantity of arrak with it, more or less; and when they design to make a fuddling bout of it, they drink the arrak by itself, and frequently burn it over the fire, as they do in *China*, especially before they go to sleep^f. They have another sort of tea much pleasanter than the former, which is made not of the leaf, but the flower of the plant; which being dried and torried, hath a very grateful flavour.

*Two sorts
of tea.*

*Arrak,
and other
wine.*

* DAMPIER'S supplem. p. 64.

^f See vol. viii. p. 279. (W).

a great decorum, and deep silence, all the time: tho', if we may believe their countryman *Baron*, this last is rather owing to their voracious attention to their victuals, which doth not permit them to lose so much time as even to answer a civil

question; insomuch, that it is looked upon as an affront, or at the best a breach of good manners, to speak a word till the repast is over (5). Their custom is to eat four times a day, as every-where else in *India*.

(5) *Baron Collect. Trav. &c. al. ubi sup.*

and taste, when infused or boiled in water; and this they call *Chaw-way*. They make several sorts of wines, and other liquors, of rice, and other ingredients, like those used in *China*; on which we need not expatiate.

THE *Tonquinefe* are generally of a tawny colour, yet not *Inhabit-* so deep as other *Indians*. Their faces are oval, and mostly *ants de-* flattish, yet graceful. Their hair is black, long and lank. They *scribed.* affect, both men and women, to have their teeth as black as *Black* art can make them, and are four or five days a dying of them, *teeth.* but seldom go about it till they are 13 or 14 years old. Whilst the operation lasteth, they take no other nourishment than some *chaw*, or other such liquid, and that but sparingly, lest some of the dye, which is of a poisonous nature, should mix with their food, and indanger their health; but this abstinence they all readily comply with, to avoid resembling the elephants and dogs in the whiteness of their teeth, which they look upon as the most odious disfigurement. They are *Manu-* naturally healthy and robust, nimble and active, dexterous *factures.* and ingenious in their several manufactures, such as that of *Populous-* silk, cotton, lacquering, great quantities of all which are yearly *ness and* exported. Notwithstanding which, their country is so *poverty.* populous, that vast numbers of its inhabitants labour under the extreme poverty, for want of employment; the handicraftsmen being unable, for want of money, to set them to work, except when foreign ships, especially *Englisb* and *Dutch*, arrive, and give a new life to business, by advancing money to them, to at least one-third part of the goods they bespeak; and this *Vast itch* frequently obliges the merchants to stay there five or six *of gaming.* months before they can get them finished. But what causes the greatest obstruction to labour and industry, and contributes most to their indigence, is the universal itch of gaming which reigns among them all, rich and poor, masters and servants, whilst they have any thing left to hazard; and when once money, goods, and their very cloaths, are lost, they will stake even their wives and children; after which, they will not leave one trick untried, whether honest or base, to retrieve their families and fortunes; tho' it most frequently ends in their total ruin^b.

It is not improbable that the *Tonquinefe* have received this infection of gaming from the *Chinese*, who are very numerous among them; and amongst whom that vice reigns, as we shall see in the sequel^c, if possible, in a higher degree. They have likewise contracted, like them, such a shameful habit of indolence and

^b See the next vol. p. 273, & seq. ^c DAMPIER, ubi supr. p. 41, & seq. ^d See vol. viii. p. 250.

*Heavily
taxed.*

*The mens
dress.*

*Go bare-
foot.*

*That of
the women.*

idleness, that they will spend part of the morning in visiting one another, and the evenings and nights either in gaming, or smoking, drinking, singing, and other such idle pastime; and leave the care of their manufactures and trades to their women and slaves; insomuch, that it is a doubt whether there is any, even among the richest sort of dealers, take his whole stock together, that hath the value of 2000 crowns in all his warehouses. To all this we may add, the heavy taxes which the government imposes upon them; and which, tho' rated according to the circumstances of every individual, commonly run as high as they can possibly pay, and sometimes higher, thro' the artifice and knavery of the king's officers.

THEIR dress is not much different from the *Chinese*, and consists of a long robe, reaching down to the heels, and tied about the middle with a girdle or sash, commonly embroidered, among those of the better sort, with gold and silver; but the habit of the soldiers, and common people, reaches no lower than the knees, as the breeches, and drawers do to the mid-leg, and are commonly of cotton. But the nobility, and persons of rank, affect to go in rich silks, or fine *English* broad-cloaths, mostly either red or green, and reaching to their heels; neither dare they appear at court, especially before the king, but in such a stately garb. Their heads are covered with a long cap, of the same stuff with their gowns; but those of the lower rank go commonly bare-headed, except the fishermen and labourers, whose business obliges them to wear broad-brim'd hats made of rushes, straw, or palmetto leaves, starched as stiff as a deal-board, and tied by a string under their chin.

THEIR antient laws obliged all but the king to go bare-foot, which, as Father *Marini* observes^k, might the more easily be complied with, as their land is mostly of the soft and sandy kind, and little of it hard and stony; tho' one would be rather apt to wonder how they could bear the excessive heat of the ground. But we shall see in the sequel in many kingdoms under a hotter sun, and in more rocky countries, as in the empire of *Abissinia*, *Lower Ethiopia*, and other parts of *Africa*, the very same custom is observed, without the least inconvenience to the natives; tho' very painful to strangers uninured to it. However, the literati, and since them the grantees, claim a privilege of wearing sandals; but the greatest ornament of both, is that of their long nails^l.

THE dress of the women differs little from that of the men, saving that it is rather more grave than theirs, excepting only

^k DAMPIER, p. 42, & seq. ^l HAMILTON, BARON, & al.
See also the next vol. p. 209. & (M).

on grand festivals, when they strive to adorn themselves with the richest habits and ornaments. On other occasions, if we except that they do not cover their hands and faces, as the *Chinese* women do^m, they affect a degree of gravity in their dress, actions, and gait, even superior to theirs. Their long robes come quite close about their necks, and hang down to their heels. They wear large hats, like those of the fishermen lately described, but made of some richer stuff, and more curiously embroidered, which they also tie under their chin, and use as a kind of umbrella. Whilst this kingdom was under the dominion of the *Chinese* monarchs, and governed by their viceroys, both men and women were obliged to tuck up their hair in some form or other, in token of subjection. But after they had recovered their liberty, and began to have their own kings, both sexes agreed to wear it hanging about their shoulders, in token of their freedom. Their bonzas, or priests, who have their heads shaved all over, make a kind of jest of their long hair, pretending that it is of no other use than to help their deities to draw men, of little or no merit for their good deeds, up to heaven; but which, for that reason, they had no occasion for, seeing their own virtue and good actions are sufficient to carry them thither; and therefore take care to shave it off as fast as it growsⁿ. This doth not hinder the *Tonquinese* from keeping up to their old custom of wearing their hair hanging down, tho' very troublesome to the working part; which they chiefly do, to distinguish themselves from the *Chinese*. For the same reason, their noblemen, and persons of distinction, affect to wrap up their long gowns differently from them, that is, by fastening the left lappet over the right; whereas the *Chinese* wrap the right lappet over the left, and fasten it on their left hip by a ribbon to their girdle.

Why they wear long hair.

The dress of the male bonzas differs only from that of the gentlemen in the fineness of the stuff, and its hanging more full and loose about them. They wear on their head a round cap, about three inches high; behind which hangs a piece of the same cloth, and colour, which comes down over their shoulders. The colours they affect most are the purple, chestnut, the carnation, or flesh-colour, and the glossy black; tho' others will prefer the yellow, and dark-red. Some of them wear a kind of doublet, striped or flowered, with glass beads of various colours, artfully strung and sown upon it. The

^m Relat. du Royaume. de Tonquin, c. 2. ubi supr. c. 2. See also, vol. viii. p. 273, & seq.

ⁿ MARINI,

and of their wives. female bonzas appear much in the same kind of dress, except that, instead of a round cap, they adorn their heads with a kind of tiara, bespangled with variety of beads of various colours, and of the bigness of a musket-ball °.

Their language, &c writing, arts, &c. THE *Tonquinese* appear, by the court records of the *Chinese*, and their own, to have been a quite different people from them, and to have received their principal arts, sciences, and politeness, from them. Writing was wholly unknown to them, till they brought it amongst them; and even their language, if we may believe *Dampier* ^p, hath a very great affinity with the vulgar *Chinese*, or *Fokyan* dialect, consisting, like that, of a vast multitude of monosyllables, whose significations are distinguished by the variety of tones and accents with which they are pronounced ^q, only the *Tonquinese*, we are told, abounds more with gutturals, and hath as great a number of those called dentals, which the *Europeans* find no less difficulty to pronounce. The courtiers, nobles, and literati, however, affect the more polite *Chinese*, which is less rough and uncouth: but as to their making use of the *Malayan*, as *Tavernier* affirms, it is not likely that they even understand it; tho' the mercantile people may use it in their commerce with other nations. For tho' the remarkable smoothness of that language may appear more suitable for a polite court, the *Tonquinese* do not seem curious enough to adopt it in preference of their own, merely upon that account.

Writing and characters. THEY have the same way of writing that is used in *China*, and in all probability did at first learn it from them. The characters to all appearance seem to be the same, and are written in the same way by columns, and with the same instruments. Their paper is of the same make, either of silk or the bark of trees, all of their own manufacture; and their writing and printing appear in all respects as neat and beautiful as that of the *Chinese*. They have schools in every village, where children are taught to read and write, but no superior colleges for the arts and sciences. They are not indeed so expert in the mathematics as the *Chinese*, nor do they seem to have the same genius and liking to them, but have a particular fondness for music and poetry. But their most admired literati are those who are best versed in morality, and in their laws: these apply themselves mostly to the writings of *Confucius* and other *Chinese* philosophers; for we do not find that they have any eminent writers of their own in that way, though many distinguished professors and proficients,

No public schools for learning.

Sciences, how taught.

° MARINI, ubi supr. c. 2. ^p DAMPIER, ubi supr. p. 59, & seq. ^q See the next vol. p. 293, & seq.

and these are held in the highest esteem, who, for want of public established schools, do teach their students in houses of their own, or at their own homes, as their parents and they agree. The same method is followed by the teachers of rhetoric, poetry, and music; and it is by those professors that the youth are examined and advanced from one degree or class to a higher².

THERE are three of these classes, through which these *Three degrees* of students must pass before they can be qualified for any great *degrees of* posts in the government. The first is called *Syn-de*; the *literati*. second, *Dow-cum*; and the third, *Tan-fi*. To become a *1. Syn-de*: graduate of the first, they must have learned rhetoric, in order to be fit for the offices of notaries, proctors, advocates. If they go well through their examination, they are immediately registered and presented to the king, who gives them leave to assume the title of *Syn-de*; but, if found defective, are dismissed as unfit for it.

To acquire that of *Dow-cum*, they must study five years, *2. Dow-cum*. till they have learned music, poetry, and mathematics; which last chiefly consists in some skill in astronomy and astrology; and these last are obliged to make their own instruments; and, when they have gone through their examen with approbation, are dubbed *Dow-cums*.

FROM the *Dow-cum* they may rise in four years more to *3. Tan*: the third or uppermost degree, called *Tan-fi*, by bestowing *fi*. that time on the study of the laws, politics, and customs of the *Chinese* (D); at the end of which they are examined in the

² DAMPIER, TAVERNIER, MARINI, & al. sup. citat.

(D) This high regard of the *Tongquinese* for the *Chinese* learning, and particularly for that branch of it, will appear less strange to our readers, if they consider ~~when~~ we shall have frequent occasion to hint in a subsequent chapter, that not only they, but all the other neighbouring kingdoms, looked upon the *Chinese* as the most, if not the only, learned and polite nation in the world, held in the highest esteem all their philosophic and other writings; and

look upon their system of politics as the most complete that human reason could excogitate; inasmuch that not only the writings, but the persons, of *Confucius*, *Mencius*, and others of their great men, are held in as high veneration among them as they are in *China* (1). Even the *Japanners*, who hardly come behind them in any of those excellencies, as we shall shew in the next chapter, make no difficulty to own the great advantages they have received

(1) See *hereafter*, vol. viii. p. 103, & seq.

How
raised to
the last,

and public
posts.

Physic
very im-
perfect.

Diseases,
and their
cures.

the presence of the king, by a great number of nobles and gentlemen of that class, who come thither on purpose, and a certain number of mandarins and counsellors, to whom the names of the candidates are signified before-hand. Their examination is commonly more strict than any of the two former; and, if discharged with their approbation, they are immediately conveyed to a scaffold erected for the purpose, and clothed with a rich vest of purple sattin, given to them by the king; and their names are written in large characters on tablets, which are hung up at his palace-gate. After which they are inrolled in the rest of the *Tan-fies*, and have a certain appenage assigned to them according to their quality, merit, or the king's favour, till they are raised to the mandrinate, or some other post in the government. It is also out of this last class that he chuses his counsellors, ministers, and ambassadors, especially those who are sent on an embassy to the imperial court of *China* with the usual homage and tribute, or upon any other occasion. Whilst those who have miscarried in their examination are disgraced, and registered, as incapable of ever rising to that dignity^a.

PHYSIC will hardly be expected to be in any tolerable degree of perfection, if our readers recollect in what a low state it is still in most parts of *India*, and even in *China* (of which we shall speak in a subsequent chapter), notwithstanding the many useful improvements they might have made both in the theory and the practice, by their converse with *Europeans*^b. The whole of both doth indeed chiefly consist in the knowledge of the virtues of a good number of herbs, roots, gums, and other medicinal vegetables, the use and preparation of which is copiously treated in some of their books; but is more commonly attained by experience and specific receipts, which the practitioners, who are at once doctors, apothecaries, and surgeons, pretend to be masters of, together with a more than ordinary skill in pulses. Fevers, especially of the purple kind, dysenteries, cholics, jaundice, and the small-pox, are the chief and most dangerous distempers the *Tonquinese* are liable to; as to gout, stone, and gravel, they are scarcely known amongst them;

^a DAMPIER, TAVERNIER, MARINI, & al. sup. citat. ^b See vol. viii. p. 304, & seq.

from these valuable *Chinese* volumes, which are still taught in their schools, and as highly valued as ever amongst them, notwithstanding their prejudice to their whole nation in general, of which we shall give an account in the sequel (1).

and the others they commonly cure by diet-drinks joined to a good regimen: when these prove ineffectual, they have recourse to topical applications, as cupping, cauterizing, either *Bleeding* with *Indian* moxa or even with hot irons (E); and sometimes, *and cup-* though rarely, bleeding as near as can be to the part affected, *ping.* either with a sharp bone, not unlike our farriers fleams, struck into the vein by a flap of the finger, or else by a puncture with a kind of fine needle^c; a topical operation likewise, said to have been invented by the *Japanese*, and of which we shall give a further account in the history of that nation in a subsequent chapter^d. The *Tonquinese* frequently *Cure for* cure the purple or spotted fever by the raising a small blister *the purple* on some of the spots with a lighted match or rush, until they *fever.* break and go off with a whiff; which they look upon as a sure sign that the malignity of the distemper is thereby evaporated. This operation is usually performed by candle-light, because the pustules appear more plainly than by day-

^c KÆMPFER hist. of Japan, ubi supra. DAMPIER, BARON, & aliis. ^d Vol. ix. p. 39, & seq.

(E) This last is chiefly used in epilepsies and atrophies, as in *China* (1). But they have another distemper of much the same nature, with which they are often seized on a sudden, *viz.* a total deprivation of speech, which, if not quickly remedied, seldom fails of ending in the patient's death. This distemper is said to be occasioned by damps or blasts in some of their unwholesome seasons; and the first remedy they try against it is, to make the patient drink a large quantity of arrack, aqua vitæ, or other distilled liquor, made as hot as he can swallow it, and with the addition of some powdered ginger.

If that doth not bring him to his speech, they chafe his whole body with a cloth dipped in the same hot spirituous liquors; if all these fail, they proceed to

burning, and that sometimes to the very bone; but they frequently defer this last expedient so long, that the patient is either quite dead, or past all sensation, or possibility of recovery. It sometimes happens also, that the circulation of the stagnated blood, forced by the violent friction above-mentioned, as well as by the quantity of the hot spirituous liquor administered to the patient, is attended with violent and excruciating pains in the limbs; in which case they lay him down on a bedstead, whose girts stand at some distance from one another, and having covered him up with warm cloaths, sweat him night and morning from underneath, by the help of a chafing-dish filled with coals, and a large quantity of frankincense, or other like gums, till the pain is assuaged (2).

(1) *De his, vide infra, vol. viii. p. 195.*
et. sup. citat.

(2) *Tavernier, Marini, &*

light. It is however looked upon as so hazardous to the performers, that they commonly undertake it with no small reluctance and great precaution; because, as it is pretended, if they should catch any of the effluvia at the nose or mouth, it would infallibly infect them with the distemper, and, what is still worse, without any possibility of a cure. But whether this last circumstance be true, or only pretended, in order to extort a greater reward from the patient, we will not pretend to determine.

*Doctors
very igno-
rant, and
great
boasters.
and astro-
logers.*

UPON the whole, we shall only add, that the people are timorous and superstitious to a high degree, and the physicians very ignorant, and very great boasters and cheats. Astrology is always consulted, not only in sickness, but in all other the most trivial emergencies; and they will suffer their patients to run the hazard of their lives, rather than administer any thing to them on an unlucky day, or under what they deem an inauspicious aspect of the planet.

*Mechanic
arts im-
proved,*

THE *Tonginese* are indeed more ready and expert in manual arts, which they have much improved by the help of the *Chinese* families, who refuged themselves amongst them during the former troubles and civil wars of that kingdom, and have settled themselves ever since, and introduced some of their principal trades and curious handicrafts amongst them. We have already hinted something concerning their silk and cotton manufactures, and that of their japan-work, or lacquer-varnish, in all which they are little inferior to their masters; to which we may add that of their porcelain, and other earthen work, in which they would be no less successful, had they the same encouragement and flourishing trade for them that the *Chinese* have. But it is too much the interest of that politic nation to cramp, rather than promote, the commerce of their vassals, or suffer any of their tributaries to vie with them in any useful branches of trade; and this, together with the heavy taxes with which they are laden, their scarcity of money, diffidence of strangers, apprehension of distant or perhaps imaginary losses, all these, we say, contribute to dispirit and discourage them from improving those advantages which from their excellent situation for commerce, and genius for mechanic arts, might otherwise render them a flourishing and opulent people. So that they now content themselves with spending a great part of their time, the men especially, either in sloth, indolence, and poverty; or, if their circumstances will permit it, their morning is spent in idle visits, the middle of the day in eating and sleeping, and the remainder of it in drinking, smoking, gaming, singing, dancing, and other diversions,

but languish for want of encouragement.

The people made idle by it.

How they spend their time.

THEY have acquired some skill in metals, and can even *Artillery* cast guns and other artillery, can fabricate fire and other *cast by* arms, with variety of other ingenious tools and utensils in *them* metals; and have an excellent way of preparing and mixing the earth in which they cast their metals, and even cannon of an extraordinary size. *Dampier* tells us of a large brass one which was cast by them, supposed to be eight or nine thousand pounds weight. Its bore is of a taper form, a foot diameter at the mouth, but narrower at the breech, and in other respects ill-shaped; though much esteemed, because cast by them about twelve or thirteen years before, and the largest that ever they made. But they were forced to have recourse to the *English* to mount it upon its carriage, and now only keep it for shew^d. All this shews that the small advantage they make of their genius and dexterity, is rather owing to the want of encouragement than industry.

WE cannot forbear mentioning another abuse which *con- Grosse* tributes to keep the industrious working part still poorer, *abuse in* and turns no less to the advantage of the foreigners, who *trade* carry it on under-hand. This is done by contracting an intimacy with some notable female, either by a love intrigue, or by an extemporaneous marriage, and appointing her one's factress at parting, who will be sure to take the advantage of the deadness of trade, during the foreign merchants absence, to employ people at the lowest wages, and to buy silks and other commodities at the lowest prices, against their return; by which means some *Dutchmen*, who are said to deal most in this clandestine way, have gained immense riches; and their factresses, by their shares of the profit, have raised such fortunes, as to become matches for some indigent grantees, after their *Dutch* husbands have left off trading^e.

To all these disadvantages we may still add another, that *Goods im-* the *Tonquinese* do not trade for themselves, nor export any of *ported and* their merchandizes on their own bottoms; nor have they *exported on* indeed any vessels fit for these rough seas, theirs being chiefly *foreign* fisher-boats or long gallies, so that most of their wares are *bottoms* imported and exported by strangers. Those imported are saltpetre, sulphur, broad-cloths, and other woollen stuffs, spices, lead, guns, and cash; we do not find that they have *Their coin* any coin of their own, but make use of that which is brought thither by strangers, together with the small copper coin which they have from *China*^f, and which they exchange with them at a

^d DAMPIER, ubi supra, p. 70. ^e TAVERNIER, MA-
RINI, & al. ^f See the next vol. p. 246, & seq.

Women expert money-changers. great disadvantage for foreign silver^f. The *Tonquinese* women are said to be such dexterous money-changers, that they can raise and fall the value of their cash as dexterously and effectually as our stockjobbers do their stocks.

Fairs and markets. THEIR inland commerce is mostly carried on by water, and by the help of their numerous rivers and canals, and of the many markets and fairs which are stated by the government; the most considerable of which are those which are held every new and full moon at their metropolis of *Ca-chao*, *Ca-chao*; or, as father *Marini* writes, *Ke-cio*; which word he tells us

signifies a fair or market: he adds, that these fairs are kept in seventy-two quarters of the town, every one as big as a little town, and filled with merchants, traders, and artificers, whose several-wares and merchandizes are indicated in a sign hung over the entrance of their warehouses or shops. These fairs are the more crowded with strangers, as the king permits none of their ships to anchor at any port but this^g; to which we may add another inducement besides this vast concourse of people, *viz.* the beautiful prospect which its river yields all the way up to it of fertile plains and verdant pastures, and of a great number of villages large and populous on each side, elegantly shaded and adorned with high trees planted on each side of a large moat or canal, which surrounds each of them, and defends them from inundations, whilst the plains about them display only a spacious flat land covered with fields of rice or meadow grounds. Other towns have likewise their fairs and markets, and the villages likewise, but with this difference, that six of these are joined together in one charter, and hold their own each in their turn^h.

and other towns.

Their religion.
Sect of Confucius.

THE *Tonquinese* have adopted the two chief religions which reign in *China*; *viz.* that of their great philosopher *Confucius*, [whom they call *Ong-cogne*] which is that of the *literati*, and of those of superior rank; and that of *Fo*, which was brought from *India* into *China*; a full account of both which will be more properly seen in the *Chinese* historyⁱ, to prevent needless repetitions. Only thus much may be said here concerning the former, or philosophic sect and doctrine, that the *Tonquinese* doctors value themselves not a little for having purged it, as they say, from a great number of superfluous niceties, with which the *literati* of *China* had clogged the reading and interpretation of that great philosopher's writings, as well as from a great variety of superstitious customs and observances,

^f TAVERNIER, MARIN, DAMPIER, HAMILTON, BARON, &c.
^g MARINI relat. ubi supra, &c. ^h Id. ibid. TAVERNIER, DAMPIER, &c. ⁱ See hereafter, vol. viii. p. 108, & seq.

which they had introduced from them, and which continue still in full force among the learned of that empire. So that the whole of their religion, so far as respects this famed sect, consists in a deep inward veneration of the god or king of heaven, in paying some private honours to their ancestors, and in the practice of all moral virtues.

THEY have neither temples nor priests, nor any settled *Their te-* form of outward worship, but every one pays his adoration *nets, rites,* to the supreme being in the manner he thinketh best. They *and wor-* also believe a lower rank of subaltern spirits, to whom they *ship.* pay an inferior kind of worship, such as they think is most acceptable to them, and most likely to procure their favour. Most of this philosophic sect hold the world to be eternal, and all the souls of men to be immortal; but some of them believe that immortality, and the bliss attending it in another life, to belong only to those of the just, whilst those of the wicked perish with the body. This we may properly stile the religion of the court and of the learned, of which their monarchs, whilst they were absolute and independent, were the chiefs or head, and claimed alone the privilege of sacrificing to the great *Tyen*, as the *Chinese* emperors do in *Sacrifices.* their own dominions, whether on certain state festivals, or in times of public calamities. At present the *Tonquinese* chovas, or kings, though tributary to those emperors, still retain that privilege, and perform that office in their own palaces, where they offer up their victims upon particular occasions, but especially in calamitous times^k.

THE other, or the sect of *Fo*, which hath spread itself *The sect of* through the greatest part of *India*, as far as *Siam*, *China*, *Fo*, and *Japan*, is chiefly professed here by the common people, and is subdivided into a variety of branches, the principal of which is that of *Lanzo*, or *Lan-thu* (F); whose founder, a *Lan-thu* *Chinese, the founder*

of

^k See hereafter, vol. viii. p. 141, & seq.

(F) His disciples pretend, that his mother, a virgin, carried him seventy years in her womb before she was delivered of him, together with other such absurd stories of his life, calculated only to raise his fame above all the other branches of that sect. As for his doctrine, it was much the same with that of the *Ka-cha-bout*, or hermit, who spread his idolatries thro'

this and other parts of *India*, but died in this kingdom. He had however an art of recommending himself among the superstitious great and rich, by his pretended converse with subaltern spirits, from whom he had gained, as he pretended, a most extensive insight into futurity; and whenever he was consulted by any great personages about any momentous matters,

Chinese, is pretended to have been one of the greatest magicians in all the east. They are all however agreed in worshipping a great number of deities, to whom they erect statues and temples; not indeed so stately and magnificent as they are in other parts of *India*, where we have seen those structures rear up their lofty tops with the most superb grandeur, and adorned with all that is costly and brilliant, as well as the statues of the deities to which they were dedicated¹. Here, on the contrary, they are low and mean, and destitute of every ornament except their statues; which, instead of being placed on a sumptuous altar, are either set upon some bench, or hang down from some of the cross-beams to which they are fastened. These are commonly of an oblong form, open on all the four sides, and their floors, mostly of plain boards, are raised some feet above the ground; not so much for grandeur, as to keep them above water during the time of their land-floods, and are ascended by a flight of steps which run around on the outside.

They are served by two sorts of priests, called *Bonzas* and *Says*, each a set of lazy drones and horrid cheats, who live chiefly on the ignorance and superstition of the populace. Their houses, or rather huts, are built in the neighbourhood of their pagodes, where they ply the laity, who resort thither to their idols, and offer their petitions to them; which is done by making long prostrations and burning some incense before them; and for this their votaries pay them with two or three handfuls of rice, some a small quantity of betel, and other such inconsiderable trifles, which is in some measure all that those idle drones have to subsist on; and it sometimes happens that the *Tonquinese* kings are under a kind of necessity to thin the number of them, by sending part of them to the wars. What seems to contribute most to their extreme poverty, is the contempt which the quality and richer sort of people have for them; and who, rather than encourage them in that idle way, by resorting to their pa-

¹ See hereafter, vol. viii. p. 108, & seq.

ters, he used to exhort them to their esteem, but became the some popular and charitable idol of the common people to deeds, such as building of hospitals for the sick, lame, and needy; by which means he not only ingratiated himself into such a degree, that his sect quickly eclipsed all the others of the *Indian* Fo (1).

(1) *Tavernier, Marini, Baron, & al. supra citat. See also hereafter, vol. viii. p. 109, & 111. (G).*

godes to offer up their petitions, will cause that ceremony to be performed in some of the open courts about their own houses, and by one of their own domestics; who lying prostrate before the idol, reads his master's petition, and afterwards flings it into the fire on which the incense is burning, together with three or four pieces more of gilt paper, to be consumed with it. This ceremony, when thus performed at home, is commonly followed with a plentiful feast, in which the officiating servant, and the rest of his fellow domestics, are nobly regaled^m.

*Ceremonies
to their
idols.*

To these two sects, we may add that called *Tay-bou-to-ni*, *The sect of* which is rather a sort of pretended conjurers, who set up to cure distempers by charms, and other magical tricks, and are in great vogue among the *Tonquinese*, they being, according to their countryman *Baron*, the only persons who are consulted upon such occasions; and persuade the people that the distemper is inflicted by some earthly or watery demon, and cannot be cured but by proper charms, of which they alone pretend to have the true secret. And as they are seldom sent

*T'ay-bou-
to-ni.*

for till the last extremity, the supposed conjurer, disguised in an odd fantastic dress, begins his pretended charms with the sound of some sorts of trumpets, kettle-drums, basons, brass pans, and other rough music, to prevent the words, which he speaks on the occasion, from being heard by the bystanders, ringing himself a hand-bell, to add still more to the horrid din; he continues dancing, leaping, turning, and winding to the same tune, till he perceives some prognostics in his patient, either of life or death; and if the latter, he is never destitute of some plausible cloak for his pretended disappointment; either he was not sent for soon enough, or the spirit or demon which inflicted the disease was too exasperated against the patient to be intreated or appeased by any charm: and this last doth more readily pass for current, as

*Manner of
curing
their pa-
tients.*

the prevailing notion amongst them is, that the souls of the deceased are turned either into beneficent or maleficent demons; the latter of which are the more outrageously so in proportion to the torments they are doomed to, if they are not timely relieved from them by the living, in some way suitable to their condition; and of this these jugglers, who pretend to be the only judges, are commonly made the chief directorsⁿ.

*All of these
great
cheats.*

^m DAMPIER, vol. i. p. 396, & seq. *BARON* collect. of voyages. TAVERNIER, & al. See the various histories of those kingdoms in the preceding and subsequent volumes. *M. BARON*, ubi supra. TAVERNIER, & al. supra citat. ⁿ DAMPIER, *BARON*, & al.

Funeral
rites
brought
hither
from Chi-
na.

*In what
they differ.

A strange
custom.

Honours
paid to the
dead,

among the
rich.

BESIDES the class above-mentioned, there is another called *Taydelis*, whose province is to direct the living to the choice of the properest and most favourable places for depositing the bodies of their deceased friends. The funeral obsequies are reckoned amongst them so essential a part of their religion, that however one sect may differ from another in other points, this of making a proper choice of a burying-place is looked upon by them all as an indispensable duty; and next to that, the visiting of those places at proper seasons, and furnishing them with variety of eatables, and other conveniencies, which their souls may stand in need of. This custom was probably introduced hither by the *Chinese*, who, as we shall shew in the next volume, are so scrupulous in the performance of this duty, that their very emperors are not exempt from it°. The only difference is, that the *Chinese*, especially those of any rank above the vulgar, have their fixed burying-grounds, where every family deposite their dead relations without any farther enquiry. Whereas the *Tonquinese* are so superstitiously scrupulous in this respect, that any material circumstances which happen at a parent's or near relation's death, makes them look upon this consultation about the choice of a grave as such an indispensable duty, that the neglect of it would be attended with some great disaster to the survivors. Infomuch that in some cases, as when a person dies on the same day or hour in which his father, or some other near relation did, they will keep the deceased in his coffin above-ground some months, or even years; that is, till those *Taydelis*, or pretended diviners, have agreed upon a proper spot to deposit it in; though this cannot be done without great expence and trouble, in proportion to the time the corpse remains unburied; because, in such a case, the nearest relations are obliged to deposit several sorts of eatables upon the deceased's coffin three times a day, to keep candles or flambeaux continually burning, together with a constant fire on which to burn incense and other perfumes, as well as a variety of papers cut out in the shape of horses, elephants, and other creatures, which they foolishly imagine his soul may stand in need of. Besides all these, they are obliged to repair several times in the day to that place, to prostrate themselves, with their foreheads to the ground, before the coffin, and make the usual lamentations, with all the gestures and tokens of the deepest sorrow, whilst the corpse continued in the house. But it will be hardly necessary to acquaint our

* DAMPIER, BARON, TAVERNIER, MARINI, TISSANIER, & al sup. citat. See also vol. viii. p. 262, & seq.

readers, that this singular scrupulousness about the choice of a burying-place, extends no farther than among the rich and wealthy; who can pay those jugglers well for their pretended consultations, and whose interest it is to procrastinate their agreement about it. But when the same difficulties happen among those of the poorer sort, they seldom make them wait long for their determination; and in a week or fortnight, at the most, direct them to the desired spot.

WHEN the diviners are once come to an agreement about the important point, the funeral pomp immediately follows; and much in the same mournful manner as it is commonly practised in those parts; and more especially, as we shall see more fully in the next volume, in the empire of *China*, from which they had it. The mourners appear in coarse habits, and tattered shoes, or even barefoot. They follow the corpse in a kind of reclined or stooping posture, and leaning upon a staff, as if weakened with excessive grief, and unable to support themselves without some such prop. *Funeral march.* The women have their heads and faces covered with a veil of the same coarse stuff, and join in the doleful chorus with the men, in loud and bitter lamentations. The nearest of kin to the deceased often prostrate themselves before the bier during the march, and suffer even the bearers to step on and tread over them: at other times they will attempt to push or pull the coffin back with their heads and hands, as if to stop its progress towards the burying-place, or as if they wanted to recall the dead to life.

THE rest of the funeral ceremony being much the same with those of the *Chinese*, we shall forbear forestalling it, and only add, that they are, like them, extremely solicitous to procure to themselves, whether poor or rich, the best coffins that their circumstances will allow; and will, at any rate, make sure of them ten, twenty, or more years before-hand, and preserve them in their houses as the most valuable part of their furniture. These are commonly made of the best and most durable wood, very thick and strong, nicely pointed, and glued with the strongest cement, but without nails, which would be looked upon as an indignity offered to the deceased. *Cloathing of the deceased.* Their countryman *Baron* tells us, that the cement or glue above-mentioned is made of several valuable gums, but doth not tell us what they are¹. As to the corpse of the deceased, it is commonly attired with the best garments they wore when alive; those of the men have seven, and

¹ Vid. TAVERNIER, MARINI, TISSANIER, & al. sup. citat. See also vol. viii. p. 263, & seq.

those of the women nine suits of them one upon the other. They put besides some small pieces of gold or silver, or even some small pearls, or pearl-seed, in the mouths of the rich; and, those of the poorer sort, some bits of copper, brass, bugles, or other trinkets, which they think will be of service to them in the other world, and prevent them from troubling the living with their complaints. It is likewise with the same view that they have stated times to visit their graves, and offer variety of victuals, perfumes, pieces of gilt paper, and other such presents, of which the souls, they think, come and take as much as they want; after which the rest is given to the poor.

Tonqui-
nese festi-
vals.

THE *Tonquinese* have a singular fondness for festivals, tho' their religion hath little or no share in the greater part of those which are observed amongst them. The two principal ones, and which are observed with the greatest solemnity, are that of the entrance of the new year, and at the beginning of the sixth moon, which commonly happens soon after the gathering-in of their harvest. The first usually falls some days before or after the first day of *January*, and lasts twelve days, according to some, but a whole month; according to other writers, particularly their countryman *Baron*¹. The first day of it is spent in a kind of gloomy retirement, the houses and windows are kept closely shut, not a soul stirs in or out, and the people within scarcely dare to speak to or see one another; all this not out of any devotion, but out

New year.

of a superstitious fear lest they should see or meet some person, or other creature, or object of ill omen, which might bring some ill luck on them, and trouble all the joy and alacrity of the whole festival, or prove the forerunner of some great misfortune in that year. The day being once happily

The festi-
vity of it.

over, all the rest of the festival is spent in visitings and entertainments; in public and private diversions; the streets are adorned with sundry decorations, particularly stages, at proper distances, on which are acted some plays, or other representations are exhibited to the people, by male and female, actors brought up to that kind of licentious life. These do usually appear well dressed, and are very expert, some at dancing, others at singing, leaping, swinging, and other kind of diverting exercises. Citizens and country people crowd the streets all in their best apparel; the air is filled with the sounds of various instruments, and vocal music, and with the applauses of the spectators. The women are allowed to appear abroad adorned with all their jewels, and other finery;

¹ Collect. of travels, MARINI, DAMPIER, & al. ub. sup.

some

Some in chaises, others in sedans, or other carriages according to their rank, and always attended with some kind of escorte *General li-* to keep them from insult; these times being mostly remarkable *centious-* for a general licentiousness which is suffered to reign every-*nisi-* where.

DURING the whole festival, there is a total stop put not only to all labour and commerce, but to all public affairs; the great seals of the kingdom are kept locked up in a strong box, the tribunals and inferior courts of justice are shut up, no debts can be demanded, nor wrongs or violence be rectified or punished, till the conclusion of the festivity permits every thing to resume its usual course.

OTHER kinds of diversions, such as gaming, drinking, smoking, riding, going on the water, and others still of a worse nature, are no less in vogue, and countenanced; so that those who have but wherewithal to purchase, need not be at a loss, amidst such a variety of pleasures, how to spend the whole festival in all the mirth and jollity that their hearts can wish. Not only their metropolis, but every town and village, enjoy the same or some equivalent diversions; amongst which, that of treating not only their friends alternately, but also strangers, is not one of the least; and one cannot oblige them more than in accepting of their invitations, and appearing satisfied with their entertainment*.

THE second festival, which begins with the sixth moon, *The sixth* and usually falls some days before or after the first of *June, moon.* is kept with the same general gaiety, though not with equal sumptuousness, and hath nothing particular worth our notice. Besides those two, they observe the new and full moons, that is, the first and fifteenth day of every moon, as days of feasting and mirth; for we read of nothing like any religious rites being peculiarly adapted to any of them. The most *New and* magnificent of all are those which the kings and grandees *full moons.* observe at the respective anniversaries of their nativity, inauguration, marriages, &c. These are always accompanied with the most splendid entertainments of music, plays, dancing, and other the like diversions. To these their countryman, often quoted, adds two others not mentioned by any other *Two* author; the one named *Kan-ja*, and the other *Tek-hida*. On *others.* the first the bova, or king, appears abroad, attended with his *Public* whole court, and great multitudes of soldiers and people, and *ones,* blesses the fruits of the earth; and, after the example of the *Chinese* monarchs, from whom this laudable custom probably *and how* came, repairs to a particular spot of ground, where, for the *kept.*

* DAMPIER, BARON, & al. sup. citat.
p. 27. BARON Collect. ubi sup.

* See vol. viii.

greater encouragement of agriculture, which is nothing so well cultivated as in *China*, he puts his hand to a plough ready prepared for that purpose, and drives it over a furrow or two; after which he gives his courtiers a kind of rural treat. This solemnity, which is commonly closed with general rejoicings, is likewise preceded with general fasting and prayers, by way of preparation.

Two other
great festi-
vals

THE other, called *Tek-kida* is kept with the same, or even greater, solemnity and concourse; and is a kind of exorcism, by which they pretend to drive away all the malevolent spirits out of the kingdom. The whole militia, or forces of it, hath a right to assist at the ceremony; but for that very reason the bova, or natural prince, is not suffered, by his chova, or usurper of his crown, to be present at it, lest he should take the opportunity of so vast a number of his military subjects appearing in arms to suppress his tyrannic power, and recover his liberty and regal prerogative.

for the
dead.

THE last kind of festivals worth notice, are those which are observed at the tombs of their ancestors, on the anniversary of their decease; in which they are no less punctual and costly than the *Chinese*; and seem to outvie them in the profusion of meat, which they bring on those occasions to their sepulchres. We shall subjoin the description of one of them from *Dampier**, which was like to have cost him dear, for want of knowing the design and nature of it. He saw, at some distance from him, a kind of square tower, about eight feet broad, and twenty-six in height, surrounded with a

A descrip-
tion of one
from Dam-
pier.

great multitude of people, mostly men and boys. The structure was slight, and covered with thin boards, closely joined together, and painted all over of a dark reddish colour, and had no door on any side to enter into it. Upon his approaching it, and pressing through the crowd, he perceived a great number of stalls reared around the tower, with sheds over them, and separate from each other. Some of them were covered with fruit, particularly fine oranges, nicely packed up in baskets; others with meat, especially pork, cut only into slices, or into quarters; from all which he concluded it to be a market-place. Being at that time very hungry and faint, and observing the joints to be too large for his use (for he reckoned, that the whole might amount to the quantity of 50 or 60 hogs) he came near one of the stalls, and, not understanding their tongue, made signs to one of the persons belonging to it to cut him off a piece of

* DAMPIER, BARON, & 2l.
p. 91, & seq.

* DAMPIER, ub. sup.

of two or three pounds. Upon which he saw himself surrounded by a croud of people, who assaulted and beat him at an unmerciful rate; and it was with great difficulty that his guide, who was a native, got him off, by apprising them of his mistake; after which he was informed, that it was a funeral feast, the tower was the burying-place, and the apparatus of flesh and fruit designed for the entertainment of the dead and living, which he did not stay to partake of, nor to see how it was disposed of.

THEIR other private or domestic festivals, as birth or *Private* wedding-days, &c. are accompanied with other diversions, *ours, born* besides those of eating, drinking, dancing, and music; and *kept.* are commonly concluded, like those of the new and full moons, with some plays, or theatrical representations of sea or land fights, but have seldom above four or five performers of either sex. Their action is just, and their dress splendid. The actresses appear with a kind of mitre, or diadem on their heads, from which flow two large ribbons down to their waist. The dancing and music are regulated by one of the guests, who is complimented with that office, and is not a little proud of it. He beats the time to the actors upon a drum, or brass basson, and is seated on one corner of the stage; and on the opposite side stands an empty arm chair, or throne, for the king. On all kinds of public festivals the nobles are very fond of cock-fightings; a diversion much in vogue at court, *Plays and* and in which they commonly bett very high; and great sums *sports.* are won and lost. They usually conclude with a royal battle, in which the chova's cocks always come off victorious; or perhaps, rather, the victorious cocks gain the title of chovas, or royal cocks*.

THE weddings are not celebrated, among the people of rank, without some of those theatrical diversions; nor among the meaner sort, without something of that nature, though of an inferior kind. Youth of either sex cannot marry without *Weddings,* the consent of their parents; nor of the female sort before *born cele-* the age of 16 or 17. The courtship here, as in *China*, is to *brated.* the parents, and not to the damsels, who never see their spouses till they are led to his house, and delivered up to him; which is not done without great pomp and ceremony, she being accompanied thither by her relations; and those of her husband being likewise invited to partake of the festivity, the men with the men, and the women with the women, in distinct apartments: but we do not find that the priests

* DAMPIER, p. 100, & seq. BARON collect. & al.

have any hand in the ceremony, or share in the marriage feasting, as *Tavernier* affirms.

*Divorce
allowed.*

A MAN may have several wives, but one only is governess over the rest. He hath likewise power to divorce them upon any dislike; but they cannot be divorced from him without his consent. The divorced wife is intitled to carry off all she brought with her, and all that her husband had given her at her marriage; but if she hath had any children by him, she leaves them with him: and this privilege, in favour of the wife, is one main cause why divorces are less frequent here than in other parts of *India*. The divorcial ceremony is per-

*The cere-
mony of it.*

formed by breaking one of the two sticks which he and she did use at table, and sewing the pieces up into two several bags, the one of which he keeps, and gives her the other. He gives her moreover a kind of bill of divorce, in which the particulars of what she is intitled to carry off with her, are mentioned.

*Adultery,
how pu-
nished.*

ADULTERY is severely punished on the wives, though we do not find it so on the husband. The woman, who is fairly convicted of it, is immediately condemned to the elephants; that is, one of those creatures, bred up to that exercise, gives her a toss with his snout, which lays her breathless on the ground; after which he tramples her to death with his feet. Her paramour is likewise capitally punished, though not with so severe a death. As for the inheritance of children, the eldest son commonly carries off the largest share, as being now the master of the family, and endowed with a fatherly authority. The rest he distributes at his pleasure among his brothers and sisters, who are not married, or provided for; and is obliged to maintain and breed them up at home till they are; and commonly the daughters come off with the scantiest share. And thus much may suffice for their religious customs.

*Christiani-
ty intro-
duced into
the king-
dom.*

HITHERTO we have said nothing of christianity, which was planted here ever since the year 1626, by the jesuit *Baldinoty*, and met with such swift success, that the government thought fit to banish him and his colleagues four years after, and to have them conducted to *Ma-kau*. This did not deter the society there from sending three new ones on the very next year, who made such progress amongst those idolaters, that they had made above 80,000 converts among them by the year 1639. A prodigious number, if we may credit their own accounts, considering the small one of the preachers. But this encouraged fresh supplies to come yearly to their assistance, by whose means their converts increased to such a prodigious degree, that they had already built above 200 churches

churches at their own charge, in the several provinces of the kingdom.

THIS surprising success proved, at length, their ruin; and after several dreadful persecutions raised against them, by the government, wherein the intrepidity of their preachers and Neophytes amidst the grievous sufferings, still alarmed it the more; an edict was at length issued out from the king and council *anno* 1721, by which the christian religion was utterly proscribed; the missionaries, and their catechists, and the most considerable of their converts, were imprisoned, and put to sundry tortures and death; others condemned to attend the elephants; a slavery worse than that of the galleys; their churches were all demolished, or turned to profane uses; the profession of christianity were forbidden under the severest penalties; and all the frontiers and avenues ordered to be diligently guarded by the soldiery, to prevent any more *European* preachers ever entering into the *Tonquinese* dominions. All which was so punctually executed, and such care hath been since taken to examine all strangers, and to seize on all suspicious persons, and to convey them, under a strong guard, to the mandarins of the provinces, and thence to the court, that no jesuit, or other missionary, can attempt, under any disguise or pretence, to get admittance into that kingdom, without the utmost hazard of his life.

Proscribed, persecuted, and abolished out of it.

NOT but some of that zealous society, in spite of all these difficulties and dangers, have since ventured, by the assistance of some of their old stanch proselytes, or some other indirect means, to slide into some distant provinces unperceived. We shall have occasion, in the sequel, to give an instance of no less than six of them, who found means, soon after the above-mentioned edict, to penetrate into some of the frontiers in disguise; four of whom were apprehended, and put to death; and the other two have not been heard of since.

THE *Tonquinese*, after many revolutions and changes in their government, of which we shall speak more fully in its proper place, regained their ancient form, under that of their own native natural princes, who were become likewise kings of *Kochinchina*, as well as of this kingdom. They were absolute and independent in both, and committed the administration of both to two prime ministers or generals, with an almost as unlimited authority as their own. A dangerous snare this proved to them, and ended, at length, in an open revolt against their common sovereign. The *Kochinchinese* general, as being at a greater distance from his court, *Their* good first venture to lead the way, and his colleague of *Tong-king* soon after followed his example; and having made him-

self

*overturned
by the
general.*

self master of the royal revenue, as he was already of the forces, seized on his prince's person, and confined him prisoner in his own palace; and, without making any farther attempt upon his life, assumed the whole royal authority into his own hands. From that time the bovas, or rightful sovereigns, have had little else than the name and shadow of royalty; whilst his general, or prime-minister hath engrossed all the power and wealth of the kingdom, excepting only the royal title of bova, which neither he, nor any of his successors have dared to assume, for fear of the people, who still retain an unalterable regard for their natural sovereigns. Upon which account they have thought it more expedient to content themselves with their old title of chova, or generalissimo; though they are not displeased at being complimented with that of king, not only by neighbouring princes, but by the *Europeans* who trade there; though even these, for form sake, have thought fit to fix a kind of difference between them, and to stile the real sovereign emperor, whilst they give that of king to his usurping subject.

*The king
stript of his
power by
the chova.*

THIS is the true state now of that government; the bovas, stript of all their authority, are obliged to lead an indolent life within the cincture of their palace, surrounded continually with a great number of spies, set about them by the chovas, and never stir out of it but once a year, on the grand festival of *Gin-ja*, lately mentioned; when they go to bless the fruits of the earth, and plough some small piece of ground; an office which the chovas have not yet dared to wrest out of their hands, as being held sacred, and the peculiar privilege of the natural monarchs. Another saint branch of the royal prerogative they are still permitted to exercise; viz. the ratifying and confirming all the decrees and ordinances of the chova, and putting their seal to them; all which they are obliged to submit to, be they ever so irregular, or contrary to their inclination; seeing their non-compliance would only endanger the loss of that remaining shadow of royalty, if not of their own lives. This form of government hath now subsisted above 200 years, without any sensible alteration. The bovas still retain the form of royalty, whilst the chovas engross all the revenues, homage, and obedience, of the subjects.

*Kept prisoner
in his
palace.*

*The succession,
how
settled.*

BOTH dignities are hereditary in each of the respective families; but with this difference, that that of the chova descends in a direct line to his eldest son; whereas he can, upon the demise of the bova, not only name which of his children he pleases to succeed him, but can appoint any collateral branch, as a brother, or a nephew of the deceased monarch,

or.

or even a more distant branch, to be his successor, provided he be of the antient royal family of *Li* ⁴.

THE chova's court seems a mere desert, in comparison of *his court* his chovas. He is not allowed any guards, nor retinue, except that of a parcel of spies, which the latter appoints to be about his person; so that the chief diversion and amusement of his life is confined to the company of his wives and children. He is not suffered to be visited by any nobles, or officers of the kingdom, except on the new and full moons, when they are admitted to pay a kind of homage to him, to wish him a prosperous and long life, and a numerous male issue; the failing of which is still looked upon by his subjects as the greatest calamity that can befall them. The chova often accompanies them on these public occasions; and, to all outward appearance, seems to join in the general *festivals* good wishes, and pays him the most profound respect, pretending to take the administration of the public affairs of his dominion, merely to ease him of a heavy burden, unbecoming his royal dignity; all which is looked upon as a mere grimace by the wiser part of the people; who, nevertheless, are extremely careful to conceal their sentiments, for fear of alarming the jealousy of the pretended minister against their real sovereign.

ON the other hand, the chova's palace is perpetually crowded, with not only his own creatures, but with variety of *That of the chova* strangers, *Indians* as well as *Europeans*, who pay their court to him. He hath likewise a numerous guard about him, both of horse and foot, besides 300 elephants, always in readiness to attend him. To this we may add an army of 30,000 *Guards* foot, which keep constant garrison in his metropolis; and another of between 70 or 80,000 more, which are dispersed in other parts of the kingdom; and whose chief officers are obliged to reside, by turns, some part of the year, at court. Besides these, he is attended by all the governors of the several provinces, the mandarins, and other officers of the kingdom; for he alone hath the power of bestowing those *great posts*; so that, from the highest to the lowest, they are all his creatures, and wholly devoted to his service, and very assiduous in paying their court to him, as often as they are permitted to be absent from their respective posts.

EVERY one of the six provinces hath a governor, who hath under him a mandarin, who acts as chief judge over it, *Governors and other officers* in all causes, civil and criminal; and takes care that the laws

* DAMPIER, TAVERNIER, MERINI, HAMILTON, & al. See Recueil de lettre edifiant, vol. 18. p. 122. vol. 24. p. 96, & seq.

of the kingdom be strictly observed. He hath several tribunals under and depending upon him, but there is one superior to them all in every province, which is independent both of him and of the governor, and depends wholly on the council of the chova; the governor judges in chief in all criminal causes, but cannot inflict a capital punishment, till the sentence hath been confirmed by the council above-mentioned.

Laws liable to be corrupted. THE far greater part of their laws are those which they formerly received from the *Chinese*, when they were conquered by them about the middle of the twelfth century. Some few of their ancient ones they retain; and in particular one laudable one, which forbids, under severe penalties, the exposing or drowning of their infants; an inhuman custom which has been with impunity practised in *China* from time immemorial. But upon the whole, we do not find the courts of judicature in *Tong-king* are less liable to corruption than those of their neighbours; and provided a man has but money enough to bribe his judge, he needs not fear going off unpunished let his crime be what it will.

Wife and concubines. THE chova hath commonly a vast number of concubines, but is no haste to marry a wife, lest he should have children by her, and for that reason defers his marriage till the latter end of his life; the reason of which strange policy is, that he is obliged to marry a princess of the royal blood, but is unwilling that the succession to his dignity should return to any of that family, though by a female line, lest it should prove in time a means of excluding his own; and therefore is always succeeded by the first born son of his concubines. However, for decency's sake, he lets that princess above them all, and gives

Queen and children's titles. her the title of *mother of the kingdom*, and shews her the greatest regard as to his lawful wife. The concubine who brings him the first son, is the next in rank, and hath the title of *Dua-bi*, or *excellency*, and her son, as presumptive heir, hath that of *Chu-va*, or *young general*; and the rest of his male children are stiled *Du-kong*, or *excellent men*, and the females *Batuas*, which answers to our title of princesses^a.

Numerous army. HIS army seldom consists of less than 150,000 men, among which are 8 or 10,000 horse; but he can upon any occasion augment it to twice that number. The misfortune is, that they are generally but indifferent soldiers; they march indeed with surprising boldness and speed to the place of rendezvous, and encamp with an elegant regularity, but shew no less reluctance against sieges and engagements; and when obliged to

^a DAMPIER, & al. sup. citat.

either, betray as great an aversion to come out of their intrenchments, as they appeared curious and careful in drawing them, and performing their exercises within them. Any sinister omen, or slight sickness that gets in among them, is sufficient to make the rest abandon their camp and officers, with as much speed as if they had suffered a total defeat. All which is owing, partly to the effeminate character of their generals, who are mostly chosen from among the eunuchs of his court, and partly to the neglect of rewarding and promoting the most deserving, and encouraging military discipline. *Poor soldiers.* Bribery and favour commonly carry the highest posts, *indier.* prejudice of courage and experience; and it is seldom seen that a man is raised to a high post merely by his merit, than which nothing can be more discouraging and prejudicial to the soldiery; so that we need not wonder at their being degenerated into such errant undisciplined cowards, that the chovas, not daring to put any confidence either in their numbers, or in the conduct and valour of their officers, have been glad sometimes to beg the assistance of the *Europeans*, against an enemy inferior to them both in number and strength (G).

As to their naval force, it chiefly consists in a vast number *Shipping.* of flat-bottom barks and vessels of various sizes; sit only to *described.* sail along these coasts, but altogether unfit to venture far on those boisterous seas, or on any long voyages. The largest of these vessels, have no other artillery than a single four pounder mounted on the fore-part: they have no masts, or at the best but one, which they are obliged to take down as often as the wind is against them, or proves a little more boisterous than usual, and have recourse to their oars, which are commonly from 16 to 24. The soldiers are they which row the vessels, and are quite naked, except a piece of black cloth

(G) As a pregnant proof of what we said, concerning the small confidence these chova's place on their numerous soldiery, and other like martial advantages; we shall here insert part of a letter, which one of them wrote to the governor of the *Dutch East-India* company, *Anno 1647*, at which time he was at war with the inhabitants of *Kuwinam*, a nation not far distant from their kingdom.

It was ushered in with this pompous preamble, *I have under my command 300,000 foot, 10,000 horse, 2000 elephants, 30,000 fire-locks, and 1000 pieces of ordnance.* But, after all, this vain boasting, concluded with begging of that illustrious company the assistance of 200 of their men, and three of their ships, to enable him to make head against his powerful enemy (13).

(13) *Relat. of the dutch east india comp. Collect. voy. & al. sup. citat.*

which goes round their middle, and is brought up between their thighs. To be short, those vessels seem rather designed for state than service, except those which transport the soldiers from place to place. These are indeed commonly from 50 to 70 feet in length, and from 10 or 12 in breadth, and their head and stern about the same height, that is, some yards above water; whereas the middle is hardly above two feet and a half above it. They want for neither ornaments of lacquer, carving, or painting, and appear very graceful as they move on they water. The rowers work standing, and keep an exact time with each other; there being always one placed on the deck, who strikes upon a small gong or bell, or on a wooden instrument, before every stroke of the oar.

Manner of rowing.

How laid

THE soldiers who are transported in these vessels, are usually armed with bows, swords, and lances; and when they go upon any considerable expedition, are divided into squadrons, each distinguished by their respective colours (H). When they have ended their expedition, the vessels are immediately dragged on shore, and put up in houses built for that purpose, where they are kept clean and dry. These houses stand about 50 or 60 paces from the river-side; and when the galleys are brought into them, they have a strong rope twisted round the stern of the vessel, and both ends stretched along on each side. Three or 400 soldiers stand ready with it in their hand; and no sooner hear the signal given by the gong, than they drag it with all their might, and quickly get it into his place; after which they return to their land service ^b.

THE soldiery is dispersed, not only through all the sea-ports, but into inland towns and villages, where they keep a constant watch over all that passes in them, in order to keep

^b DAMPIER, & al. sup. citat.

(H) *Dampier* describes one of these *Tonquinse* fleets, which he saw on the river *Cuckao*, and consisted of sixty galleys, each carrying from 16 to 40 soldiers well armed. Their general, named *Ungee Comei*, was a mandarin, appointed by the chova protector of the *English* factory, and inspector of their traffick. He bore the character of a generous man, and had two other

officers under him, each in a separate vessel. They had all their separate flags of distinction. the first yellow, the second blue, the third red or green. They were sent upon some notable expedition up the river, towards the mountains, which proving unsuccessful, occasioned the disgrace of that general (14).

(14) *Dampier* *supplem.* p. 76.

all

all quiet under their inspection. They^a fame they do on all *The roads* the roads, so that no stranger can pass without strict exami-^{carefully} nation, and being sent to the governor under a strong guard, ^{guarded,} unless they can give a very good account of themselves^c. This ^{against je-} vigilance hath been more strictly observed, since the extirpa-^{suits and} tion of the jesuits and their religion, throughout the Ton-^{strangers,} quinese dominions, about the year 1721. It had been at first planted in this kingdom near 100 years before, as we have lately shewn; and propagated, if we may credit these missionaries, with such surprising success, that the government became on many accounts jealous of its progress, and thought it expedient to banish them to *Ma-kau*, anno 1690; and to forbid them, and all others of that society, ever to return into the kingdom under pain of death. This severe edict did ^{who were} not deter that zealous fraternity from sending a fresh supply ^{prescribed} thither, under several disguises, who met with a joyful wel-^{by the} come from their converts, but a most severe one from the ^{laws.} chova, who caused^a a strict search to be made after them; and of those who were discovered, some of them were put to death, and others left to rot in loathsome goals, loaden with irons, and destitute of all help. At the same time orders were sent to have all the roads and avenues strictly guarded, and every stranger to be carefully examined; and, upon the least suspicious appearance of their being christian missionaries, to be immediately sent under a strong guard to ^{Some of} governor of the province, and by him to the king, if found ^{them put to} guilty, in order to be there sentenced to death, and publicly ^{death.} executed. These orders were so exactly observed, accordingly, that of six of these missionaries, who ventured again into kingdom, by several ways and in disguises, four of them were apprehended by the guards of the roads before they had penetrated far into the country, and after nine severe imprisonments, were all four beheaded on the same day and place, on the 12th of *January*, anno 1737^d. What befel the other two we do not learn, nor whether any fresh ones have been sent thither since that time; but it is likely that their ill success, through the extraordinary vigilance of the government, hath cooled their zeal for a while from any further attempt of that nature, unless some commotions or civil wars have happened during that interval, which, by occasioning a slackness in the guards, have given them a fresh invitation.

^c DAMPIER, supplem. p. 77. BARON, & al. ^d Vid. lettr. edifiant. & curieuf. vol. 18. p. 122. & seq. vol. 24. p. 101. & seq.

*Soldiers
keep watch
in the ci-
ties*

*Apt to
grow in-
solvent.*

*A merry
way of
compound-
ing quar-
rels.*

*Severity to
debtors.*

*Inferior
punish-
ment.*

BUT to return to the soldiery, they are the chief watch-men in towns and villages, and more especially in the metropolis, and belong either to the governor or some magistrate, which makes them commonly insolent, and abusive to the people, under pretence of keeping the peace. Their night-weapons are long staves; which they handle with such dexterity, aiming still either at the thigh or leg of their opposers, that they break the bones at one stroke, if they attempt either to resist, or run away. Every street hath a thick rope fastened across, and about breast-high, and a pair of stocks, to which they fasten all refractory persons who walk through them at undue hours, and on the next morning carry them before a magistrate, who right or wrong will acquit the soldier, and condemn the prisoner to some small fine, or a bastonade if he cannot pay the fine, which commonly sinks into the judge's pocket. To complain of injustice would only bring on a severer punishment; so that patience in such cases, is the only safe remedy.

If any difference or quarrel happens to rise so high as to be brought before a magistrate, they have a singular way of terminating it, by condemning the offender to treat the injured person with a quantity of arrack and a fowl, or a small porker, that their feasting merrily together may drown all animosity in the good liquor, and make them good friends again. But if the dispute be about a debt, they often condemn the poor insolvent to a severer punishment, by delivering him up to the creditor's mercy, who detains him under the greatest hardships, of labour, hunger, beating, &c. till the debt is paid. In cases of misdemeanour, the offender is condemned either to wear a heavy clog chained to his leg, or the wooden kanghe^e, or Collar about his neck for a certain time, or undergo a bastonade according to the nature of the crime (I). The bastonade here is given on the bare buttocks,

^e DAMPIER, ubi sup. p. 78, & seq. BARON, & al. ubi sup.
^f De hoc. vid. infra, vol. viii. p.

(I) They have still another kind of Kanghe, or as they call it call it gongo, besides that which we shall describe in our history of China (15); which is a kind of ladder made of bamboes about 10 or 12 feet long, in the center of which the head of the delinquent is fixed, so that he looks like a man that carries a ladder over his shoulders, with his head looking through the rounds. These two kinds of collars are

stocks, the offender lying flat upon his face on the ground, with his breeches drawn down over his hams. The number of strokes is more or less according to the nature of the offence, or the discretion of the magistrate, but the violence of it is often mitigated by a bribe timely applied, either to him or to the executioner. Theft is not deemed capital among them, but, according to the nature of it, is punished with the amputation of a joint, if a small one, or of a whole limb if considerable, or attended with any aggravation. The last *Against burning of* corporal punishment worth mentioning, is that of those who *houses.* are suspected to have set fire to houses, either wilfully or through negligence; and as it is very difficult for the master of the house where the fire happens, to clear himself of being guilty of it in one sense or the other; he is condemned to be exalted in a chair 12 or 14 feet high, reared up before the place where the burned house stood, with his head bare in the scorching sun three or more days, as the offence is thought to be owing to wilfulness or neglect ².

WE have already observed, that sentence on a capital delinquent cannot be executed, till it hath been ratified by the chova. Murder is punished with beheading, and as they have *Murder* here no set places of execution; as soon as the criminal's con- *how pu-* demnation is confirmed, he is led either to the place where *nished.* the fact was committed, or else before his own house, and seated upon the ground with his face towards it, and his legs stretched out at full length. The executioner comes behind *Manner of* him with a naked scymetar, and with a back stroke severs his *beheading.* head at one blow from his body, with such dexterity that it falls plum into his lap, whilst his body falls backwards on the ground. If there are more criminals than one, each hath his own executioner, who go first to the prison, and view the person whom they are to behead. When they are come to the place appointed, each of them stands behind his criminal, whilst the chova's ratification is read to them, soon after which the signal being given by the presiding mandarin, the

² DAMPIER, ubi sup. p. 79. BARON, & al. ubi sup.

indeed but a slight punishment, if worn only some few hours or a whole day, but becomes almost intolerable, when the offender is condemned to wear them a month or two, or even longer; especially if, instead of being permitted to go abroad where they will, as some are permitted to do, they are confined in a goal, kept to short allowance, and often cruelly bastonaded, as is frequently the case (16).

strokes are given all at once; and the bodies are left exposed to the public view, till some charitable person thinks fit to bury them. This was at least the manner in which the four jefuits lately mentioned, were beheaded before a numerous concourse of converts and others ^b.

*Court
eunuchs
the mini-
sters and
officers of
the realm.*

How adultery is punished amongst them we have already shewn ⁱ; we do not find that they have any of those cruel punishments as are practised in some parts of *India*, and especially among the *Chinefe* ⁱ; and are so far from obliging criminals to dispatch themselves, that a good round bribe, properly applied, often procures the greatest offender either an indemnity, or a mitigation of punishment; so that few, except the poorer sort, are ever condemned to a capital one ^m. The truth is, that all those civil officers, as well as those of the military kind, are chosen from among the eunuchs of the chova's court, and are all so greedy of gain, that there is no extortion nor corruption they will not stoop to, for the sake of it. And there is hardly a governor, judge, or magistrate, but what must be of that class, to attain any post, either in the army or government. Insomuch that many an ambitious man hath been forced to submit to the loss of his virility, in order to raise himself in the one or the other, though they had wives and children of their own; and were so far advanced in years, as to make such an operation appear of the utmost hazard, both to their own lives, and the welfare of their family (K). From which one may reasonably infer,

*Are mostly
great op-
pressors of
the people.*

^b See lettres edifi.cant, vol. 24. pag. 145, & seq. Vid. & DAMPIER, & al. sup. citat. ⁱ Before, p. 482. ⁱ See the next vol. pag. 171. ^m DAMPIER, ubi sup. p. 81. & seq.

(K) But here we must observe to our readers by-the-by, that however dangerous and dreadful castration at such an advanced age may appear to us in this cold climate, it hath been so long in vogue amongst them, as being the only way to preferment, that the operators are become very dextrous in it, and can perform it on persons of all ages and constitutions, without such ill consequences to them.

They are indeed extremely careful to conceal their method from the rest of the world, and especially from strangers; but one caution used by them our author hath discovered (17), which we may justly wonder was never introduced amongst us, in the practice of surgery, especially in cases of amputations, cutting for the stone, and such-like. Which is that they never attempt to perform theirs,

infer, that nothing less than an unconquerable ambition or avarice would induce them to procure preferment at so dear a rate. So that we need not to marvel at the horrid extortions or injustice they exercise on the people, when they have once obtained it ^a.

THERE is still a more crying abuse in vogue among the mandarinal and magistracy, by which they screen themselves from being called to an account for their ill practices. It hath been an old custom in this kingdom to adopt children of either sex into rich families; and these, when once adopted, have a right to inherit equal to that of natural children. But this hath been so far abused in time, that these griping magistrates make it their first business, when raised to an office, to get themselves adopted at any rate, by some favourite grandee of the kingdom, by whom they are sure to be so well protected, that no one hardly dares to prefer any complaint against them, let their conduct give ever so much occasion for it. And this it is that enables them to live splendidly, as well as securely, on the plunder of the people. The only danger is lest their protector die, or should be disgraced at court, for then they commonly follow his fate; all their misconduct is brought to light, and their punishment is sure to fall the heavier upon them for having been so long suppressed ^o. *Baron* tells us, that he obtained, by a considerable sum; the favour of being adopted by the eldest son of the chova; which however proved of no service to him, that young prince being soon after deprived of his reason by a malignant fever ^p.

ONE main motive why all the court preferments are chiefly bestowed on eunuchs, is because the king becomes heir of all their ill-gotten wealth after their death; there being but little money in the kingdom, but falls into the claws of those harpies; so that they are in some sense no better than sponges to him, by whose means he gets it all in time into his own coffers, leaving only such small part, as he

^a DAMPIER, ubi sup. p. 81. & seq. ^o CHEVRIER, Tunkin. p. 27, & seq. ^p Collect. of voy. ub. sup.

till they have laid their patient into a profound sleep by a proper dose of opium, which freeing him at once both from the dread and anguish which otherwise attends the operation, and allowing nature a good many hours repose after it, prevents those fevers, inflammations, and other ill consequences, which commonly follow those that are practised among us, and by that means procures him an easier and more speedy cure.

thinks

*and hated
by the peo-
ple.*

thinks fit to be distributed among his relations ⁹. On this account it is, that they are suffered to bear such an extraordinary sway at court, that the palace gates are opened at all hours to them. They are the persons who present all the requests and petitions from the inferior ministers to the chova, and answer them in his name; after they have represented the case more or less favourably to him, according as they have been, or expected to be, well paid for their good offices. They are the persons who are usually sent upon public embassies, or employed in private negotiations; and in a word, who ingross the king's confidence, and all the means of amassing wealth by the oppression of the people, and are the most hated and dreaded by them ¹. Yet in spite of this general depravity, their history furnishes us with instances of some of them, who have possessed the highest posts both civil and military; and in both have given the greatest marks of consummate bravery, wisdom, and integrity, and whose virtues are revered to this day. But these have been so few and scarce, in comparison to those of the opposite character, that their memory seems only to be preserved to render the vices and oppressions of these more hateful and detested; especially considering with what heavy taxes, the common people are already laden by their arbitrary prince, and how cruelly those are treated who have it not in their power to pay him.

*The sub-
jects bea-
rily taxed.*

*Subject to
other hard
duties.*

EVERY subject above the age of 18, is obliged to pay the chova a kind of land-tax, greater or less according to his circumstances, and the fertility of his lands; from which however, all the princes of the royal blood, all the civil and military officers, and the literati are exempt; so that the whole burden falls upon the labouring part. This tax is commonly paid in kind twice a year, or soon after the two harvests; and even where the land chances to be naturally barren, the unhappy inhabitants are not exempt from furnishing a certain quantity of grass or herbage for the nourishment of the king's elephants and horses, as well as those of his cavalry; all which his subjects are obliged to convey to the royal magazines at *Chacaw*, let their dwelling be at ever so great distance from that capital. Over and above this, they are bound to a yearly *veckan* or average, which consists in mending the highways, repairing the ramparts of towns and fortresses, the royal palaces, and other public structures; even the tradesmen and artificers are obliged to bear their share in these public works, which lasts six months in the year, either in per-

⁹ DAMPIER, ubi sup. p. 85.
citat.

¹ DAMPIER, &c. al. sup.

son, or by hiring a substitute; and all this without any other salary than their bare maintenance, and sometimes even without that; it being wholly in the chova's option either to grant or refuse it to them. Such is the excessive power of those usurpers, and such the miserable thralldom of their vassals; whilst their bova's or natural princes are condemned to an obscure and inactive confinement, with the bare shadow of the royal dignity *. Every governor of a province, and every *Oaths taken to the chova once a year.* mandarin, magistrate, and officer of the kingdom, is obliged once a year to renew their oath of allegiance to the chova, in a most public manner. This ceremony is performed by cutting the throat of a fowl, and receiving the blood in a basin that is filled with arrac. This done, every one in their turn having repeated aloud his profession of loyalty, drinks a small glass full of the arrac; and this, among them, is esteemed one of the most solemn and obligatory ceremonies, by which they can bind themselves; and is for that reason frequently used upon divers other occasions, either of a public or private nature; and even the females must submit to it, whenever their fidelity becomes suspected by their husband: but whether with the same efficacy that the waters of jealousy had among the *Jews*, we will not affirm †.

UPON the demise of the chova, all the chief officers and *Inauguration of the new ones.* ministers of state repair to the royal palace, where they raise his successor in a *Chinese* habit, mount him upon an elephant richly caparisoned, and bring him into one of the public courts, where they have erected a throne under a stately pavilion, and having placed him upon it, fall prostrate upon their faces and pay their first homage to him; which done, they stand up, and, with their uplifted hands and arms, promise to be faithful to him, till death. In return to which, the new king causes a certain number of wedges of gold and silver to be distributed to them, according to their respective ranks; upon which he is solemnly proclaimed by the fire of the artillery, the sound of the drums, and other acclamations. Thirty thousand horse and foot are drawn up in the neighbouring plain, to which he is conveyed in a rich palanquin, carried by eight military mandarins, and eight lords of the council; the grand chancellor riding before him in state, attended by the general and other officers richly mounted; and after having received the usual acclamations, is thence conducted to his predecessor's apartment. Here every one retires for a

* DAMPIER, & al. sup. citat. † De his, vide ancient hist. vol. 3. p. 137. & seq. & not. (D). DAMPIER, ubi sup. p. 83.

*Largesses
to his no-
bles and
subjects.*

while, to make way for the princesses of the blood and other ladies, who come to congratulate him and kiss his hands. As soon as they are retired, the nobility returns, and the rest of the day is spent in banqueting, music, and dancing. On the next day the soldiery is drawn up as before in the same plain, to which the king is carried by the same noble officers, and with the same retinue; and as soon as he is arrived, he mounts one of his large elephants of war, and rides to the center of the army, where all the officers come to take the oaths to him, and are likewise presented with some ingots of gold and silver, and other largesses, according to their rank; the meanest soldiers having a month's pay given to them, and the subalterns in proportion. After the usual shouts and firing of the musquetry, the king retires to a wooden palace reared for the purpose, finely gilt and painted, where the rest of the day is spent in feasting, fire-works, and other diversions, himself beholding them from the balcony on the top. On the following day, the same retinue carry him, with the same state, to his throne in the center of the camp; soon after which the soldiers set fire to the wooden structure, whilst he is rewarding those who have assisted or borne a part in the rejoicings. Two commissioners appointed, the one by the merchants, and the other by the handicrafts of the kingdom, address him with a loyal congratulatory speech; who are also presented with 50 wedges of gold and 100 of silver. The rest of the festivity, which lasts in all about a week, is adjourned to his capital to which he is re-conducted as before. Hither the deputies of the provinces repair in their turns, and with the usual homages; to whom, among other royal favours, he notifies a free remission of all taxes for one year; excepting only to such, as have been formerly guilty of rebelling against any of his predecessors, to whom he remits only one half year. He likewise engages to pay one half of his subjects debts, provided the creditors will compound with his president of the council for the other half; which is generally complied with.

WE omit, for the sake of brevity, several other superstitious customs, the hecatombs of various kinds of victims, and other delicious esculents, which are daily offered during the festivity; one half of which is given to the hungry priests, and the rest to the indigent laity; the juggling tricks and auguries by which they flatter him with a long and prosperous reign, and many more of the like heathenish nature,

" DAMPIER, MARINI, TAVERNIER, BARON, & al. sup. citat.

which

which are observed on these occasions by those new monarchs, to give our readers a brief account of the funeral honours they *Funeral* pay to the deceased one. And in this respect, one shall hardly *obsequies.* find a nation in the world that equals them in profusion and magnificence. It would take up more pages, than in a work like this we can allow it lines, to describe one half of the length, variety, and grandeur which are observed, not only by the new king and his whole court, but by all his subjects without exception, in every part of the kingdom. We shall therefore content ourselves with mentioning some of the most remarkable, striking, and proper to give them a general idea of the rest; as the embalming the body with the most costly gums, arraying it in the most sumptuous attire, and exposing *Rich at-* it to view in a rich room of state, during the space of *tire.* 65 days, to receive the funeral homages of his whole court, *Homages;* officers of provinces both civil and military; and lastly of the rest of his subjects, to whom access is equally permitted during the space of 10 more days; and the serving him every day with variety of meats, in the same manner as when he was alive, during the whole time, which when taken away are given to the priests and the poor; and the suspending all rejoicings during the whole time, excepting only those of the new king's inauguration. These are some of the mournful ceremonies preceding his interment; all which are performed with the utmost decency and splendor; the generalissimo having from the first day after the king's demise settled the whole ceremonial, and prescribed to every mandarin and officer their several mournings, and times of waiting and respective duties.

THREE large bells, hung in one of the towers of the palace, keep tolling incessantly night and day; and all the regal insignia of the deepest mourning are every-where displayed. The king *Mourning.* himself, and all his nobles, after his inauguration is over, appearing in a coarse cotton habit of a purple colour, and with straw bonnets on their heads, attended with the royal family of both sexes; the ladies in white silks, and the lords much in the same dress with the king, repair often in a day to the room of state to pay their mournful devoirs to the corps, by deep prostrations, burning of perfumes, and other tokens of respectful grief. All this while the roads and lanes, through which the funeral procession is to pass, are preparing, from the palace to the dock where the royal galley rides, which is *Interment.* to receive his body, which is about two days journey, and are lined on both sides with purple calico, which when the ceremony is over is given to the bonzas.

THE king, the princes, and princesses of the blood, and all the nobles, mandarins, and officers civil and military, in
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the drefs above-mentioned, attend the funeral proceffion on foot all the way, which lafts 17 days, in the following order. Two ufhers of the bed-chamber proceed with their maces, and proclaim the king's titles all the way. Next follow 12 chief officers of the galley which is to receive the corps. Then come the officers of the court, each according to their rank, preceded by the mafter of the horfe. Next to them come twelve of the king's horfes, their bridles, saddles, and other furniture, adorned with the richeft embroidery of gold and silver, each led by two court pages. Thefe are followed by twelve elephants, the four firft carrying each a ftandard-bearer, with their colours difplayed; the four next have towers on their backs; on each of them are placed a number of mufketeers, armed with their fire-locks and accoutrements; the four laft, which are thofe which the deceafed king ufed to ride on when he went to war, carry each a different cage, fuch as he ufed to fit in, one with glafs windows; another like a lattice, and all of them with different roofs exquisitely wrought. Then come the eight ftags which draw the royal hearfe, each led by an officer of the king's guards. The new king marches next with his brother, if he hath one, furrounded by a band of muficians; and followed by fix princeffes, carrying various meats and drinks for the deceafed, and attended each by two ladies, and another band of mufic. Next follow the four governors of the provinces, with ftaves on the fhoulders, to which hangs a bag of gold, and another with perfumes, which are the prefents of thefe provinces to their deceafed king, and are to ferve him in the next world. Next come two large chariots drawn by eight horfes, and led by eight men, in which are coffers full of gold and filver, and other valuables for the fame end. The whole is clofed up with the reft of the king's officers, and multitudes of his fubjects.

Proceffion.

Grave in a defart unknown.

WE omit the many fuperftitions and other ceremonies, that are performed every day, and at every ftation of their march. When the proceffion is arrived at the dock, it is conveyed with a mournful pomp into the galley, attended by the twelve officers above-mentioned. Immediately after which the whole proceffion returns back, whilft the vefTel is drawn up the river a confiderable way, till it comes to a defart country, where the body is taken out, and conveyed into fome place by only fix faithful eunuchs, who have the care of interring it, and are fworn never to difcover the place where it is deposite. We are told farther, that befides the gold and other fupposed neceffaries above-mentioned; fome nobles and courtiers of both fexes ufed to be interred with him, in order to

attend

attended him in the other world. Which inhuman custom, tho' still practised in other parts, hath been a long while set aside in this kingdom.

FATHER *Marini*, who hath given the public a long de- *Some far-*
scription of the funeral obsequies of king *Ta-tha-ty-tuong*, *ther ac-*
who died *anno* 1675, adds many other curious circumstances *count from*
which attended his interment, besides those we have men- *Marini.*
tioned above *; particularly some stately pageants which pre-
ceded the procession, a sketch of which the reader may see in
the margin (M). He describes the royal galley as most sumptu-
ously gilt, the sails and streamers of cloth of gold; and
adds, that when the corps was conveyed into it, by the sound
of all the musical instruments, and fire of the artillery and
small arms which attended it, the new king and all the royal
family stood with their feet in the river above their ancles,

* *MARINI* relat de Tonquin, cap. 15.

(M) The first thing, he says, that was seen coming out of the royal pace, was a square column 60 spans high and six in diameter, seated on a pedestal, and drawn by men, upon wheels, so artfully disposed that the machine kept still upright, as if it had been fixed on the ground, never leaning either on the one side or other all the way it went. The body of the column was covered with a rich silk, on which were read, in gold and silver characters, the names, age, actions, &c. of the deceased.

This was followed by another machine or large car, upon which was carved in relief a city, with all the walls, bulwarks, and other fortifications; the greatest part of it finely gilt.

The third was another car, equally sumptuous, on which stood a magnificent throne, the chief materials of which were

of gold and ivory, and on it were reposed the regalia of the dead king. These were attended by bands of musicians, who played a mournful march upon a great variety of instruments, and instead of songs filled the air with cries and sighs: after whom followed the funeral procession above-mentioned. He adds, that only three of the chief eunuchs were intrusted with the place of his interment, and that they bound themselves by the most solemn oaths that no one besides should ever know it (20). But as it is almost incredible, that three, or even six of these noble eunuchs, should be able to transport the corps, with all its other riches, from the galley into the desert, in order to convey it thus privately into the ground; it is most likely that they take a sufficient number of slaves to perform that office, whom they quickly after cause to be put to death:

(20) *Marini* relat. de Tonquin, cap. 15. *vid. & la Martinier, dict. sup.*
200.

and did not retire till the galley was got out of sight; upon which account the rowers were ordered by the captain to row with all their might, till they had lost sight of them; after which they slackened their oars, and proceeded more leisurely up the river.

*Attended
with a
magnifi-
cent in-
stance of
filial piety.*

THESE obsequies, magnificent as they were, being little more than what was performed by his predecessors, appeared too inconsiderable to the new king to shew the filial respect he bore to his father, unless he erected some trophy to his memory, which should outdo all those that had gone before him. To this purpose he chose a small island on the river, about three miles long, and six or seven in compass, on which he caused the representation of a new city, and two stately palaces, to be reared upon the sand, adorned with variety of trophies, and four superb gates, pointing to the four points. An innumerable multitude of volunteers were employed in the work, till the end of December following, that is, near six months. The gates, walls, towers, trophies, statues, and other ornaments, were made of the richest materials, and adorned with the representation of the actions of the late king. The palaces, thrones, beds, and other furniture, were still more stately and superb. Other embellishments, which are too numerous to be particularly mentioned, though all of them answerable to the grand design (N), we willingly omit to come at the catastrophe of it, which was answerable to, and plainly shews, the reigning superstitious notion of these people concerning the state of the dead in the other world.

*A city
built for
his decess-
ed father.*

ON

(N) To give our reader a notion of these structures, which on the inside were only supported by beams and rafters, but without were covered with variety of the richest silks and stuffs, and adorned with the most curious representations of armies, horses, elephants, battles, &c. of most exquisite workmanship, and gold, silver, and other rich materials, we shall only instance in one of the principal columns, which adorned this mock city, on the south side of it. It was of an extraordinary height and bigness, and stood upon a stately pedestal, of a proportionable

size, covered with plated gold, finely wrought. On the top of the column were fixed three large globes of the same metal, placed one over the other, and curiously burnished and wrought: the column itself was covered all over with cloth of gold, adorned with great variety of figures, and other embellishments of massive gold and silver, and characters pierced through, which recorded the most glorious actions of the deceased. On the sides of it, stood the figures of two giants of a large size, each holding a bow and arrows in his hand. About the middle of the city were placed

ON the 29th of the month, accordingly, when every thing *Ceremony* was ready for the grand ceremony, and the new city *every- of conse-* where filled with a sufficient number of men, to perform their *crating it* stated part within it, 30,000 armed men marched towards it *for him in* in the dead of night, clad in mourning, and invested the *the other* place on the four sides; and on the next morning, the king, *world.* queen, and royal family, attended by a numerous court, appeared at the head of a guard of 4000 men, with silver hilted swords, and approached towards the principal tower, and knocked at the gates; upon which a youth began in a mournful tone to sing a song, as if directed to the master of the tower, supposed to be in it, and within the hearing of him, to the following purport. There is a report that a certain mighty monarch, who had lately left this world to go and enjoy the immortality of the other, was become a mere solitary and forlorn person in a strange country, without guards, soldiers, horses, or elephants to defend him, without a palace to live in, or equipage to support his royalty: that the renown of this magnificent edifice had brought them thither, and that if he would agree to part with it to him, they were ready to grant whatever he should ask.

THE song being ended, the supposed master within the tower made answer, that the city having been built for the great king he spoke of, he consented that it should be sold to him, provided the other three that dwelt with him in it, did agree to it. Upon which the king's three brothers went to the other three gates, and performed the same ceremony; which being ended, the town was delivered up to the king, who marched immediately to the royal palace, and was saluted by a discharge of the whole artillery, and attended thither by his whole court. Being arrived at the great hall of obsequies, he heard upon his bended knees the acts of his deceased father read to him, as did also his brothers, and others of the royal blood; 4000 mandarins of his retinue remaining prostrate all the while upon their faces. The ceremony was closed by the sound of a great variety of instruments; during which the ambassadors of three of his tribu-

placed 21 towers, made much fine materials and workmanship. in the same manner as the columns, and of the same rich materials; one of which stood The reader may guess by this after the center of all the rest, sketch at the magnificence of the rest: those who are desirous to know more of it, may see and was the most beautiful and the whole described by the author elegant, both for its height, and above quoted (22).

(22) *Marini relat. de Tonquin*, 1b. 15.

taries, came to pay their compliments of condolence, and to offer the usual presents of gold, silver, perfumes, &c. to the deceased.

THE king and court returned home to their own palace; and about eight of the clock at night, the hour on which the late king died, the whole city and all its edifices were set on fire; the soldiers guarding all the avenues, lest any thing should be saved from the flames; it being a received notion, that nothing is re-paid to the dead in the other world, but what has been reduced to ashes in this. As for the gold, silver, and other things which remained unconsumed, the king ordered one part to be given to the soldiers, and the rest to his inferior courtiers and officers. Such was the end of that stupendous piece of machinery, which is computed to have cost that monarch about a million of gold *. Which immense expence the young king put himself to, to procure his deceased father a fine well-built city, with two or three stately palaces, all enriched with the costliest and noblest insignia of royalty; and all this long and pompous ceremony was performed, in order to consecrate and secure all the benefits and advantages of it to him in the other world.

Set on fire for that end.
The origin, &c. of the Tonquinese, very obscure.
WE come in the last place to give our readers the best account we can find of the origin, antiquity, and history of the *Tonquinese*; but herein we shall be obliged to be very concise, for want of proper records; they being wholly ignorant of the art of writing, till they learned it from the *Chinese* four or five centuries ago, at farthest: so that whatever they have ventured to commit to writing, since they have had the use of their characters, concerning the history of former ages, appears to be no other than a heap of old uncertain traditions, intermixed with fable, which rather cast an impenetrable obscurity on the origin and antiquity of their nation and monarchy. There is, however, no room to doubt of the antiquity of both, though we have no authentic records, either of theirs, or any other nation, to prove it by.

The account of the Tonquinese, et. m.
IF we may indeed believe those of the *Chinese* (for we have already shewn that they are a different people from them †), the *Tonquinese* formed a kind of republic under their own ethnarchs, such as were those of the *Philistines*, and other *Canaanitish* nations, in those early times ‡; until the year 1956 after the flood, when being oppressed with a grievous famine, occasioned by a three years continued drought, they sent an embassy to the *Chinese* monarch, who then was stiled the son of heaven, and the father of the seasons, in hopes

* MARINI ubi sup. † See before, p. 466. ‡ De his vid. his ancient hist. vol. ii. p. 219, & seq. & alib. pass. that

that he would open the windows of heaven, and send them the so much desired supply of rain, to restore to their lands their pristine fertility. They had accompanied their embassy with very sumptuous presents; which, however, that monarch's uncle and prime minister rejected, together with their petition, under pretence that a nation which was tributary to the *Chinese* empire, and had refused to pay the usual homage to its monarchs, did not deserve that they should interest themselves in its behalf, and sent them away without any audience from the emperor. But this fact is contradicted, by the *contra-*annals which *Tonquinese* pretend to have ever since the year *dicted by* of the world 3612; but of what authority is easy to judge, *their own*. if they had not the use of writing till near 2000 years after.

NEITHER would we confide too much in the account *Both of* which the *Chinese* annals give of them, or any other neighbouring nations, whom they call by no better names than *small au-* *thority*. *Manfos* or *barbarians* ^a; and sometimes *Kao-ce* ^b, or *distorted feet*, from a blemish they observe in that part, in common with most *Indian* nations, whose great toe seems as distended at some distance from the rest (O); an eye-sore from which themselves are wholly free. On this account, as well as some other resemblance they bear in their shapes, complexion, and customs, they are supposed by the generality of writers to be of *Indian* extract; but of what tribe or family of them, is hard to guess. As for themselves, they call their country *Ang-nam*, which signifies *Eastern rest*, and *Tong- Their va-* *king*, or *Eastern court*. They likewise affect to call their *rious* kingdom *Day-viet*, which in their language is equivalent to *names*. that of *Day-mynh*, which signifies a kingdom of brightness, *Probably* and is one of those which the *Chinese* give to their own, *extra-* *of India* clusive of all others ^c. Upon which account, most likely, *extra*.

^a BARON in collect. voyag.
 sup.

^b Id. *ibid.* & al. ubi

^c MARINI ubi sup. ch. 1.

(O) This might probably enough be occasioned by the thick wooden sandals they are forced to wear in those hot climes, to save their feet from the burning sands, and which are fastened to the foot by a single button at the end, and which is high enough to come between the great toe and that which is next to it, which in

process of time distends them a great way asunder. Our readers have doubtless seen such shoes, among other curiosities and garments brought hither from those parts, amongst the curious; and may have perhaps observed, that any other ligament but that would be apt to fret, and in time excoriate, the instep

they

Early conquered by the Chinese. they give the *Tonquinese* the nick-name of *Xic-qui* or devils^a; they being, it seems, remarkable above all other *Indians* for the redness of their lips, occasioned by their constant chewing of betel. However it is not improbable, that the name of *Tong-king* was given to this kingdom by the *Chinese* monarchs, when they had reduced it into a province of their empire, and had extended their conquests as far as that of *Siam*, which was then their chief residence†: for in that sense only could it be stiled by them their *Tong-king*, or *Eastern court*, for it then lay eastward of them; whereas since they abandoned their conquests, and retired to their old dominions, it lies south and south-west from them.

Their first monarchy. HOWEVER that be, it doth not appear to have taken the form of a monarchical government, till the son or nephew of *Shin-nong*, the second emperor of *China* (P), made himself master of that country, which we may suppose was not over-peopled so soon after the flood, nor sufficiently civilized to make head against his superior force.

Impatient under the yoke. HOWEVER, this was no other than a mere reducing them from their republican, or ethnarchical government, to the yoke of a foreign prince; and so ill did they brook their subjection, that it was with the greatest difficulty and condescension to their intractable temper, that he by degrees brought them to live contented under it. He complied as

† See before, vol. vii. p. 282, & (B). ^d MARINI, BARON, DAMPIER, & al.

(P) The *Tong-kingese*, we are told (23), gave that emperor the name of *Tban-now*, which in their language signifies the inventor of the plough or agriculture; which invention is ascribed by the *Chinese* annals to *Shin-nong*, the immediate successor of *Fubi* (24). Hence our author supposes this conquest of *Tong-king* to have happened in his reign; but we have formerly shewn, that even *China* itself could not be so populous at that early time; as to be able to want such conquests, and enlarge their dominions, so far beyond the narrow limits of their infant empire (25). If

there be therefore any dependence on those records, we would at least put off this conquest to the reign of *Sbun*, the ninth emperor, whom *Yaru* took partner, and appointed his successor, in the empire, on account of his singular skill in agriculture; and who accordingly made such vast improvements in, and gave such great encouragements to it, that a feast was instituted in honour of him, and hath been observed ever since by all the *Chinese* emperors (26); and even this is as early as we can suppose that conquest to have happened.

(23) Marini ubi sup. cb. 2. (24) See hereafter, vol. viii. p. (25) See Ant. Hist. v. l. 22. p. 110. & seq. (26) See hereafter, vol. viii. p.

much as possible with their manners, that he might bring them over to his own: he changed his own and his wives *Chinese* names for *Tonquinese* ones, and added to his own the title of *Wong*, or king. By these means he at length brought them to acknowledge him for their sovereign, and left the crown to his son.

THE succession passed in his family through a number of *Subdued* generations; how many we are not told; till one of the *afresh*. *Chinese* monarchs resolved to subdue it, on some disgust, under his own dominion, under pretence, that it had been formerly a province of it. The army he sent against them was numerous, and commanded by 12 of his bravest and most experienced generals, whose arrival was attended by a long and bloody opposition, in which the *Tonquinese* fought with no less zeal for their kings, than bravery against the invaders; but were at length obliged to yield to the superior force and skill of the enemy. The 12 captains had no sooner reduced them, than they agreed to divide the kingdom into 12 provinces, and to assume each the government of them, with *Divided into 12 kingdoms.* the title of king.

THIS new divided government had not long continued in that form, before a young man, a native of one of these 12 provinces, a person of no higher rank than that of a poor *A shepherd* shepherd, found means to overturn it, and to restore his *recovers* whole country to its pristine liberty; for which signal and *their li-* heroic service he was raised to the throne, by the universal *erty.* vote of his countrymen, and became the worthy head of a new monarchy. This young prince had scarcely held the scepter ten years, before the *Chinese* monarch then reigning *Assassi-* caused him to be assassinated, and reduced that kingdom once *nated.* more under his yoke. From that time their records speak of nothing but new and frequent revolutions, for the space of several centuries successively; one while the *Chinese* tyrannising over them; another while the natives bravely shaking off *Various* the yoke, driving those invaders out of their dominions, re- *Revolu-* storing their antient form of government, living under the *tions.* protection of their own princes, whom they elected from amongst their own countrymen; and as frequently, from their natural inconstancy, deposing them, and electing new ones in their room^f. This is the best account which our author could meet with in the records of those remote times; which agree so far well enough with the *Chinese* annals, which represent their monarchy as in a most flourishing state, and in its largest extent, during the space of

^f MARINI ubi sup. ch. 2.

Conquered by the Chinese. 400 or 500 years before Christ, as our readers may see in the account we give during that epocha^s; not to mention what we shall have occasion to observe in the next volume, concerning the vast advantages which this monarchy had over all other nation, with respect to power, wealth, arts, sciences, &c. from the earliest ages after the flood, down to the epocha above-mentioned ^h.

This first monarch, according to Baron. BUT if their countryman *Baron* may be believed, he tells us, that the first king mentioned by the *Tonquinese* records, was named *Ding*, and reigned there about 200 years before Christ; he was, according to them, raised to the supreme power by a troop of banditti. The circumstances relating to this revolution are variously related by the *Tonquinese* writers; but all agree that he was massacred by his subjects, on account of his insupportable tyranny. His death was followed by a long and bloody series of wars; which, had they continued much longer, would have quite ruined and depopulated the kingdom; but ended at length in the election of

And first subjection to China. a new king, named *Le-day-han*; in whose reign, the *Chinese*, taking advantage of the dismal state the country was reduced to, entered it with a powerful army: and this, says our author ⁱ, is the first time, that any *Chinese* are mentioned in their annals to have invaded their dominions. Though, from what we have lately observed, it is more than probable that they had made several descents into it long before that time. However that be, they all agree that they over-ran the whole kingdom, in the reign of the above-mentioned *Le-day-han* who being a martial prince, repulsed them with great bravery and success, and gave them several overthrows, without being able to drive them out of sundry strong holds and passes, which they had made themselves masters of.

Second king elected. BUT after his death, the *Tonquinese* elected a new one, named *Ly-bal-vie*; an old experienced general, a man famed for his conduct and intrepid bravery; who having defeated them in several fierce engagements, had at length the fortune and glory of driving the rest out of his dominions. The crown continued in his family during five or six generations; and descended at last, for want of male heirs, on an only daughter; who the better to secure it to herself, married a young nobleman of a considerable family, and took him partner of her throne. But the preference she shewed him, quickly raised the envy of another grandee, named *Ho*, who fell into open rebellion against her; and having defeated

^s See before Ancient Hist. vol. xx. p. & seq. ^h Vid. infra, vol. viii. p. 326. ⁱ Collect. voy. ubi sup.

her husband in a set battle, seized upon the crown, and caused *The new* the princess and her spouse to be put to death. This horrid *usurpation* deed was followed by so many others of the like bloody and *of Ho,* tyrannic nature, that he became detested by the whole nation. They unanimously resolved to rid themselves of such a monster; but not being able to cope with him, unfortunately agreed to call in the *Chinese* to their assistance. These readily *ended by* embraced the opportunity of re-entering into *Tong-king,* and *the murder* came accordingly with a very formidable army; which had no *of Ho,* sooner freed them from their old yoke, than they clapped a new *and the* and heavier one upon them; and, instead of deliverers, became *calling in* their lords and masters. The usurper was indeed destroyed, *of the* but the *Tonquinese* only exchanged one slavery for another; and were again reduced to the necessity of receiving a viceroy from their new lords, who quickly overturned their old form *Chinese;* of government, and forced them to submit to the laws and *who reduce* customs of the *Chinese.* *them under* *their yoke.*

It was not long however, before their natural inconstancy, and impatience under a foreign power, roused them up to an open revolt, and, at all hazards, to make a brave attempt for the recovery of their liberty, and the total extirpation of their *Chinese* tyrants. They accordingly appeared in arms, *A young* under the conduct of an officer of known intrepidity, named *Ly* *shepherd* or *Li,* whom they chose for their head. This noble enterprise *restores* succeeded to their wish under him. He caused all the *Chinese* *their li-* forces to be put to the sword, not exempting even the *Chinese* *bertry.* viceroy from the common massacre; whilst the emperor, his master, by the *Tonquinese* records, named *Humveon,* was wholly taken up at home with quelling the civil wars, which reigned in several parts of the empire, and in no condition to assist, much less to revenge the indignity offered to his substitute. *Ly,* taking the advantage of the present favourable juncture, easily forced that monarch to a disadvantageous *Forces the* peace, and got himself crowned and acknowledged king of *Chinese* *Tong-king,* upon the easy terms of owning himself tributary, *to a peace.* and paying every three years a small tribute and homage to *Becomes* *tributary.* him.

THIS treaty, which was concluded and signed, *A. D.* 1200, hath been for the most part inviolably observed ever since by both sides. The *Tonquinese* kings have ever since carefully *The tri-* sent an embassy every three years to the *Chinese* court, with *bute born* the usual homage and tribute (*Q*). And the *Chinese* on *paid.* their

(*Q*) Their tribute consists of valuables; some for the emperor, others for his prime and favourite wives and ministers. Among

Chinese
ambassa-
dors at
Tong-
king.

their part always receive them with great pomp and ceremony, though not so much out of regard to the *Tonquinese* ambassadors, as to set off the splendor of their own court, and inspire them with greater awe and respect for their monarchs. It is probable, however, that these emperors have assumed a greater power over the *Tonquinese*, since their chova's have made themselves absolute, by stripping their natural princes of their power; and have obliged these upstart usurpers to submit to some farther articles of submission, than the lawful sovereigns were bound to, by the treaty above-mentioned. For the *Chinese* emperors have for a long number of years had their ambassadors at *Tong-king*, who assume a much greater state and prerogative there. They never vouchsafe to visit the chova, but oblige him to wait upon them at their own palace, upon all emergencies, and to receive their instructions from them. Another instance of subjection they have been forced to submit to, is, that their new chova must be confirmed by the *Chinese* monarch, before he can exert the regal authority, and must receive the seals from thence, which he is to make use of during his reign ^k.

Chinese
monarchs
power in
Tong-
king.

THESE additional prerogatives (as we may justly suppose them, seeing it is altogether unlikely, that the brave and warlike *Ly*, the first of this dynasty, would have ever agreed to them, or that the emperor would have insisted upon them, at a time when the bad condition of his affairs obliged him to procure a peace at any rate, from this victorious and successful prince) may be therefore justly deemed to be of much later date than that treaty; and where can we find a more proper opportunity for such new encroachments, than that which the usurpation of the chova's afforded them; who, to maintain themselves in it, would in all likelihood have submitted to much harder terms, to ingratiate themselves with the *Chinese* monarchs, and prevent their molesting them in their new dignity. But this we do not find to have been the case of the bova's, or the descendants of *Ly*; who, on the contrary, filled the *Tonquinese* throne, during two whole centuries, with great glory, and with an absolute sway, and with-

^k BARON, MARINI, DAMPIER, & al. sup. citat.

Among those of the first sort, to be in memory of their bloody are some statues of silver and massacre of his viceroy, and of gold, in a *Tonquinese* dress, and his *Chinese* troops (27). supplicating posture, supposed

(27) *Baron ubi sup.*

out any other token of foreign submission than the triennial tribute and homage above-mentioned.

THIS is all, however, that we can learn from their records in general. As to any particulars of those reigns, during the two centuries above-mentioned, they either are wholly silent about them, or their account, if any mention is made of them, is not yet come to the knowledge of any *European* writer ; so that we are insensibly brought to the most remarkable period of the *Tonquinese* history ; namely, that in which the whole supreme authority was wrested from the bovas, or the descendants of *Ly*, and ingrossed by a new set of usurpers, who, under the title of chova, or general, have enjoyed it uncontrouled ever since¹.

WE have already hinted something of this remarkable revolution, when we spoke of the *Tonquinese* government^m ; and there observed, that it was chiefly owing to the indolence and effeminacy of their princes ; who, to revel the more freely in their delights, committed the whole and sole government of these and their other dominions in *Kochinchina* to two favourite generals, and suffered them to tyrannize over both with too uncontrouled a sway ; the consequence of which was the loss of both kingdoms, quickly one after the other. That of *Kochinchina*, according to some authors, revolted first, as we have seen in the last chapter ; and his success soon encouraged his colleague to follow his example in that of *Tong-king*. This last kingdom had already suffered so much from the cruel extortions of their governors, that the subjects had been long since ripe for a revolt ; and a great deal of blood had been shed in some of the provinces, when a simple fisherman, named *Mak*, like a second *Massanello*, encouraged by the general murmurings, found means to be chosen head of the malecontents ; and having gathered a numerous army under his banner, quickly defeated the chova, and caused himself to be proclaimed king, about A. D. 1400. He had not however long enjoyed his new dignity, before he was, like his brother at *Naples*, stripped of it by a new competitor named *Tring* ; who, to give the better colour to his enterprise, gave out, that he took up arms in defence of the royal family of *Ly* ; and accordingly caused one of the young princes of it to be proclaimed bova, and to be publicly invested with the regal dignity. This step was the more conformable to the minds and wishes of the whole nation, as they still retained the highest veneration for their princes of that race,

The revolution caused by the chova.

Mak chosen head of the malecontents.

Defeated by Tring.

His stratagem.

¹ BARON, MARINI, DAMPIER, & al. sup. citat. before, p. 449.

^m See

and who accordingly expressed the highest satisfaction and joy at the prospect of seeing an effectual end put to their civil wars and bloodshed, by the restoration of one of that noble family to the throne^a.

Conceals his treason. His design however, far from being so loyal and noble, was only to give him the mere title and shadow of bova, and to engross the whole authority in his own hands : in attempting of which he expected nothing less than an universal opposition from the whole nation. But his chief

Assisted by Hoa-ving. dependence was on a brother-in-law of his, named *Hoa-ving*, and son to the governor of the province of *Tingwa*, a man in great power, and who had a numerous army under his command. This old mandarin, whether out of a real liking to the loyal measures which the artful *Tring* pretended to pursue ; or, which is at least as likely, from some more selfish

But outwits him. views, had not only assisted him with all the forces under his command, and thereby enabled him to proceed thus far with success ; but, to shew to the world the regard he had for, and the confidence he placed in him, had given him his daughter in marriage ; and at his death made him sole guardian to his only son *Hoa-ving* above-mentioned. This young ambitious gentleman, whom his politic brother-in-law had all along seduced with the hopes that the forces lent to him by his father, were only designed to settle him on the *Tonquinese* throne, quickly perceived himself to be over-reached ; and that *Tring* made no other use of them, than to secure the

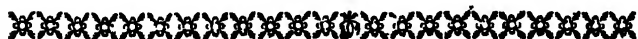
Hoa-ving taking up arms against him, regal authority in his own hands, and to raise himself to the supreme dignity, of which he meant to deprive the young bova he had lately set upon the throne. This occasioned a grievous breach between them, which did not, however, hinder the chova from pursuing his scheme, in spite of all opposition ; wherein he succeeded so well in it, that in a very little time he got himself confirmed in his usurpation, by all the grandees in the kingdom.

subdues Kochinchina, *HOA-VING*, fired with the deepest indignation at his disappointment, not only refused to pay him the homage which the rest of the *Tonquinese* did, but, recalling as many of his father's troops as he could gain over, turned his arms against him ; but finding himself unable to cope with his rival, by this time too firmly settled in his new dignity, went and employed them in the conquest of *Kochinchina* ; in which expedition he met with better success, and got himself proclaimed chova there by his troops, in imitation of his brother-in-law ; as we have seen in the preceding chapter. This last

and becomes king of it.

^a EARON, DAMPIER, CHEVRIER, & al. sup. citat.

step served only to widen the breach between the two brothers-in-law, and kindled a war between them, which was *Wars be-* carried on with the utmost vigour as long as they lived, tho' *tween* without any considerable advantage on either side. Neither *those two* did it end with their lives; their successors inherited their *kingdoms.* mutual hatred, and their subjects, who are commonly the dupes in such contentions, gradually imbibed the same prejudice against each other; which continues to this day; there being hardly any thing recorded in their history for these three last centuries, but the bloody wars they have constantly waged against each other, ever since that mutual breach^o; but of which we have no particular account as yet; and so shall go no farther with it.



B O O K XII.

History of the Eastern Tartars.

C H A P. I.

Description of Eastern Tartary; and Account of its Inhabitants.

WE have already laid before our readers a description of *Great Tartary* in general; and of the *Western Tartary* in particular^a. We come now to present to their view a description of *Eastern Tartary*, with some account of the inhabitants, their manners and customs, before we enter upon the history of them: in order, pursuant to our original plan, to bring them previously acquainted with the places which were the scenes of action; as well as with the people, who were the actors.

EASTERN Tartary, according to the limits usually assigned it by historians and geographers, is bounded on the *Extent and* west by *Western Tartary*, or rather by that part of it possessed by the proper *Mungs* and *Kalkás*; on the north by *Siberia*; on the east by that part of the oriental ocean called the *Tartarian Sea*; and on the south by the same sea, the kingdom of *Korea*, and the *Yellow Sea*, which separates it

^a See before, p. 450.

^b See before, vol. iv. p. 9. & 276.

from *China*. It is situated between the 137 and 161 degrees of longitude, and between the 40 and 55 degrees of latitude; being about 900 miles long from south to north, and 884 broad, from west to east; yet but thinly peopled.

THIS large region is, at present, divided into three great governments, *Shin-yang* or *Mugden*, *Kirin-ula*, and *Tsitfika*.

1. Government of *Shin-yang*.

Shin-yang extent.

THE government of *Shin-yang*, called by the *Manchews*, *Mugden*, contains all the ancient *Lyau-tong*, named also *Quan-tong*; and is about 270 miles long, and 125 broad. It is bounded on the south by the great wall of *China* and the *Yellow Sea*; on the east, north, and west, it is inclosed by a wooden palisade, seven or eight feet high, fitter to mark its bounds, and keep out petty robbers, than to oppose an army. The gates are no better than the rest, and guarded only by a few soldiers. The *Chinese* geographers having given the name of wall to this palisade, has occasioned the province of *Lyau-tong* to be erroneously placed by most *European* authors (A) hitherto, within the great wall. As the subjects of *Lyau-tong* were permitted neither to go out of their own country, even into *China*, without leave of the mandarins, this government was reckoned very profitable. It contained likewise, formerly, several fortified places; but at present they are almost in ruins, being become useless under the *Manchew* emperors.

Shin-yang city.

THE capital of this country is *Shin-yang*, or *Mugden*; a city which is looked on by the *Manchews* as the metropolis of their particular nation: for this reason, since they became masters of *China*, they have not only adorned it with several public edifices, and stored it with magazines; but have settled here the same public tribunals with those at *Pe-king*, excepting that called *Li-pu*. None but the natives are employed in these tribunals; and all their acts are written in the *Manchew* language. Their jurisdiction extends over all the parts of *Tartary* immediately subject to the emperor. *Mugden* is likewise the residence of a *Manchew* general, who has here his lieutenants-general, with a considerable body of forces of the same nation. This has brought a great resort of *Chinese* from the other provinces, who carry on almost all the trade of *Tartary*.

(A) The jesuit *Martini* gave occasion to this mistake, by placing it within the great wall in his maps of *China*; in which

he was followed by *Sanfon*, *De Fer*, and all the *European* geographers in general, till *De l'Isle*.

NOT far from the gates of this city are two magnificent burying-places, of the first princes of the *Manchew* family, now on the throne of *China*, who took the title of emperor from the time they began to reign in *Lyau-tong*. They are built according to the *Chinese* architecture: but what is singular, are inclosed by a thick wall with battlements, which is somewhat lower than that of the city. Several *Manchew* mandarins, of all ranks, are appointed to take care of them; and, at certain set times, to perform the same ceremonies of respect, as if the princes were still alive.

1. Govern-
ment.
Shing-
yang.

Imperial
sepulchres.

INDEN is more like a village than a city, although the *Inden city*. *Manchews* began there to establish their empire over *China*. The great-grandfather of the late emperor *Kang-hi* lies interred in an ordinary burying-place at *Inden*. The other cities of this province are of little note, being thinly peopled, ill built, and without any defence, except a mud wall; altho' some of them, as *I-chew* and *King-chew*, are very well situated for trade; and have plenty of cotton.

THE city of *Fong-whang-ching* is the best, as well as most *Fong*-populous; and carries on a very considerable commerce; being, as it were, the key to the kingdom of *Korea*, and its *ching*-trade; on whose borders it lies. This has drawn thither a great concourse of *Chinese* merchants, who have handsome houses in the suburbs. The chief merchandizes paper made of cotton, of a very strong and durable substance; but neither white nor transparent. It is used at *Pe-king* for fashes in palaces, and houses of fashion. The city is governed by a *Manchew*, with the title of *Hotongta*; who has under him several other mandarins, both civil and military, of his nation. It derives its name from *Fong-whang-shang*, the most noted mountain in all the country, where the famous fabulous bird, called *Fong-whang*, is supposed to breed.

THE *Chinese* enlarge much in speaking of the rarities *San cha* found within the government of *Shin-yang* or *Lyau-tong*; river. but the missionaries, who surveyed this country in 1711, found nothing remarkable either in the mountains or rivers. For instance, the point of *Sin-cha-ho*, so much taken notice of by *Chinese* authors, is no more than a concourse of three ordinary rivers, which unite in this place, and under that common name discharge themselves into the sea: but this is far from being a novelty.

THE lands of this province are, for the general, very *Soil and* good, producing abundance of wheat, millet, roots, and cotton. They also afford pasture to great numbers of sheep *products* and oxen, which are rarely seen in any of the provinces of

2. Government. *China.* They have, indeed, but little rice; yet, to make amends, there is plenty of apples, pears, hâfel-nuts, filberds, and chefnuts, even in the forests. The eastern part, which borders on the antient country of the *Manchews*, and kingdom of *Korea*, is full of defarts and bogs. This obliged one of the emperors of the *Tang* family to make a cauley, for twenty great *French* leagues together, in order to march his army into *Korea*. For the earth, in these parts, is so loose, that when it rains, as it frequently does, the water sinks so deep into the ground, that the sides of the hills are almost as marshy and unpassable as the plains. There are still to be seen, in some parts of this country, the ruins of towns and villages, which were destroyed in the wars between the *Chineses* and the *Koreans*.

2. Government of Kirin-ula.

Kirin-ula govern-ment. THE second great government is that of *Kirin-ula-hotun*, bounded westward by the palisade of *Lyau-tong*; on the east by the eastern ocean; southward by the kingdom of *Korea*; and on the north by the great *Saghalian-ula* (whose mouth is a little on this side of the 53d degree). So that it extends, in latitude, no fewer than 12 degrees, and almost 20 in longitude (being 750 miles in length, and in breadth 600).

Kirin-ula city. THIS country is but thinly peopled, and contains only four cities, which are very ill built, and encompassed with no better than mud walls. The principal of them is situated on the river *Songari*, there called *Kirin-ula*; from whence the place takes its name; for *Kirin-ula-hotun* (or *Khotun*) signifies, *the city of the river Kirin* (B). Here resides the *Manchew* general, who has all the privileges of a viceroy; and commands the mandarins as well as the troops.

Pedne, or Petuna. THE next city, called *Pedne*, or *Petuna*, stands on the same river, 45 leagues northwest from *Kirin-ula-hotun*. It is much inferior to the former, being inhabited mostly by *Tatarian* soldiers, under a lieutenant-general, and by exiles.

Ningûta, or Nin-gûta. THE third city, which the family now reigning in *China* considers as its antient patrimony, is situated on the *Hârka-pira*, which runs northward into the *Songari-ula*. It is commonly called *Ningûta*; although its true name be *Nin-gûta*; compounded of two *Tatarian* words, which signify *seven chiefs*; to express the rise of the *Manchew* kingdom,

(B) *Verbiest* says, the inhabitants keep a great number of *Russians*, who often come upon the river to dispute the pearl-barks in readiness to repulse the fishery.

which

which was first established by the seven brothers of the late emperor *Kang-hi's* great-grandfather's father. The city, at present, is the seat of a *Manchew* lieutenant-general, who has jurisdiction over all the territories, both of the old and new *Manchews*, called also *Han-bala-Ta-tse*, and all the villages of the *Yu-pi Ta-tse*, with some other nations of less note, along the sea-coasts, towards the mouth of the *Saghalian-ula*.

THE last city is *Putay-ula-hotun*, which, although the least of the four that are in this government, is by far the most agreeable, as standing in a more fertile and better cultivated plain. It seems to have been built by the antient *Manchews*, who reigned in the north of *China* (called *Ki-tay*), in the 12th century, under the name of *Kin-chaub*; although nothing remains at present, excepting an ordinary pyramid, and the ruins of its walls; without which are the *Manchew* houses. It lies about eight or nine leagues (northward) from *Kirin-ula-hotun*, on the *Songari*; which being there called *Pútay-ula*, gives the town its name. *Verbiest* the jesuit, who accompanied the emperor *Kang-hi* in 1682, says, it is the finest city in all the country; and formerly the seat of the *Tatar* empire. But in this he seems to be mistaken.

THE trade of *Ningánta* is the more considerable, as the *Soil* and precious plant *Jin-feng* grows only in these vast countries; and the *Yu-pi Tatars* are obliged to pay a tribute of fables. These advantages draw thither a great number of *Chineses* from the most distant provinces; whose houses, with those belonging to the soldiers, make the suburbs at least four times larger than the city. The emperor *Kang-hi* took care likewise to re-people the country, by sending thither the *Tatar* and *Chinese* criminals condemned to banishment: so that the missionaries, in their progress, found villages at a good distance from *Ningánta*. They make a shift to live there; and have in particular abundance of millet; with a sort of grain unknown in *Europe*, called by the *Chineses* dwelling in the country, *May-se-mi*; as being of a middle kind between wheat and rice. It is wholesome; and much used in those cold regions.

OATS, which are scarce every-where else, are here in such plenty that they are given to horses, instead of black beans, common to all the northern provinces of the *Chinese* empire. For all this they have but little of either wheat or rice; whether it be owing to the fault of the soil, or humour of those

^b RAC is ap. Du Halde's *China Engl* fol. edit. vol. ii p. 244, & seq.

^c Ibid. p. 247.

2. *Govern-ment.* *Kirin-ula.* new inhabitants. It is hard to assign reasons, why so many countries, which lie only in the 43d, 44th, and 45th degrees of latitude, should differ so much from those of *Europe*, in regard to the seasons and productions of nature, as not to equal even the most northern provinces of that quarter. However, it may be presumed, says our author *Regis*, that the quality of any soil depends rather on its abounding more or less with nitrous particles, than on its situation.

Air very cold. THE cold begins much sooner in these parts than at *Paris*, whose latitude is near 50 degrees. On the 8th of *September* the missionaries, being at *Tonden* (C), were obliged to put on cloaths lined with sheep-skin. They were afraid also that the *Saghalian-ula*, though so wide and deep, would be frozen over, as indeed it was every morning a considerable distance from its banks. The cold is kept up by the forests (D) in this country, which are very thick, and large, the nearer you advance to the eastern ocean; so that the missionaries were nine days passing through one of them.

Flowers. AFTER they had passed those woods, they arrived, from time to time, in fine green vallies, watered with excellent rivulets; whose banks were enamelled with variety of flowers, common in *Europe*, excepting the yellow lillies, which were of a most lovely colour. In height and shape they exactly resembled our white lillies; but, like the roses, are of a much weaker scent. The finest grow seven or eight leagues beyond the palisade of *Lyau-tong*.

The Jin-seng. BUT the plant which is most esteemed, and draws a great number of herbalists into these deserts, is the *Jin-seng*, called by the *Manchews*, *Orbota*; that is, *the chief, or queen of plants*. It is highly valued for its virtues in curing several diseases, and all decays of strength proceeding from excessive labour of body or mind. For this reason it has always been the principal riches of *Eastern Tartary*; what is found in the north of *Korea* being consumed in that kingdom. It sells at *Pe-king* for seven times its weight in silver; by which its value heretofore may be judged of^d.

FORMERLY the *Chineses* used to get into the *Jin-seng* country, among the mandarins and soldiers, continually passing: but in 1709 the emperor *Kang-hi*, that his *Manchews* might reap this advantage, ordered 10,000 of his soldiers, encamped

^d REGIS ap. Du Halde's China Eng fol. edit. vol. ii. p. 245.

(C) On the river *Saghalian*, the first village of the *Keeking Tartars*, Lat. 43° 57' 36'' observed Long. 11° 26' east of *Peking*. (D) Perhaps more by the great elevation of the land, and winds from the north.

without the great wall, to go and gather it, on condition that each should give him two ounces of the best, and take an equal weight of fine silver for the remainder. By which means the emperor got in that year 20,000 *Chinese* pounds of it, for less than one-fourth of the price it bears at *Peking*.

Govern-
ment.
Kirin-ula.

THIS plant grows only on the declivity of woody moun- *Where it grows.*
tains, on the banks of deep rivers, or about steep rocks. It can neither bear much cold or heat; for it grows not beyond the 47th degree of latitude: and if a forest takes fire, it appears no more there in three or four years. It is easily distinguished from all other plants about it; and frequently by a cluster of very round and red fruit, or a stalk that shoots above the branches: such was that which the missionaries saw at the village of *Honchun* (D), on the borders of *Korea*. This plant, which was about a foot and half in height, had but one knob, whence shot four branches, parting equally one from another, as if they did not spring from the same plant. Each plant had five leaves; and, 'tis said, there is always that number, unless diminished by accident. The root is the only part used medicinally. Its value is enhanced by its age; for the largest and firmest are best. Those who search for it must carry neither tent, bed, nor provision, excepting a bag of dried millet; and at night lodge on the ground, under a tree, or a covering made of boughs.

HON-CHUN, before-mentioned, two leagues from *Korea*, *Hon-*
is the principal village of the *Quelka Tatars*, who are at pre- *chun vil-*
sent confounded with the *Manchews*, both in language and *lage.*
habitation. It is also the farthest extent of their country, which is agreeable enough; and, what is very uncommon among *Tatars*, well cultivated. Whether it be owing to necessity, on account of their distance from the *Manchews* (the nearest of whom are 40 leagues off), or the example of the *Koreans*, whose very hills are cut into stories, and cultivated to the top.

It was a new sight to the missionaries, after they had *Prospect of*
crossed so many forests, and coasted so many frightful moun- *Korea.*
tains, to find themselves on the banks of the *Tumen-ula*, with nothing but woods and wild beasts on one side, while the other presented to their view walled cities, with all that art and labour could produce in the best cultivated countries.

THE *Tumen-ula* falls into the ocean ten leagues below *The river*
Hon-chun. The *Koreans* had built a wall on that bank, *Tumen.*

(D) Or *Honchun* Latitude observed, 42° 45'.

2. *Govern-ment.* opposite to the *Tatars*, from whom the river divides them, almost like that of *China*: but the part towards *Han-chun Kirin-ula*. was quite ruined, when the *Manchews* ravaged *Korea*; which they made their first conquest. In parts more remote it continues almost intire.

River Swifond. BEYOND the *Támen-ula*, in the antient country of the *Manchews*, is the *Swifond-pira*, the most considerable river in it, and very famous among those *Tatars*, although it scarce deserves notice. Here the missionaries saw the ruins of a city, called *Furdan Hotun*, situated in an open plain fit for tillage. It had only a slight mud-wall, defended by a shallow ditch.

The Yu pi Tatars. THE river *Ufuri* is incomparably the finest, both for clearness and length of course. It falls into the *Saghalian*, and belongs to the *Yu-pi Tatars*, who dwell in villages along its banks. A great many large, as well as small rivers, help to augment its stream; and its waters abound with fish, which serve the natives both for food and raiment. They have a way of dressing their skins, which they dye of three or four colours; and after shaping, sew them in so delicate a manner, that at first you would imagine they made use of silk, till, on ripping a stitch or two, you perceive an exceeding fine thong, cut out of a very thin skin.

Their dress. THESE *Tatars* dress like the *Manchews*, in the *Chinese* habit, with this difference chiefly, that the bottom of their long robes is commonly bound with a green or red border, on a white or grey ground. The women also hang small pieces of brass coin, or little bells, at the bottom of their mantles, which give notice of their approach. Their hair, which parts into several tresses, falls upon their shoulders; and is braided with bits of looking-glass, rings, and other baubles, which they prize as jewels.

Way of living. THE manner of life among these *Yu-pi* is no less extraordinary. All the summer they spend in fishing. One part of what they catch is laid up to make oil for their lamps; another serves for their daily food; and the rest, which they dry in the sun, without salting, for they have no salt, is laid up for their winter's provisions, whereof both men and cattle eat, when the rivers are frozen. For all this, the missionaries observed a great deal of strength and vigour in most of these poor people: yet the animals used for food are very scarce in their country; and their flesh of such an intolerable taste, that the very servants they brought with them, though eager

for flesh, after having lived long on fish, could not endure it. The dogs in this country draw their sledges (E); when the rivers are frozen, and are highly valued.

2. Govern-
ment.
Kirin-ula.

THE lady of *Ufuri*, whose husband had been chief general of this nation, and enjoyed the prerogative of a body guard, told the jesuits that she had an hundred dogs for her sledges. One beaten to the road goes before, which those in harness follow, without straying, to the end of the stage, where they are relieved by others from the spare pack. She assured them, that she had often ran an hundred *Chinese Li* (or ten *French* leagues) without resting. Instead of treating them with tea, which is the custom among the *Chinese*s and other *Tatars*, her attendants served up little bits of sturgeon, upon a neat ratan salver.

Uf: dog-
sledges.

THIS lady, who understood *Chinese*, had a quite different *Their man-* air and manner from these *Yu-pi Tatars*; who, for the rest, *ners.* are in general of a peaceable disposition, but heavy, unpolished, and without any tincture of learning, or the least public religious worship; the *Chinese* idols themselves, not having, as yet, found their way among them. Very likely, says the good jesuit, because the bonza's or priests cannot take up with such a poor wretched country, where they sow neither rice nor wheat, but only a little tobacco, in a few plats of ground near each village, on the banks of the river. All the rest of the land is covered with a thick and almost impenetrable wood; from whence they are annoyed with a cloud of gnats, and such-like insects, which they are obliged to drive away with smoke.

THERE are found in *Europe* almost all the kinds of fish *Fish, and* taken in the rivers of this country; but not that quantity of *fishing.* sturgeon, which is the principal fishery of the *Yu-pi*. They say it is the king of fish, and that it has no equal. They eat certain parts of it quite raw, imagining by that means to partake of all the virtues which they ascribe to it. Next to the sturgeon, they highly prize a fish, which is unknown in *Europe*,

(E) Hence *Gerbilum* says, they are called by their neighbours, the *Manchews*, by no other name than *Dog-drivers*. He makes them a different nation from the *Yu-pi*, whom he confounds with the *Fiatta* (or *Ke-ching*). He places them beyond *N-ngüta*, and says, that although they extend along the

Saghalian-ula, about two hundred leagues, they are not numerous, having only here and there small hamlets, situate at the fall of some little river into that great one. This jesuit had his information from the viceroy of the province of *Solon*. *Du Halde*, vol. ii. p. 256.

2. *Gawernment.* but one of the most delicious that can be imagined. It is about the length, and almost of the shape, of a small tunny, but of a finer colour. The flesh is intirely red, which distinguishes it from other fish; and so very scarce, that the jesuits could never meet with it above once or twice. The natives commonly spear the larger fish, and take the lesser with nets. Their barks are small, and their boats made only of the bark of trees; but so well sewed as to keep out water.

Thir language. THE language of the *Tu-pi* seems to be a mixture of that of the *Manchews*, who are their neighbours on the west and south, and the *Ke-ching Tatars*, bordering on the north and east; for to the chiefs of the villages, both languages were intelligible. Thus much concerning the *Tu-pi Tatars*, to whose country some of our geographers have given the name of a kingdom.

Ke-ching Tatars. THAT of the *Ke-ching Tatars* has no better title to the honour, although it extends along the *Saghalian-ula*, from *Tendon* before-mentioned, to the ocean. For in all this space of near 150 leagues, you meet with nothing but ordinary villages, which are for the generality seated on the banks of that great river. Their language differs from that of the *Manchews*, who call it *Fiatta*; and this *Fiatta* tongue, is also apparently that of the *Tatars*, who inhabit from the mouth of the *Saghalian-ula*, to the 55th degree of latitude; which in this part is the northern bounds of the *Chinese* dominions in *East Tartary*. They do not shave their heads, according to the custom of the empire; but wear their hair tied with a sort of ribbon, or in a bag behind. They seemed more ingenious than the *Tu-pi Tatars*; answered distinctly to the questions asked them by the jesuits, concerning the geography of their country; and took great notice of their operations.

Gerbil-lon's mistake. GERBILLON, from the information of the viceroy of the province of *Solon* (the same with *Tsi Tsjikar*), writes that beyond the *Dog-drivers*, along the same river *Saghalian* to the ocean, there dwell a nation called *Fiattû*, or *Fiatta*, who live on fish; and that from clothing themselves with their skins, the *Chinese* name *Tu-pi*, that is, *Fish-skin*. According to this account, the *Dog-drivers* must be a different people from the *Tu-pi*, and the *Tu-pi*, or *Fiatta*, the same with the *Ke-ching*; but we ought to submit to the authority of *Regis*, who travelled the country. The former author adds, that the lan-

guage of the *Fiatta* (F), is quite different from that of the *Dog-drivers*; and that both differ from the *Manchews*: that they understand not agriculture, and live in huts without a king or sovereign; although every community elect a chief, whom they obey, much like the *Iroquois*, or savages of *Canada* in *America*, whom they resemble in manners. They have canoes made of the bark of trees, or the trunks hollowed; that those inhabiting near the sea are frequently visited by boats from the islands. These lie pretty thick at the entrance of the river; which is not there above three leagues wide, but very deep every-where, and navigable when not frozen, for vessels of good burden, up to *Nip-chû* (or *Nerchinskoy*), about 500 leagues distant *.

2. Govern-
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Kirin-ula.

FROM these *Ke-ching*, the missionaries learned, that opposite to the mouth of the *Saghalian-ula*, there was a great island inhabited by people like themselves, with whom they traded. After this, the emperor *Kang-hi* sent thither some mandarins, who surveyed the east and north sides of it, and would have measured the whole for the use of the missionaries (G); but were obliged to return, for want of provisions. They informed them, that these islanders breed neither horses nor any beasts of burthen; but that in several parts they had seen a sort of tame stags (H), which drew their sledges, and by the description were like those used in *Norway*. The inhabitants of the continent, gave this island various names, but that generally used is *Saghalian-anga-hata*, or the island of the mouth of the black river.

THE missionaries heard nothing of the land of *Jesso* (I), *Land of* which they suppose not to extend beyond the 45th degree of *Yesso*. latitude. But according to the discoveries of the *Dutch*, it reaches above the 50th degree: so that the north part must lie in the same parallel with the south coast of the island, just now mentioned, and perhaps three or four degrees more to the east; as it is exhibited in Mr. *Kyri'llow's* map of

* GERBILLON, ap DU HALDE ubi sup. p. 256.

(F) Perhaps *Fiatta*, is the indigenous name of the *Ke-ching Tatars*, and thence their language called the *Fiatta* tongue, or language of the *Fiatta*; for *Ke-ching*, as well as *Yu-pi*, are names given these nations by the *Chinese*.

(G) The jesuits, in their map, make it about 280 miles long, and 60 broad.

(H) These must be rein-deer.

(I) Variouslly written by authors, *Jesso*, *Jeso*, *Jetso*, *Jedso*, *Yedse*, and *Yetso*; and as variouslly described,

the

2. *Gowernment.* but one of the most delicious that can be imagined. It is about the length, and almost of the shape, of a small tunny, but of a finer colour. The flesh is intirely red, which distinguishes it from other fish; and so very scarce, that the jesuits could never meet with it above once or twice. The natives commonly spear the larger fish, and take the lesser with nets. Their barks are small, and their boats made only of the bark of trees; but so well sewed as to keep out water.

Their language. THE language of the *Tu-pi* seems to be a mixture of that of the *Manchews*, who are their neighbours on the west and south, and the *Ke-ching Tatars*, bordering on the north and east; for to the chiefs of the villages, both languages were intelligible. Thus much concerning the *Tu-pi Tatars*, to whose country some of our geographers have given the name of a kingdom.

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the

2. Govern- the Russian empire (K). This seems to be the country, ment. called *Ye-tse* by the Chinese geographers, who make it part of Kirin-ula. Eastern Tartary, and a land of vast extent, placing it about Hon-*chon* before-mentioned, in the northernmost borders of Korea, inhabited by a warlike nation formidable to the *Japaneses*; having hairy bodies, whiskers hanging to their breasts, and their swords tied by the point behind their heads. But this is all fiction, such a people being unknown to either the *Tu-pi*, or *Ke-ching Tatars*. According to the accounts of the jesuits from Japan, confirmed by those of captain *Saris* and the Dutch, it is divided from the north-east part of that island, by a streight of the sea (L).

Country beyond the river. BEYOND the *Saghalian-ula*, there is nothing but a few villages, inhabited by the *Ke-ching Tatars*; the rest of the country being a wild desert, frequented only by sable-hunters. It is crossed by a famous chain of mountains, called *Hin-khan-alin*. Here are also some pretty good rivers. The *Tu-hu-rü-pira*, which falls into the eastern ocean, springs from another chain of mountains, in the 55th degree of latitude, which marks the point whence the rivers flow different ways. Thus the *Udi-pira* runs towards the northern sea, and belongs to the *Russians*; whilst the *Silinji-pira* passes southward into the country of the *Ke-ching Tatars*.

The Orochon people. AMONG the rivers which augment the *Saghalian-ula* on the north-side, *Gerbillon* mentions the *Chikiri*, so called by the *Manchews*, and *Zia* by the *Russians*. It is about half a league in breadth, near its fall into the *Saghalian* (M); and although the ascent to its source is said to be a journey of two months, yet the current is so rapid that you may return in fifteen days. It rises in a chain of mountains, which serve for a boundary between the two empires of *China* and *Russia*. The *Manchews* call the people who dwell near this river, *Orochon*, from an animal named *Oron*; a small sort of deer, which they break to draw their sledges, or carry their

REGIS ubi sup. p. 247. & seq.

(K) Published at *Petersburg* in 1734, the best for these parts, before the academy's map, 1745. This country, there called *Jedso*, is represented as an island; but *Strahlenberg* makes it a part of *Kamchatka* in *Siberia*; which is contrary to the fact, as appears from the discoveries of captain *Bering* in 1730.

(L) The discovery and map

of *Spangenberg* in 1739, class greatly with those of the Dutch. See also *Kempfer's Voy Japan*, ch. iv. p. 64.

(M) According to the maps of Eastern Tartary, made by the missionaries, it falls into the *Saghalian-ula*, about 15 miles to the north of *Saghalian-ula-botun*.

baggage.

baggage. The author has seen some in the emperor's park ; 2. *Govern-ment.* also elks, which are common in this country, and that-of *Solon.* The fine fables, grey ermines, and black foxes, are *Kirin-ula.* found among the *Chikiri* ; of whose skins the *Russians* took abundance, whilst they held *Takfa*¹.

THE *Tatars* called *Han-hala*, or the three *Hala* families, *Han-hala* are true *Manchews*, who united together after the conquest *Tatars.* of the rest of their nation, from whom they lay at a great distance, being mixed with the *Tu-pi Tatars*. The emperor *Kang-hi* gave them lands near *Ningta*, along the *Húrba-pira* and *Songari-ula* ; on the banks of which rivers almost all their villages are situated. Their clothing is like the *Tu-pi* ; but they have horses and oxen, as well as good harvests, which the others want^k.

THESE seem to be the same *Manchews*, dwelling along the *Songari*, whom according to *Gerbillion*, the *Russians* name *Dú-chari* ; in winter they go a fable-hunting in those great forests ; besides which and mountains, there is nothing to the east of that river, called by the *Russians*, *Singula*, or *Shingala* : in summer they return to spend their time at home about *Ningta*^l.

AVARIL, who travelled for information towards these countries, learned from a person who had perused the records of the *Russian* treasury, that there is in *Bogdoy* (M), a particular province, named by the *Russians* *Diúchari*, and by the *Mungls*, *Diurfski* : situated between the eastern ocean and the great rivers *Shingale* (or *Songari*) and *Tamúr*, (or *Amúr* as the *Russians* call the *Saghalian-ula*). These people, he says, had formerly no prince of their own, and were little either feared or known, till they subdued the six northern provinces of *China* : that these *Diúchari* were at length driven out by the family of *Jun* (or *Twen*, that is *Jenghiz Khán*) ; who, in 1368, were themselves driven out by the *Chinefes*, of the *Tay-ming* family. That after this the *Diúchari* re-entered *China* in 1644, and in time subdued the whole ; *Shun-chi* being their first prince, of the reigning family, named *Tay-sing*, by the *Chinefes*^m.

WHAT is mentioned in the above paragraph, concerning *The Man-* the *Diúchari*, can be applicable only to the *Manchews*, who *chews.* inhabit this part of *Eastern Tartary*, and are lords of all

^l GERBILLON, ubi sup. p. 256.

^k REEIS, ibid. p. 248.

¹ GERBILLON, ubi sup. p. 255.

^m AVRIL's travels,

p. 146.

(M) So they call both *Shingale* the province of *Eastern Tartary* and the *Man-Dawri* from that of *Bog-doy*, *chews* country : but *Avril* di- p. 147.

2. *Govern-ment.* the other inhabitants thereof, and are called by the *Russians*, *Bogdoy* (N). They may pass for heathens, says our author, *Kirin-ula. Gerbillon*; although they have neither temples, nor idols, nor regular worship, but what is offered to the emperor of heaven, as they express it. They pay, indeed, their ancestors a veneration mixed with superstition; and some of them, since their being in *China*, have embraced the idolatrous sects. But they are mostly wedded to their old religion (O), which they reverence as the basis of their empire, and the source of their prosperity ^a.

Shape and manners. In all the province of *Bogdoy* (says *Avril*) you meet with none but houses of earth; the inhabitants drive a great trade in fables and black fox-skins, as well as the *Jin-feng* root; but are not rich in cattle. Their horses too are very small, and never shod. The people exactly resemble the *Krim Tatars* in features, shape, and size; but are much more polite and civilized, by reason of the great correspondence they have with the *Chinese*s. Fire-arms, though known to them, are not much in use ^o.

Their language. ACCORDING to *Bentink*, the *Eastern Tatars* (or *Manchews*), whom he calls the *Mungals of the east*, live mostly by husbandry, and resemble in all things the *Mungals of the west*, excepting that they are more civilized, and fairer; especially the female sex, among whom there are many to be found who might pass for fine women in any country ^p.

ALTHOUGH the *Manchew* language is as much used at the court of *Pe-king*, as the *Chinese*, and all publick acts are drawn up in the one as well as the other; yet it began to decline, and would probably have been lost, did not the *Tatars* use

^a GERBILLON, ubi sup. p. 255. ^o AVRIL, ubi sup. p. 147. & seq. ^p BENTINK in Abulghazi Khân's Hist. of the Turks, &c. p. 503.

(N) And the emperor of *China*, who is a *Manchew*, *Bogdoy Khân*, and *Amulon Bogdoy Khân*. *Avril* says, p. 146, that the *Bogdoy* are by the *Chinese*s, called *Eastern Tatars*, and by the *Monguls* (or *Mungls*) *Niuchi* or *Nuchi*; but *Niuchi*, or *Nyu-che*, is the *Chinese* term.

(O) *Avril*, p. 148, says, to speak properly, they are of no religion; although several of them are seen to wear crosses, which they call *Lama's*. Hence probably it is, that he took occasion to affirm, not only that they have a great inclination to the christian religion, but even that there are not a few who are already become catholics. He adds, that they have no kindness either for the *Mohammedans* or *Nestorians*, because they formerly helped the *Western Tatars* to expel their ancestors (the *Kin*).

1 precautions to preserve it, by translating *Chinese* books, and compiling dictionaries, under the emperor's encouragement. Their language is so singular in this respect, that the verb differs as often as the substantive governed by it: for instance, they change the verb *make*, as often as the substantive which follows it changes; or, which is the same thing, to every different substantive they use a different verb for *make*, as when they would say, *make a verse*, *make a picture*, *make a statue*. For though the repetition of the same verb in discourse might be excusable, it is with them unpardonable in writing, as making a monstrous grating to their ears. They fell a laughing, when they heard the missionaries read books, at the frequent returns of *que*, *qu'ils*, *qu'eux*, who, what, him, them, &c. which quick repetitions of the same sound disgusted them. And indeed the *Manchews* can well be without such helps; for the bare ranging of their words answers the same end, without obscurity or ambiguity; nor have they any inlpid puns or quibblings on words.

2. Govern-
ment.
Kirin-ula.

ANOTHER singularity of their language, is the copiousness of it. For instance; besides names for each species of animals, they have words to express their several ages and qualities. *Judagon*, is the general name for a dog; but *Tayha*, signifies *a dog who has very long and thick hair, both on his ears and tail*. *Yolo*, *a dog with a long thick muzzle and tail, large ears, and hanging lips*. The horse, as more serviceable to them, has twenty times more names than the dog; almost every motion of him giving occasion to a different name. Whence they could get that astonishing multitude of names and terms, is not easy to determine (P). On the west are the *Mungls*; but in the two languages there are scarcely eight words alike, and those uncertain as to their origin.

(P) In this it is like the *Arabic* *Bentink* says, the language of the *Mungals* of the east, (by whom he means the *Manchews*) is a mixture of the *Chinese* and antient *Mogul*, which has scarce any connexion with that of the *Moguls* of the west. See *Abulghazi Khân, hist. of the Turks*, p. 503. *Avril* will have it that the language of the *Bogdoy* is very like the vulgar language spoken in *Persia*; and that their characters have a great resemblance, only they write from top to bottom of

the paper, like the *Chinese*; and have above 60 letters in their alphabet. *Avril's Travels*, p. 148 — It may be presumed that this was the language both of the *Lyau* and *Kin* (the ancestors of the *Manchews*), who reigned formerly in the empire of *Kitsay*; at which time these people, being very numerous, as well as in power, took care to cultivate and improve their language; the delicacy and copiousness of which their successors endeavour to preserve.

They

2. *Govern-ment.* They understand nothing of the language of a few savage nations on the east and north. As to the *Koreans*, their language and letters being *Chinese*, have no resemblance to the *Manchew*.

Characters and writing.

THEY have only one sort of character, but four different ways of writing, according to the occasion, as in other countries. They commonly write with a pencil, though some use a kind of *Bambú* pen: but the pencil holds ink better, and moving more freely on the paper, runs most nimbly without stopping, in the hand of one of their writers. The *Manchews* think their language the most elegant, as well as the most copious, in the world; and imagine there is no rendering the sense of it, much less the majesty of its style, in any of the barbarous languages, meaning the *European*, as well as others. Yet they cannot express all sounds, as they want the letters B and D, using P and T in the stead; nor can write words in which two consonants come together, without inserting a vowel between (Q). Their transitions likewise are so few, that they are much puzzled how to connect their written discourses; and on that account, after they have written some sentences, or periods, being often at a loss how to proceed, are forced to blot out what they have done, and begin again¹. In other respects it must be allowed to be a masterly language, well cultivated, and full of terms, perhaps, as the *Arabic* itself.

Ruins of cities.

In these parts are to be seen the ruins of several cities, as those of *Fenegha Hotun*, on the *Hárha*, five or six leagues from *Ningánta*, now no more than a small hamlet. *Odoli Hotun*, on the river *Lefuchi*, was strongly situated, being accessible only through the waters by a narrow causey: in it are likewise found great stair-cases of stone, with some other remains of a palace, the like not to be met with any-where else, not even at *Ningánta*. Hence it is probable, that all the monuments of antiquity in *Eastern Tartary* were not the work of the present *Manchews*, but of their ancestors the *Kin*, in the 12th century, as before-mentioned. These built towns and palaces in several parts of their ancient country; which might fall to decay, after their dynasty was ruined by the *Mungls*, under *Jenghíz Khán* and his successor.

¹ PARENIN in Du Halde, ubi sup. p. 265.

(Q) And properly speaking, a vowel does come between, tho' be expressed, like the *Hebrew* not written; being pronounced *Shvav*.

THERE is nothing more celebrated in the *Manchew* history than the *Songari-ula*, and the mountain whence it springs, called by the natives *Shanyen-alin*, and by the *Chineſes*, *Chang-pe-shan*, that is *the ever white mountain*, from whence they derive their origin, which they mix with fable and the marvellous. The truth is, that the *Manchews* had no river in all their territories comparable to the *Songari*, which abounds with fish, and is large, deep, and navigable throughout; being but moderately rapid, even at its confluence with the *Saghalian-ula*.

3. Government.

Tſitſikar.

River
Songari.

As for the mountain *Shanyen*, it is the highest in all *Mountain Eastern Tartary*, and may be seen at a vast distance. One *Shanyen* half being woody, the other sandy, it is that which makes it appear always white, and not the snow, as the *Chineſes* imagine; for scarce any ever remains on it. On the top are five rocks, like so many broken pyramids, exceeding high, which are continually wet with fogs and vapours, peculiar to this country. Between them lies a very deep lake, from whence the *Songari* takes its rise with a fine stream^r. According to *Verbieſt*, this mountain stands about 400 miles southward of *Kirin-ula*^s.

3. Government of Tſitſikar.

THE third government into which *Eastern Tartary* is divided, is that of *Tſitſikar*. *Gerbillion* calls this province *Solon*, after the inhabitants; and says, the *Russians* name it *Dawra* (R). It begins, according to him, at the confluence of the river *Ergona* (or *Argun*), and the *Saghalian-ula* (S); along which latter it extends above 150 leagues (T), towards *Ninguta*. The governor told our author, that there were not more than 10,000 families in the whole province. The people are great hunters, dextrous archers, and pay their tribute in sable skins; each family two, or three, or more, a year, according to the number of able persons.

Govern-
ment.

^r REGIS, ubi sup. p. 248.

^s Ibid, p. 269.

(R) *Dauri*, as *Avril*, and *ſky*, to the north of the city *Daur*, as *Iſbrand Ides*, p. 40; but p. 54, he says, it is, by the *Tatars*, called *Dori*, and the people *Dauri*, or old *Dauri*.

(S) This is to be understood only of the part belonging to *China*; for according to *Iſbrand Ides*, p. 40, it begins at *Vün-ſlinga*, above eight degrees to the west of the *Ergona* or *Argun*, which part belongs to the *Russians*.

(T) But, according to the maps of the jesuits, it is 740 miles long, and 600 broad.

3. *Govern-ment.* *Tsitfikar.* *The Taguri.* THIS province is inhabited by three sorts of people; the *Manchews*, *Solons*, and *Taguri*, who were the ancient possessors. This last nation, which is not very numerous, submitted to the *Manchews*, under the father of the emperor *Kang-hi*, whose protection they implored against the *Russians*: for these latter, passing in armed barks out of the *Saghalian-ula* into the *Songari-ula*, secured all the rivers communicating with them, and became terrible to the *Tatarian* nations dwelling on their banks. The *Taguri*, who are a large and robust people, were always accustomed to sow grain, and build houses, though surrounded with *Tatars*, who never did either.

Manners and customs.

ISBRANDT IDES (who calls these people *Targazi* or *Targazins*, perhaps by some mistake) says, they are a separate independent clan or tribe, paying tribute to the emperor of *China*; and though governed by their own chief, yet obey those who are most potent in *Tartary*. That ambassador met with the first huts of them, made of thin canes, soon after he came to the river *Yal*, about half-way from *Argunskoy* (on the *Argun* or *Ergona*) to *Tsitfikar*. They are heathens, and, according to him, worship the devil. They are of a middling stature, and broad-faced, like the *Mungls*. Their summer dress is of blue *China* callico (or *Kitayka*) and tanned leather; but in winter they wear coats made of sheep-skins. Their language differs very little from that of the *Tongúz* or *Tunguzians* (inhabiting *Siberia*). They cultivate chiefly barley, oats, and millet; selling to the villages of *Tsitfikar* what they do not consume themselves. Their cattle are principally horses, dromedaries, bulls, cows, and sheep. These last are very fine and large, their tails being above one span thick, and two long, are all fat, and so very heavy that they cannot go fast. The *Taguri* make use of oxen much, to ride on, and are very expert archers: they likewise make abundance of bows, which being esteemed the best in all *Tartary*, bear a great price.

Solon Tatars.

THE *Solons* are originally *Eastern Tatars*, descended, as they say, from those who escaped the general destruction of their nation (by the *Mungls*) in 1204. They are more robust, brave, and skilful, than the other inhabitants of these parts. Their women ride on horseback, draw the plough, hunt stags, and other game. A great number of *Solons* now reside at *Nierghi*, a pretty large town, not far from *Tsitfikar* and *Mergben*. The missionaries saw them set out from thence,

* *GERBILLON*, *ibid.* p. 256.
to *China*, p. 55.

* *ISBR. IDES*, *Trav.*

the first of October 1711, to hunt fables, whose skins are highly valued by the *Tatars*, because they wear well and are lasting. They were clad in short jackets of wolves-skins, with a cap of the same, and their bows at their backs. They had with them some horses laden with millet; and their long cloaks, made of fox or tigers-skins, to defend them against cold, especially of the night. Their dogs are made for the game, clamber well, and are acquainted with the wiles of the fables. Neither the severity of the winter, nor the fierceness of the tigers, can restrain them from this dangerous exercise, because all their riches depend on it. The finest skins are reserved for the emperor, who pays a fixed price. The rest bear a great rate even in the country itself, as being pretty scarce; and are immediately bought up by the mandarins in those quarters, and the merchants of *Tsitfikar*.

THERE are, besides the country towns or villages, three cities (U) in the province of *Tsitfikar*; namely, *Tsitfikar*, *Mergben*, and *Saghalian-ula-hotun*. The capital, *Tsitfikar*, a new city, was built by the late emperor *Kang-hi*, to secure his frontiers against the *Russians*. It is situated near the *Nonni-ula*, a considerable river, falling into the *Songari*; and inclosed with a strong palisade, not very high, but lined with a pretty good rampart. The garrison consists principally of *Manchews*: but the inhabitants are mostly *Chineſes*, drawn thither by traffick, or banished for crimes. The houses of both people are without the wooden wall, which incloses little besides the courts of justice, and palace of the *Manchew* general. They are built of earth^w, ranged into pretty wide streets, and closed with a mud wall. This city is called *Tsitfikar*, from the province of which it is the metropolis; but its proper name seems to be *Naun-koton*, or *Nonni-koton*, that is, the city of the *Naun*, or *Nonni*, the river on which it is situated: at least it went by the appellation of *Naun-koton* in the time of *Isbrandt Ides*, who speaks of *Tsitfikar* (or *Xixigar* (W) as he writes it) only as a country town or village, a little short of that city. *Naun-koton* according to him, is encompassed with walls of earth, but well lined and

3. Govern-
ment.
Tsitfikar.
Sable-
hunting.

^w RZ015 in Du Halde, p. 248.

(U) *Gerbillion* says, there was only one city, viz. *Mergben*, in his time; which must be understood of the year 1689 (or thereabouts), when he made the journey to *Nipchu*, or *Nerchinskoy*, in its neighbourhood. For in 1692, *Isbrandt Ides* found *Tsitfikar*, or

Naun koton, in being, although but newly built.

(W) His secretary *Brandt* writes *Suttega* and *Suttegar*, and places it five miles distant. Perhaps *Zizikar* is the *English* spelling.

3. *Govern-ment.* covered on the outside with massy timber, the houses very commodious and neat.

Tsitfikar. THE inhabitants of this city, and the six southern villages, are called *Doari*, or *Old Dauri* (X), and the country *Dori*, by the *Tatars*, who dwell along the *Naun* and *Tal*, as far as *Albazin*, or *Takfa*. They have very rich manured lands, all sorts of garden-fruit, and several plantations of tobacco, which is their chief livelihood. They by their own account are all *shammaus*, or conjurers, who invoke the devil with frightful cries, which the ambassador heard every night. They give their dead two burials, first leaving a hole a-top of the grave, where the relations daily bring victuals, which they convey to the mouth of the deceased with a spoon, and leave drink in small tin cups, standing round the grave. This ceremony holds for several weeks; after which they bury the body deeper in the ground.

Their houses.

THEY live in houses made of earth, covered with reeds or small bambus, somewhat like thatched cabbins in *Europe*. The walls within are plaistered with lime. In the middle stands a pillar, with the entrails of beasts wound about it, and by them are hung a little bow and arrows, pikes and other arms: to all these, from time to time, they bow and prostrate themselves. Their houses are neither divided into chambers, nor furnished with upper rooms; near one half of it is taken up by a bench, which runs round the walls, about an ell high, and two broad, covered with red mats. Under this bench there passes a chimney, or funnel; so that the fire being made at one side of the door, the smoke enters the funnel, and passes out at the other side. This in winter serves instead of a stove; and although the house is not much warmed by it (Y), yet those who sit on the bench in the day, and lie on it at night (for it serves for a bed), find benefit from it.

Abjection submission.

THE natives are generally well-shaped, but especially the women; and all wear the same dress as the *Manchews* in *China*. But they live in such submission to the mandarins

(X) *Regis* says, this city is inhabited by the three sorts of people mentioned above; and as *Isbrandt Ides* described the *Targuzi* (or *Taguri*) before, the inhabitants here described, under the name of *Dori* (or *Dauri*), must be the *Solon*; for the third sort, or *Manchews*, could not be in such abjection

to the mandarins, as he mentions lower down.

(Y) In the northern provinces of *China*, they make hollow places with bricks, in the form of beds, through which, from a charcoal stove, heat is conveyed by pipes terminating in a funnel or chimney; which warms all the house as well, as the bed.

sent

It from thence, that the secretaries of those officers seize both their wives and daughters at pleasure; and our author has frequently seen them carry off the most beautiful creatures in waggons. Some men being obliged to send their wives after these ravishers, boast of having such a lord for their brother-in-law; while others submit to the injury, for fear of punishment, or losing some advantage *.

THE governor of *Tsitfiskar* has jurisdiction over the other Merghen new cities, *Merghen-hotun*, and *Saghalian-ula-hotun*. *Merghen* (Z) (or *Merghin*) lies above 40 leagues north eastward of *Tsitfiskar*; but is much thinner of people, and inclosed with only a single wall.

SAGHALIAN-ULA-HOTUN, that is, the city of the Saghalian-ula black river, stands on the southside of the river *Saghalian*, and is built like *Tsitfiskar*; is equally populous, but richer in merchandize. The lands belonging to this town, and *Merghen*, are but indifferent, being a sandy soil; yet those of *Saghalian-ula-hotun* yield good crops of wheat: they consist of a plain, extending along the river *Saghalian*, and containing several *Manchew* villages. Those few villages which are on the river belong to the city; besides several large forests, where you meet with excellent hunting for fables. These the *Russians* from, *Albazin* or *Takfa*, (A), (built a few days journey higher up the river) would have become masters of; had not that city been demolished by the treaty of *Nipchu* in 1689. The *Tatar* hunters still keep a strong guard on the frontiers, and armed barks on the *Saghalian-ula* †. As the garrison of that fortress disturbed the sable-hunters, it occasioned a war between the two empires; but at length the fort was raised, and the country yielded to the *Chineses*, by the said treaty. From thence to the mouth of the *Saghalian-ula* in the eastern sea, are full 400 leagues, by the viceroy's reckoning, who made the voyage; and 150 to *Ningûnta* ‡.

* ISBRANDT IDES, ubi suprà. p. 53, & seq. Also BRANDT's embassy to China, p. 70.

† REGIS, ubi suprà. p. 148.

‡ GERBILLON, ibid. p. 256.

(Z) This city is mentioned occasionally, both by *Ishbrandt Ides*, and his secretary *Adam Brandt*; but neither speaks of *Saghalian-ula-hotun*. The first writes *Mergeen*, the latter *Merghen*, to express *Merghin*. called by the *Russians*, *Albazin*; and by the *Tatars*, *Takfa*, from a little river on which it stood, where it runs into the *Saghalian-ula*. *Ishbrandt Ides* mentions *Albuzin*, p. 54, and *Brandt*, p. 63, says it was a strong fortress.

(A) Gerbillon says, it was

3. Govern-
ment.

Tsitfikar.

Ruins of
Aykom.

Pearl
fishing.

River
Ergona.

ABOUT 13 *Chinese li* (B), or furlongs higher, on the north side of the river, are the ruins of an ancient city, called *Aykom* (C), built by the first emperors of the *Chinese* dynasty *Tayming*, which preceded that of the *Manchews*. For the *Mungls*, after they were expelled *China* by *Hong-wu*, having been driven beyond the river *Saghalian*, *Aykom* was built under *Tong-lo*, to prevent their return. However, twenty years after they rallied and destroyed it, ravaging likewise, in revenge, the northern provinces of *China*.

INTO the *Saghalian-ula* (D) fall the *San pira*, *Kirfin pira*, and several other rivers considerable for pearl-fishing; which is performed without much art; the fishermen only jumping into these little rivers, and taking up the first oysters they can find. They say there are no pearls in the *Saghalian* itself; because, as their mandarins informed the missionaries, they durst not venture in so deep a water. They fish for them likewise in several other little rivers, which fall into the *Nonni-ula* and *Songari* (E); as the *Arom*, and *Nemer*, in the road from *Tsitfikar* to *Merghen*; but affirmed they never found any in those west of *Saghalian-ula-hotun*, towards the *Russian* territories. The pearls, though much cried up by the *Tatars*, would be little valued by *Europeans*, on account of their defects in shape and colour. The emperor *Kang-hi* had several chaplets or strings of these pearls, each containing one hundred or more, which were very large, and exactly matched; but then they were chosen out of thousands in his possession.

THE bounds of this government to the west, and on the side of *Russian Tartary*, are two rivers of a moderate size; the *Ergona* (F) and *Aygha-kerbechi*. The first rises to the south, a little below the 50th degree of latitude, and joins the *Saghalian-ula* in four degrees of longitude east of *Pe-king*. The *Kerbechi* descends, with a shorter course, from the

(B). Ten make a *French* league.

(C) *Regis* says, several at *Pe-king* give this name to *Saghalian-ula-hotun*; perhaps to excuse *Gerbillon*, who seems to do the same; for he says, the principal cities of the *Manchews* in *Eastern Tartary*, are *Ula*, *Aykom*, and *Ninguta*. *Du Halde's China*, &c. vol. ii. p. 256.

(D) This river has several names in different parts, as

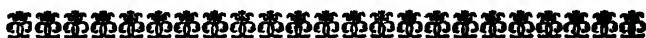
Onon towards the source; afterwards *Shilka*; by the *Chinese*, *Ho-long*, *Kyang*, or *Black dragon river*, and by the *Russians*, *Amur*.

(E) *Avril*, p. 148, says, the rivers *Argus* (*Argun*), *Tamur* (*Amur*, or *Saghalian*), and *Shingale* (or *Songari*), afford store of rubies and pearls, which the natives are continually fishing for.

(F) By others called *Argun*.

north,

north, and falls into the *Saghalian*, a little north-west of the *A.D. 900*
Ergona's mouth: from whence it is reckoned 50 leagues
to *Nipchu* or *Nerchinskoy*, the first city of the *Russians*, al-
most under the meridian of *Pe-king*, and in 50° 45' of lati-
tude *.



CHAP. II.

The empire of the Lyau or Kitan.

THE empire of *China*, as appears from these abstracts *The origin*
of its history, transmitted to us by the jesuit mission- of
ners, particularly *Martini* and *Couplet*; had been from very
early times threatened with invasions, and its northern pro-
vinces actually ravaged, by the nations bordering on the
north and west, known to the *Chineses*, by the names of *Ta-*
ta, *Ta-tse*, *Tan-yu*, and the like. These became so formidable,
as well as troublesome, that at length, to prevent their incur-
sions, the famous wall was built by the emperor *Tsin-shi-*
whang-ti, 223 years before the christian æra. But no consi-
derable part of *China* was ever conquered, or held for any
space of time, by either them, or any other neighbouring
people, till the tenth century (A): when the *Kitan*, or *Lyau*, the *Kitan*,
after subduing their neighbours in *Tartary*, invaded the or *Lyau*.
empire; and having joined some of the northern provinces to
their other dominions, founded a new monarchy, but still
resided in *Lyau-tong*.

THESE *Ki-tan*, were people of *Eastern Tartary*, who dwelt
to the north and north-east of the province of *Pe-che-li* in *China*,
particularly in *Lyau-tong*. They are called *Sye-tan*, or *Si-tan*,
by *Couplet* (B), and after him by *Du Halde*; but by *Gaubil*
and

* REGIS, ubi sup. p. 148.

(A) We may except, how-
ever, the *Wey*, whose empe-
rors were formerly very pow-
erful in *Tartary*, and the north-
ern provinces of *China*. They
were *Tatars* of the tribe of *To-*
pa (as were the kings of *Hya*).
They came originally from the
countries to the north-east of
Pe-king, between the 43d and
45th degree of latitude. They
established themselves first near

Tay-tong-fu, in *Shan-fi*. Their
dynasty began in the year of
Christ 385, and ended in 572.
There is a *Chinese* history of
these princes. *Gaubil* hist. de
Gentib. p. 50. note (6). This
seems to be the empire of the
north of *China*, mentioned by
Couplet, under the eighth dy-
nasty called *Sang*.

(B) We are told *Sye-tan* (ra-
ther *Ki-tan*) was their true
name;

and *Guigun*, *Ki-tan*: which seems more exact, as being most conformable to the name of their empire. In the century above-mentioned, they subdued all the countries between *Korea* and *Kishgar*, besides several northern provinces of *China*.

Kitay,
their em-
pire.

THIS large dominion is the famous *Katay*, or rather *Ki-tay* (C), hitherto so little known to *Europeans*, who were quite at a loss where to place it. As it was divided into two parts, with respect to the different countries which composed it, and one was much inferior in all respects to the other; that part which belonged to *Tartary* was, by way of distinction, called *Kara-kitay* (D). For the situation hereof our authors have been no less to seek, than for that of *Kitay* itself; which, in strict sense, contains only the northern provinces of *China*, subject to the *Kitan*, or *Lyau*, and their successors the *Kin*.

Their his-
tory im-
perfect.

WE are informed by *Gaubil*, one of the jesuit missionaries, that the *Chinese* have particular histories of these two nations: but as yet nothing of them has been transmitted to us, more than what we find occasionally mentioned in the reigns of the *Chinese* emperors, by *Couplet*, and that of *Jenghiz Khan*, by *Gaubil* himself. This latter gives only a brief account of the rise and fall of their dynasties; and the former only takes notice of the wars, or other affairs of importance, which any of their kings had with the *Chinese*, without giving so much as a regular list of their names. However these fragments relating to the *Lyau* and *Kin*, imperfect as they come to us, are valuable in their kind; and the rather, as they serve for a proper introduction to the history of the *Moguls* or *Mingls*.

Their do-
minion
founded.

THE empire of the *Kitan* began in *Lyau-tong*, where they had two royal seats, *Tong-king* and *Pe-king*, that is, the eastern and northern courts. The first is the same with *Lyau-yang*, the second with *Muglen*, the present capital,

name; but that after they had begun to lay the foundation of their empire, they changed it to that of *Lyau*. *Du Halde's* description of *China*, vol. i. p. 203.

(C) It was called *Kitay* by the *Moguls*, or *Mingls*, and perhaps by the *Kitan* themselves, after their own name; by others, particularly the people west of *China*, *Katay*.

(D) Or perhaps *Kara-kitay* was more properly the country about, where the *Lyau* settled after the destruction of their empire by the *Kin*, and erected a new monarchy, under the name of the *Western Lyau*, as mentioned hereafter; by the *Moguls* and *Persians* called *Kara kitayans*.

called

called by the *Chineses*, *Shin-yang* ^a. These people having A.D. 916. been formerly augmented by many colonies from *Korea*, began to extend their territories, and gave trouble to *China* more than all the other inhabitants of *Tartary*. Their empire is reckoned to commence from the 13th year of the 61st (E) *Chinese* cycle, which answers to that of Christ 916 (F), A.D. 916. and continued the space of 117 years, under nine princes; at what time those people changing their name from *Kitan* to that of *Lyau*, laid the foundation of their government. This happened in the 4th year of *Mo-ti Kyun-ti*, second emperor of the 14th *Chinese* dynasty, or race of princes, called *Hw-lyang*.

SEVENTEEN after this, in the 30th year of the cycle, *Called into* *Ming-tsung*, second emperor of the 15th dynasty, *Hw-tang*, China.

being dead, *She-king-tung*, his son-in-law, rebelled against his son and successor, *Ming-tsung*; and with an army of 50,000 men, furnished by the *Lyau*, made himself master of the palace, and deprived *Ming-tsung* of his crown and life, in the first year of his reign, and 45th of his age. His son, *Fi-ti*, being unable to resist the usurper, fled to the city *Gheychew*; where shutting up himself and family, with every thing he had of value, in a palace there, he set it on fire and perished in the flames. By his death, *She-king-tang* became emperor, and founded the 16th dynasty of *Hw-tsui*, under the name of *Kau-tsu*. But the general of the *Lyau*, who had so much contributed to the advancement of *Kau-tsu*, refused to acknowledge him for emperor, having an inclination to assume that title himself. Hereupon *Kau-tsu*, in the 33d year of the cycle, to avoid a new war, purchased a A.D. 949. peace at the expence of the honour of his country; by giving up to the *Tatarian* chief, in recompence of his service, 16 Cities cities in the province of *Pe-che-li*, which were nearest to *yielded* *Lyau-tong*, besides a yearly present of 300,000 pieces of silk. *them*.

THIS donation greatly increased the power and ambition of these restless people; and was the occasion of numberless wars, which ravaged *China* for more than 400 years. These wars began not long after: for, in the 43d year of the cycle, two years from *Kau-tsu*'s death, the *Lyau*, breaking the A.D. 959. treaty made with that prince, invaded the empire when least expected. *Tsi-vang*, his nephew and successor, opposed

^a GAUBIL Hist. de Gentchifan, p. 87.

(E) This cycle began in the year of Christ 904. (F) Or 917, as Gaubil places it. Hist. de Gentchif. p. 13.

A.D. 959 them with an army sufficient to have repulsed them: but *Ly-w-chi-ywen*, the general, covering his ambition with the appearance of zeal, made short marches; and, by affected delays, gave the enemy (G) time to make the emperor prisoner. Being thus dethroned, he was contented to accept of a small sovereignty; while the traitor-general seized the crown, by the name of *Kau-tsu*, and founded the 17th dynasty of *Hew-han*^b.

They ravage
China,
A.D. 960. MEAN time the army of *Lyau-tong*, finding no resistance, ravaged all the northern provinces of *China*, and then marched into the southern. But they were stopped by considerable bodies of troops, which opposed their passage; and occasioned their general to say, *he could not have believed that the conquest of China would have proved so difficult*: therefore, contenting himself with a rich booty, he retired into *Tartary*. *Kau-tsu* dying in the 45th year of the cycle, his son *In-ti* succeeded him the next year; whose youth gave opportunity to the eunuchs to raise commotions; especially, as the army was at a distance, employed in opposing the invasions of the *Tatars* of *Lyau-tong*. This army was commanded by *Ko-ghey*, who defeated the enemy in several battles, and thereby restored peace to the northern provinces. In the mean time *In-ti* being slain by those eunuchs, the empress placed his brother on the throne: but *Ko-ghey*, returning with triumph, proclaimed him emperor, and founded the 18th dynasty, called *Hew-chew*.

Opposed by
the Song. HOWEVER this dynasty lasted but nine years; after which the *Ta-jin*, or grandees of the empire, setting aside *Kong-ti*, the third in succession, on account of his nonage; enthroned in his room the *Ko-lau Chau-quang-yu*, who was his guardian. This prince assuming the name of *Kau-tsu*, founded the 19th dynasty, of the *Song* or *Tsong*; which continued 319 years, under 18 emperors, till destroyed by the *Moguls* or *Mangls*. Although the empire began to recover itself during the reign of this monarch, who had all the qualities which the *Chinese* require in their emperors; yet the *Lyau* continued to invade and harass the northern provinces, when the *Chinese* opposed them with various success^c. *Tay-tsung*, second emperor, of the *Song*, earnestly desired to recover the

^b COUPLET tabl. chron. sinic. p. 65. DU HALDE's China, vol. i. p. 203.
^c COUPLET, p. 66. DU HALDE, p. 204, & seq.

(G) They are every-where called barbarians in the *Chinese* history.

cities which had been yielded by his predecessors to the *Lyau*; A.D. 978. but his general, *Chang-tsi-hyen*, wisely advised him to defer his design till the empire was well established, at what time they should have more leisure and less difficulty to reduce the enemy. *Tay-tjong*, however, in the second year of his reign, and the 14th of the 62d cycle, marched against them, sometimes gaining, at other times losing, the advantage. At length the *Lyau* having laid siege to a considerable city, the *Chinese* general made use of the following stratagem to raise it. He detached 300 soldiers in the night, each carrying a lighted torch, with orders to approach as near possible to the camp of the enemy: who imagining, by the number of lights, that the whole *Chinese* army was coming upon them, immediately fled; and falling into the ambuscades, which *Chang-tsi-hyen* had placed in all the passages, very few of them escaped the sword.

TAY-TSUNG dying in the 34th year of the cycle, was succeeded next year by his son *Ching-tsung*; who hearing that the *Lyau* had besieged a city in the province of *Pe-che-li*, he came on them so suddenly with his army, that in a terror they made a shameful flight. He was advised to take advantage of their consternation, and recover the country which had been yielded to them: but instead of pursuing his victory, as if he had been defeated himself, he bought peace, by submitting to pay yearly 100,000 tael (H) and 200,000 pieces of silk. The youth and pacific disposition of *Jin-tsung* his successor revived the courage of the *Lyau*; who, in the 11th year of his reign, and 11th of the 63d cycle, would have renewed the war, if the emperor had not bought a peace, on as shameful terms as his father had agreed to. The *Lyau*, more encouraged than satisfied by these pusillanimous proceedings, two years after *Hyen-tsung*, seventh king of *Lyau-tong*, sent ambassadors to demand the restitution of ten cities in the province of *Pe-che-li*, which had been taken by *Ko-gbey*, founder of the 18th dynasty. *Jin-tsung*, who loved peace, in order to procure it, engaged to pay the *Tatar* prince yearly, 200,000 taels in silver, and 300,000 pieces of silk, in lieu of those cities: and what was most shameful of all, made use of the character *Na* in the treaty, which signifies a pension by way of tribute.

SHIN-TSUNG, the sixth emperor of the *Song*, who ascended the throne in the 45th year of the same cycle, had a strong desire to deliver the northern provinces from the

(H) A tael, called by the *Chinese* *Lyang*, is a piece of silver, the value of six shillings and eight pence.

- A. D.** yoke of the enemy, but was diverted by the counsel given
 1117. him by his mother at her death, to sacrifice every thing to preserve peace. Neither do we find any steps taken to drive them out, by his successor *Che-tsong*. But *Whey-tsong*, eighth emperor of the *Song*, impatient to suffer their ravages any longer, and not being able to prevent them himself, resolved on a remedy, which at length proved worse than the disease. This was to call in the *Nu-che* or *Nyu-che*, to destroy the kingdom of the *Lyau*. From this he was dissuaded by the king of *Korea*, and most of his ministers; but, contrary to these prudent remonstrances, in the 16th of his reign, and 34th of the 64th cycle, he entered into a league with those *Eastern Tartars*; and having joined their forces, several battles were fought, in which the army of *Lyau-tong* was always defeated, and reduced at last to such extremity, that they who remained were obliged to quit their country, and fly for safety to the mountains of the west. Thus ended the kingdom or empire of the *Lyau*, which had stood in *Lyau-tong* 209 years^d (I). However, their monarchy was in some sort restored 94 years after, by *Jenghiz Khan*; who, in 1211, made *Lyew-ko*, a *Kitan* prince, on revolting to him from the *Kin*, king of that country; and on his death, in 1225, *Pi-tu*, one of his sons, was appointed to succeed him, as more at large appears in the history of the *Mungls*.

Empire of the West-ern Lyau. MEAN time *Ye-lu Tache* (K), prince of the *Lyau*, finding his house destroyed by the *Nu-che*, or *Kin*, departed from *Tay-tong-fu*, a city of *Shin-fi*, with a few followers; and retired to the *Pe-tata* (or *White Tata*), who encamped to the south-east of mount *Altay*. From thence he removed to the neighbourhood of the city *Ho-chew* (ten miles to the east of *Turfân*, in *Little Bukharia*), still called *Pe-ting-tâ-hû-fu*. There, by means of 18 hords, he was supplied with 10,000 choice men, and prepared all sorts of arms. *Pe-li-ko*, king of the *Whey-hû* (who dwelt about *Turfân*), let him pass through his territories. *Ta-che*, having vanquished all who opposed him, arrived with an inestimable booty at *Sun-se-kan* (which our author takes to be *Kojend*, on the river *Sir*, in *Great Bukharia*); the *Whey-hû* princes, who dwelt in

^d COUPLET ubi supr. p. 68, et seq. DU HALDE, p. 208. & seq.

(I) Thus *Couplet*, and after time those people began to molest *China*, seven or eight years before.

(K) *Yelû* is the family name of the kings or emperors of *Lyau-tong*.

Empire of the Ki-tan.

those parts, advancing to give him battle, were intircly defeated. He stayed at that city 90 days, and marching westward, went to *Kirman* (L) ; where his generals proclaimed him emperor. Then returning eastward, after 20 days march, he fixed his seat at *Hu-se-wa-eul-tu* (M). Thus was the dominion of the *Western Lyau* (or *Kitan*) founded in the year 1124, by *Ye-lü Tache*; the reigns of whose successors are inserted in the *Chinese* history, till it was destroyed in the year 1212, by *Kuchluk*, prince of the *Naymáns**, after it had continued 88 years.

WE find, in this narrative of the second empire of the *Lyau* or *Kâra*-or *Kitan*, two reasons to account for the *Persian*, and other *kitayan*. historians of the west of *Asia*, calling these people *Kâra-kitayans*, and their country *Kâra-kitay*; although we cannot fix its situation with any certainty from the extracts hitherto given from them. For it has been already observed, that all the country west of *Lyau-tong*, as far as *Kâshgar*, had been conquered by the *Kitan*; and that part of the *Kitan* empire called *Kitay*, which belonged to *Tartary*, had the name of *Kâra-kitay* given to it; probably by the *Moguls*, *Turks*, and other inhabitants of *Tartary*, from whom the southern nations received it.

THE historians among the *Mohammedans*, *Tatars*, and *Per-* Kâra-ki-
sians, mention two kings of *Kâra-kitay*, under the title of *Kâr* tay Kûr
Khân, or *Gûrkan*. With regard to the first of these, we are Khân.
told by *Mirkond*, that the *Khân* of *Balásagûn* (N), which
the *Moguls* call *Khâm-bâlig*, that is, *the good town*, of the
posterity of *Afrasiab*, to defend himself against the *Turkish*
tribes of *Karluk*, *Kipjak*, and *Kânkli*, submitted both him-
self and his city to *Gûrkhân*, king of the *Kâra-kitayans* (O);
who changing his name from *Illuk Khân*, gave him that of A. D.
Illuk Turkman. After this, in the year 536 of the *Hejrah*, he 1141.

* GAUBIL, ubi supr. p. 34, 127.

(L) Not *Kirmân* in *Persia*, it is presumed; but rather *Kurmina*, near the city of *Bokhâra*, in *Great Bukharia*, or some other place to the north of the *Sir*, now destroyed.

(M) 'This is the *Chinese* word for *Ortû*, i. e. *the palace of the king*; a city in the east of *Little Bukharia*, towards *Hâmi* or *Khamil*.

(N) A city in about 46 de-

grees of latitude, and four east of *Samarkand*; one hundred and fifty miles north-east of *Tonkat* on the river *Sir*, in the east borders of the present *Turkestan*, of which it was then the capital; but is now probably in ruins. See the description of *Turkestan*, vol iv. p. 73.

(O) He is commonly called *Kara-kitay Gurkhân*, or *Kurkhân*, by the *Persian* historians.

conquered

A. D. 1177. conquered *Kâşgar*, *Khoten*, *Bisbbâlig*, *Turkeştân*, and *Marawaral'nâhr* (or *Great Bukhâria*). Upon his death he was succeeded by *Kujang*, who also assumed the title of *Gurkhân*, and reigned 81 years. The successor of *Kujang*, was *Kuchluk Khân*, who subdued *Kâşgar* and *Khoten*†.

Quits his country. *ABULGHAZI KHAN* speaks of only one king of *Kâra-kitay*, but seems to have joined the two first together. He tells you, that the inhabitants of *Kâra-kitay* having revolted against the emperor of *Kitay*, a great part of them left their country, and retired towards the *Kerghis*; but these latter having pillaged instead of welcomed them, they went and dwelt in the country of *Atil*, and built a town there. They applied themselves to cultivating the lands; and as they thrived by their industry, many neighbouring people went and joined them: so that at length they were able to make up 40,000 families. About the same time the *Khân* of *Jûrjât* (P), declared war against the inhabitants of *Kâra-kitay*; and having defeated them, made himself master of the country. This obliged the prince of *Kâra-kitay*, called *Nufi Tayghir Ili* (Q), a prince of great merit, to retire among the *Kerghis*, and from thence to a town of *Kitay*, called *Imil*. This happened about the year 573.

A. D. 1177. *Assis Il-lik Khân*. Two years after (in 1179), when the place of his retreat was known; one *Illik Khân*, of the posterity of *Afrasîab Khân*, who resided in the town of *Talasgun* (*Balâfugân*) or *Khâmâlik*, finding himself hard pressed by the *Kankli*, who dwelt in his neighbourhood and had destroyed all his cultivated lands, sent to *Nufi Tayghir Ili* to desire his assistance, offering, on that condition, to resign his city to him. The offer having been accepted of, *Nufi Tayghir Ili* went, and taking the government into his hands, changed the name of *Illik Khân* into that of *Illik Turkmân*; and assumed himself the Title of *Kavar* (or *Kâr*) *Khân*, that is, *Great Lord*. After this he conquered the cities of *Andijân*, *Tâshkunt*, and *Turkeştân*; but raised the siege before *Samar-kunt*, because the inhabitants obliged themselves to pay him an annual tribute. Some time after he returned to his own dominions, he sent *Avîs*, one of his generals, towards *Urgheus*, the

Grows very powerful.

† MIRKOND. ap Horn. arca Noæ. p. 287.

(P) This possibly was one of the *Sifia* princes, mentioned hereafter; who reigned in the country of *Kokonor*, and part of *Sken-jî* in *China*.

(Q) *Ili*, perhaps, stands for *Yelu*, which, as we observed in a former note, is the family name of the *Kitân* princes.

capital of *Karazm*, with a numerous army; which having plundered all the adjacent country, *Vighis Khân* (R) was obliged to submit to a yearly tribute of 20,000 gold dinars. This he accordingly punctually paid to *Kavar Khân*; but his son *Mohammed* coming to succeed him (S), refused any longer to perform the agreement. This caused a war between these two potentates; and although *Soltân Mohammed*, whose dominions extended as far as the country of *Râm* (or the *Greeks*), had gathered all his forces; yet he was defeated by *Kavar Khân*, and constrained to fly for shelter to the *Kankli*, till he had found means to make a new agreement with his enemy ².

A. D.

1119-



SOME time after this (T), *Kuchluk*, prince of the *Nay-mâns*, having, after several defeats, been closely pursued by *Jenghiz Khân* (prince of the *Moguls* or *Mungls*, who had already subdued most of the tribes in the east parts of *Tartary*), fled to *Turkestan*, where he was received with great marks of distinction and affection by *Kavar Khân*; who pitying the misfortunes of this young prince, gave him his daughter in marriage, and looked on him as his own son. Those who knew *Kuchluk* did not approve of this match, for he had neither good-nature nor gratitude; and notwithstanding his obligations to his father-in-law, daily excited commotions among his subjects, and even held intelligence with *Soltân Mohammed Karazm Shâh*, his greatest enemy. At last in 611, under some pretence of discontent, he retired from court with such as he had seduced to his party; and being joined by the eastern tribes, who had refused to acknowledge *Jenghiz Khân* for their sovereign, he suddenly attacked *Kavar Khân* (or *Kurkhân*), and deprived him of the better half of his dominions eastward; whilst *Soltân Mohammed* invaded his dominions on the west ¹.

Protects
Kuchluk.

A. D.

1214-

KAVAR KHÂN, detesting the ingratitude of *Kuchluk*, who plots resolved first to be revenged on him; and though he was far advanced in years, put himself at the head of a considerable army. Then marching against him, had vigour enough to

² ABULGHAZI KHAN, hist. Turks, p. 44. ¹ ABULGH. p. 85, 93 DE LA CROIX, hist. Gengh. p. 93, 114.

(R) The same with *Takaş*, succeeded his father *Takaş*, in or *Alau'ddin Takaş*, sixth *Soltân* of *Karazm*, who had the title of *Karazm Shâh*. He began his reign about *Hejrab* 599, A. D. 1196.

(T) *Abulghazi Khân*: places this event in *Hejrab* 602, A. D. 1205. *De la Croix* in 604, or 605; that is, A. D. 1207, or 1208.

(S) *Kotboddin Mohammed*,

conquer

A. D. 1115. conquer him in the country of *Quakaj*. After this he turned his arms against *Soltân Mohammed*, who had already seized on all the provinces of *Turkeftân* bordering on *Great Bukhâria* and *Karazm*; but had not the same success as against

And imprisons him.

Kuchluk, for he narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. The weakness attending that prince's great age, gave opportunity to several lords of his kingdom to form plots against him; so that his dominions fell into strange disorders, of which he could not expect to see the end. To complete his misfortunes, his ungrateful son-in-law returning to give him a second battle, gained the victory, and took him prisoner. It is true he treated him in appearance with respect, but took possession of all his kingdom and treasures; which injurious requital for his many favours, so affected the aged *Kârkhân*, that within two years after he died with grief. Thus terminated the life of this great prince, who in his prosperity had assumed the title of emperor¹; and in him ended the dominion of the *Western Lyau*, or *Kara-khâyans*, which this prince had extended over one half of *Great Tartary*, from *His death.* mount *Altay* (which then bounded the conquest of *Jenghiz Khân*), to the *Caspian* sea, containing the space of 40 degrees in longitude.

THE reader must rest content with this imperfect account of the *Western Lyau* and their empire; till the detail of their history comes transmitted to us from *China*, if ever that shall happen. We shall only farther observe, that these princes, according to the *Persian* writers, reigned at *Kâshgar*, before their conquest of *Turkeftân*: for they frequently speak of the *Kara-kitay Khâns* residing there, and marching from thence in their expeditions westward.



C H A P. III.

The empire of the Nyu-che, or Kin.

The Kin prince.

THE empire of the *Eastern Lyau*, or *Kitan*, having been destroyed by the powerful assistance of the *Nyu-che Tatars* (A), as hath been before set forth, their prince

¹ DE LA CROIX, ubi suprà. p. 114. & seq.

(A) Or *Nu-che* and *Nyu-chin*. the *Lyau* had as much right to They are likewise commonly be so called as they. called *Eastern Tatars*, although

"grew (B) so elated with this conquest, that he assumed the title of emperor, and gave the name of *Kin* (C) to his new dominion. Soon after, extending his views of aggrandizing himself, he broke his treaties with the emperor of the *Song*, who reigned in *China*; and invading the provinces of *Pe-che-li* and *Shen-si*, made himself master of them, more by treachery of some mal-contents, than by force of arms. *Whey-tsong*, in danger of losing the greater part of his dominions, made several advantageous proposals to the *Tatar*; who seeming to hearken to them, invited the *Chinese* monarch to come in person and settle the limits of the two empires. This *Whey-tsong* complied with, and new articles of peace were agreed on between them: but on that prince's return to his capital city, his ministers made him change his mind, telling him that the treaty could not subsist, and that the most cruel war was preferable to so shameful a peace. The *Kin* monarch, who was informed of all which passed, had immediately recourse to arms; and, taking several cities, entered the province of *Shan-si* in triumph; where he once more invited the *Song* emperor to come and settle their limits. This unhappy prince, who dreaded nothing so much as war, was weak enough, after this new breach, to go a second time to his enemy; who on his arrival seized his person, and having stripped him of all the marks of his dignity, kept him prisoner. A faithful minister, named *Li-so-fbin*, who accompanied the emperor, enraged at this perfidy, in the height of his fury, cut off his own lips and tongue, and then killed himself.

A. D.
1117.

Invasions of the
empire.

WHEY-TSONG died in the desert of *Sha-mo* (D), where he was confined under a strong guard, in the 42d year of the 64th cycle, and 54th of his age; having first nominated *Kin-tsong*, his eldest son, to succeed him. This prince began his reign by executing the orders of his father, in putting to death six of his ministers, who had basely betrayed him to the *Kin Tatars*. Mean time these latter pursued their conquests, and invaded the province of *Ho-nan*, passing the

A. D.
1126.

(B) *Gaubil* informs us that his name was *Ogota* or *Aguta*; and says, the first year of his empire was that of Christ, 1115. *Hist. de Gents*. p. 87. note (1).

(C) *Kin* signifies gold; whence the *Moguls* translating the word into their own language, gave the emperor of this dynasty, the name of *Altun Khan*; that is,

the king of gold, or the golden king.

(D) A vast desert, which extends from south-west to north-east, through that part of *Tartary* which lies to the north of *China*. It is called by the *Mongols* the *Great Kobi* or desert. It is described in the next chapter.

A. D. 1128. *Whang-ho*, or *yellow river*, without opposition. This made them wonder at the negligence of the *Chineses*, who with a handful of men might have prevented it. The army, being gotten over, marched directly to the imperial city, which they took and plundered: then seizing the emperor (E) and his consort, carried them away prisoners: but the principal lords, and several of the ministers, preferring death before so ignominious a bondage, slew themselves. The *Kin* being informed by the empress *Meng*, that she had been divorced and had no hand in the management of affairs, they left her behind: which was the means of preserving the empire. For by her wisdom and conduct she got the crown placed on the head of *Kau-tsung*, ninth son of *Whey-tsung* by his divorced empress, in the 44th year of the cycle.

The Song retire. *KAU-TSUNG* fixed his court at *Nan-king*, capital of *Kyang-nan*; but soon after was obliged to remove it to *Hang-chew* (F) in *Che-kyang*. Although of a peaceful disposition, yet he gained some victories over both the *Kin* and his own rebellious subjects; who took advantage of the present troubles to plunder the provinces. *Kong-ye*, who commanded his forces, had several times repulsed the *Kin*, but could recover none of the conquered countries.

Hi-tsung. *HI-TSUNG* (G), the *Kin* monarch, to gain the love of his new subjects, shewed his esteem for learning and learned men. He likewise visited the hall of *Kong-fu-tse*, or *Konfusius*; and, in imitation of the *Chineses*, paid him regal honours; saying to his courtiers, who thought a person of his mean parentage did not deserve so much homage, *If he does not merit these honours by his birth, he merits them for the excellent doctrine which he hath taught.* After this he marched with his forces to *Nan-king*, from whence the emperor had retired, and took it: but receiving intelligence that *Yo-si*, general of the *Song*, was advancing by long marches to relieve that city, they set fire to the palace, and retreated northward. However *Yo-si* arrived time enough to fall upon their rear-guard,

Takes Nan-king.

(E) He died in *Tartary*, 30 years after.

(F) This is the famous city called by *Marco Polo*, *Quinsay*, capital of *Manji*; which name he gives to *Southern China*, or the empire of the *Song*.

(G) The names of the kings mentioned by *Compter*, are not those used by their subjects, but *Chinese*; as appears from what

we find in that respect relating to the last emperors of the *Kin*. All the *Chinese* names of those monarchs seem to have ended in *Tsong*, as did those of the contemporary *Chinese* emperors of the *Song* race. But for what reason the historians give them the same termination, we know not.

which

which suffered very much; and from that time the *Kin* never dared to cross the ^a *Kyang* (H). A. D. 1163.

A FEW years after the emperor made peace with the *Kin* monarch on very dishonourable conditions: for in signing the treaty he submitted to use the word *Chin*, that is, *subject*, and *Kong*, which signifies *tributary*. The *Tatar*, in the consideration of these submissive terms, engaged to send the emperor the bodies of 8 of his relations, who had died within so many years; whose arrival he solemnized with a general pardon. In the 35th of his reign, and 18th of the 65th cycle; the *Tatar* king broke the peace, and invading the southern province with a formidable army, took *Yang-chew* (I). Afterwards approaching the *Kyang*, which is not far from that city, he commanded his troops to pass over near the mouth of the river, where it is most wide as well as rapid, threatening with his drawn sword to kill those who refused. Hereupon the whole army mutinied; and the king being killed in the beginning of the tumult, they immediately retired towards the north, where several disturbances and insurrections began to appear. A. D. 1163.

NEXT year *Kau-tsong* resigned the crown to his adopted son, *Hyau-tsong*; but lived 25 years longer, and died without children, at the age of eighty-four. *Hyau-tsong* enjoyed a peaceful reign, and so did his successor *Quang-tsong*; because the *Kin Tatar*, *She-tsong*, very different from his predecessor, was of a mild and pacific temper. But in the reign of *Ning-tsong*, 13th emperor of the *Tsong*, the *Kin* again violating the peace, invaded the *Chinese* territories afresh. New insurrections.

MEAN time *Jenghiz Khan*, chief of the *Western Tatars*, *Jenghiz* or *Mungls*, who had begun to lay the foundation of his empire, having in the year 1204 attacked the kingdom of *Hya* (which sprung up in the west parts of *Kitay*, during the dynasty of the *Lyan*), and obliged the king to pay him tribute, resolved to turn his arms against the *Kin*, in order to revenge the injuries which the *Moguls*, or *Mungls*, had re- Khan of- fended A. D. 1204.

^a COUPLET, tabl. chron. Sinic. p. 72. DU HALDE's China, vol. i. p. 211.

(H) The greatest river in *China*, through the middle of which it runs from west to east. *Kyang* signifies *the river*; by way of eminence. It is also called *Yang-tse Kyang*, which signifies *the river which is the son of the sea*; in allusion to its extraordinary largeness. (I) *Yang-chew fu*, one of the capital cities of the province of *Kyang-nan*, situate to the north of the *Kyang*, on the royal canal.

A. D. 1213. *Yong-tsi* received from them. Among the rest, *Yong-tsi*, a prince of the blood, having been sent by *Tay-ho*, emperor of the *Kin*, to recover the tribute from the *Mongols*, he seemed to make no account of *Temujin* (afterwards called *Jenghiz Khân*), and proposed having him seized. *Yong-tsi* coming to the crown, on the death of the emperor *Wang-Yen-king*, he next year sent to demand the tribute of *Temujin*, who refused to pay it; and immediately raising a formidable army, in 1210, ordered a body of troops to march towards the frontiers of *Shan-si* and *Pe-che-li* ^b. At the same time, the king of *Hya*, disgusted with the *Kin* emperor, for having refused to assist him with troops, when attacked by *Jenghiz Khân*, invaded his dominions on the west side ^c.

Forces the great wall. *YONG-TSI*, finding himself threatened by two formidable enemies at once, raised forces in order to defend himself. But on the news he received in 1211, that *Jenghiz Khân* was marching southward with his whole army, he was seized with fear, and sent to make proposals of peace, which were rejected. After this the *Mongls* forced the *Great Wall* to the north of *Shan-si*, and made incursions as far as *Yen-king* (now *Pe-king*) the capital of the *Kin* empire ^d. At the same time great part of *Lyau-tong*, the bulwark of the *Kin* empire, was reduced by several *Kitân* lords, who had revolted to *Jenghiz Khân*. This prince, in 1212, took several strong places, and defeated an army of 300,000 *Kin*, with inferior forces; but being wounded at the siege of *Tay-tong-fu* in *Shan-si*, returned to *Tatary*; yet the next year re-entered *Kitay*, and gained two great battles ^e.

Yong-tsi slain. THE same year *Yong-tsi* was slain by his general *Huja-kâ*; and *Sun*, a prince of the blood, advanced in his room. After which, the *Mongls* attacking the *Kin* with four different armies at once, laid waste *Shan-si*, *Ho-nan*, *Pe-che-li*, and *Shan-tong*. In 1214 *Jenghiz Khân* sat down before *Yen-king*, the capital of the *Kin* empire; but instead of assaulting the city where the emperor then was, offered him peace on certain conditions, which were accepted; and he withdrew into *Tatary*. After the *Mongls* were returned, the emperor *Sun*, leaving his son at *Yen-king*, removed his court to *Pyen-lyang* (called *Nan-king*, or the *South Court*) near *Kay-fong-fu*, the present capital of *Hô-nan*. *Jenghiz Khân*, offended hereat, immediately sent troops to besiege *Yen-king*. At the same time the emperor of the *Song* refused to pay the *Kin* tribute. The capital held out till the 5th month of the year 1215, and then

^b GAUBIL's hist. Gentch. p. 12, & seq.

^d Ibid. p. 15.

^e Ibid. p. 18. 74.

^c Ibid. p. 20.

surrendered. This year also the *Mungls* finished the conquest of *Lyau-tong*; and the king of *Hya* continued the war against the *Kin*.

A. D.
1224.

Yen-king
surrenders.

IN 1216 *Jenghiz Khan* returned into *Tartary* to pursue his conquests in the west of *Asia*, where he continued above 7 years. Mean time his chief general *Muhuli* (H), whom he had left to take care of his acquisitions in *Kitay*, made great advances there, both against the *Kin* and the king of *Hya*. He was assisted in his progress against the former by the motions of *Ning-tsong*, emperor of the *Song*, or southern *China*; who, incensed by their frequent perfidies, had already declared war against the *Kin*. Nor would they hearken to peace on any terms, though very advantageous proposals had been made him; publishing an edict, wherein he earnestly requested his subjects to use their utmost endeavours to drive the *Tatars* of *Nyu-che* out of the empire. When the *Kin* monarch was informed of *Ning-tsong*'s inflexible temper, he is reported to have said, by way of reply to him, *To day the western Tatars will destroy my empire; to-morrow they will conquer yours* ^b.

The Kin
distressed.

FOR all this, the *Kin* exerting themselves, in 1220 raised *Make* two great armies, one in *Shen-si*, where they baffled the attempts both of the *Song* and the *Hya*, who were united against them. In *Shang-tong* they set on foot an army of 200,000 men; but they were intirely defeated by *Muhuli*. In 1221 that great officer marched westward, and passing the *Whang-ho*, struck terror through the dominions of *Hya*, which he entered; but bent his arms solely against the *Kin*, from whom, that year and the next, he subdued great part of *Shen-si*; then returning into *Shan-si*, died there, after he had mastered several cities.

great est
forts.

IN 1224, the *Kin* emperor dying in the 9th month, his son *Shew* (I) succeeded him, and made peace with the king of *Hya*, promising to send his son for a hostage. Next year *Jenghiz Khan* arriving in his own dominions, from his expedition in the west, marched to chastise the king of *Hya*, who had given shelter to two of his keenest enemies; and overran the greater part of his dominions, to such a degree that the king died for grief, in the 7th month of the year 1226. He was succeeded by *Li-hyen*, who being reduced to the last extremity in his capital *Ning-hya*, surrendered at discretion in

The Hya
ruined.

A. D.
1224.

^a GAUBIL's hist. Gentch. p. 21, & seq

^b Ibid. p. 32.

^a Ibid. p. 43 COUPL. p. 74. DU HALDE, p. 203.

(H) *Mukbuli*, or *Mokli*.

called him *Gay-ti*, or as others

(I) Or rather *Shew-su*, as it is written afterwards. This was his true name; but the *Chinese*

spell it, *Ngay-ti*; as we find by *Couplet*, and are told by *Gaubil*, p. 87.

A. D. the 6th month of 1227. And thus a period was put to kingdom or empire of *Hya* (K).

1231. *Progress in Shen si.* IN 1226, while *Jenghiz-Khân* was subduing the kingdom of *Hya*, his son *Oktay* marched into *Ho-nân*, and besieged *Kay-fong-su*, capital of the *Kin* empire; but was obliged to withdraw into *Shen-si*, where that prince took several cities. Mean time the *Kin*, fearing his return into *Ho-nân*, made new overtures of peace: but they were rejected by *Jenghtz Khân*, who having forces to besiege *Ning-hya*, sent another body to conquer the country of *Koko-nor*. This having done, they reduced *Ho-chew* and *Si-ning* in *Shen-si*, cut in pieces an army of 30,000 men, and then went to besiege *Lin-tau-fu*, a city belonging to the *Kin*, 14 or 15 leagues to the south-east of *Ho-chew*¹.

JENGHIZ KHÂN, who had gone to pass the summer heats at the mountain *Lu-pan*, or *Lyeu-pan*, fell sick and died there, in *August*; after having named his son *Oktay* for his successor, and given him instructions for the more speedy reduction of the *Kin* dominions.

Peace rejected. MEAN time the war went on vigorously between the two nations, with various success. In 1228, the *Kin*, commanded

A. D. by a prince of the blood, defeated the *Mungls* in battle, and
1228. slew 8000 men. Next year the *Kin* emperor, under pre-

tence of complimenting the new *Khân* upon his advancement, made proposals of peace by his ambassadors: but *Oktay* refusing to enter into any negotiations on that subject, pushed the war in *Shen-si*, where several cities were taken; and at length, in 1230, the capital *Si-gan-fu*, then called *Kin-tau*.

A. D. Presently after *Oktay*, and his brother *Toley*, or *Tuli*, at the
1230. head of a formidable army, entered *Shen-si*, resolving to make short work of it: but although above 60 important posts were taken, they could not force *Tong-quan*, which they had so often attempted, in order to penetrate effectually into *Ho-nan*. Hereupon the army separating, the emperor marched with one part into *Shan-si*, the other part remained in *Shen-si*, with *Toley*; who besieged *Fong-tsyang-fu*; and after defeating the *Kin* army, which came from *Tong-quan* to relieve the place, took it in *April* 1231^k.

A. D. 1231.

¹ GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 48, & seq.

^k Ibid p. 54, & seq.

(K) A more particular account of the ruin of this monarchy will be given hereafter, in the history of the *Si-fan*, or *Ts-fan*.

HERE one of the *Kin* officers told the prince, that he lost time, as well as his troops, in attacking the *Kin* by the way of *Tong-quan*, and the *Whang-ho*; but assured him he might enter *Ho-nan* in less than a month by the country of *Han-chong-fu*. This advice being approved on, in January 1233, *Toley* marched towards that city: but being denied passage by the governor for the *Song* emperor, to whom it belonged, he took it by assault with great slaughter; while the *Chineses* flying on all sides to the mountains, more than 100,000 perished there. At length *Toley*, after surmounting infinite difficulties, entered *Ho-nan*, to the great consternation of the *Kin*, who did not expect an attack from them on that side. However, two generals were sent with a great army to stop their progress: *Toley* feigning a flight, the *Kin* pursued. Mean time a detachment of *Mungls* seized the heavy baggage of the *Kin*, which obliged the generals to retire to *Tong-chew*; from whence, concealing their loss, they sent the emperor word that they had gained the battle. But a few days after, while the inhabitants of *Kay-fong-fu* were still rejoicing for the supposed victory, the van-guard of the *Mungl* troops, sent by *Oktay Khan*, appeared in the plain; and in January 1232, the *Khan* himself passing the *Whang-ho* from *Shan-si*, went and encamped in the district of *Kay-fong-fu*, then called king *be-Pyen-king*, which he sent his general *Sápútay* to besiege. This city, which was then 120 *Li* (L.) in circumference, having had only 40,000 soldiers to defend it, a recruit of 40,000 more from the neighbouring cities, and 20,000 peasants, were ordered into it; while the *Kin* emperor published a discourse on the occasion, which made every body weep, and at the same time animated them to defend the place to death.

A. D.
1231.

Ho-nan
entered.

OKTAY having heard with joy of *Toley's* entrance into *Ho-nan*, by the way of *Shen-si*, ordered him to send succours to *Sápútay*. On the other hand, the two *Kin* generals advanced with 150,000 men to support that great city: but dividing their troops near *Kun-chew*, to avoid in part the great road which the *Mungls* had embarrassed with trees, *Toley* attacked them with his forces; and after some small resistance, the *Kin*, weakened by want of provisions, were intirely routed, with the loss of both their generals, one killed, the other taken. In February the army at *Tong-quan*, and other fortified places, marched, by order of the *Kin* emperor, to assist

* GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 59, & seq.

(L) These are *Li*, or furlongs, latitude; and not those whereof of which 250 go to a degree of to make a league. GAUBIL.

A. D.
1231.Great
slaughter.

Kay-fong-fu, to the number of 110,000 foot, and 15,000 horse; followed by infinite numbers of people for protection. But many of these troops having deserted to the enemy, and the rest being infeebled by the fatigues of the march, in roads made impassable by the thaws of nightly frosts, they dispersed on the approach of their pursuers; who killed all whom they found in the highways, with the two generals. After this they took *Tong-quan*, and other considerable posts; but were obliged to raise the sieges of *Quey-te-fu* and *Lo-yang*, by the bravery of the governors, especially him of this last place, named *Kyang-shin*, who so fatigued the *Mungls* by his activity, and the engines he invented for shooting stones and arrows, that after three months siege he obliged them to raise it; although he had but 400 brave fellows among his soldiers, against 30,000 of the enemy¹.

Peace concluded.

OKTAY KHAN having resolved to return into *Tatary*, sent to offer the *Kin* emperor peace, on condition that he became tributary, and delivered up to him²⁷ families, whose names he mentioned. These overtures were very acceptable to the emperor. But *Sápútay* taking no notice of the treaty, pressed the siege of *Pyen-king* more vigorously than ever; and by help of the *Chinese* slaves in his army, soon filled the city ditch with fascines, trees, and other materials. This threw the inhabitants into a great consternation, and induced the emperor *Shew* to send the prince, his heir, in hostage. Mean time *Sápútay* redoubled his attempts to take the city; and the *Kin* seemed to assume new vigour. The *Moguls* at that time made use of artillery (M), but the bullets could make no impression on the walls, which were as impenetrable as iron. The *Mungls* likewise raised walls round those which they besieged, 150 *Li* in circuit, fortified with ditches, towers, and battlements. They proceeded also to sap the walls: but were mightily obstructed by the artillery of the besieged, and especially their bombs filled with powder; which sinking into their galleries, and bursting under ground, made great havoc among the miners.

Prodigious
mortality.

FOR 16 days and 16 nights the attacks continued without ceasing; in which an incredible number of men were destroyed on both sides: but at length *Sápútay* finding that he could not take the city, withdrew, under pretence of the conferences being on foot. Soon after the plague began in *Kay-*

¹ GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 64, & seq.

(M) Fire-pau engines which the *Chinese* have had the use of shot not only fire, but stone bullets, by means of powder, which above 1600 years. Gaubil.

fong-fü, where, in 50 days, 900,000 biers were carried out, besides infinite poor, who could not afford any. When the contagion was over, the emperor *Shew-fu* bestowed large rewards on the officers who had defended the city, retrenched the expence of his table considerably, reduced the number of his women, and striking out of his titles that of *holy, wife, or perfect*, ordered *superior* to be used instead of it ^m.

A D.
1232.

PEACE thus restored might have continued, but two unlucky accidents re-commenced the war, which put an end to the dominion of the *Kin*. *Gan-yong*, a *Mungl* lord, having assumed the government of some cities taken by him from the *Kin*, in *Kyang-nan*, and killed the officer sent with troops by one of the *Mungl* generals to take possession of them, declared for the *Kin*. The emperor *Shew-fu*, deceived by false hopes, took *Gan-yong* into his service, and gave him the title of prince. Hereupon *Oktay Khán* sent an envoy, attended by 30 other persons, to enquire into that affair. But the *Kin* officers slew them all, without being punished by the emperor. *Sápútay* having informed *Oktay* of these proceedings, the *Khán* ordered him to continue the war in *Ho-nan*. The *Kin* emperor, on his part, commanded his officers to unite their troops, and form an army to defend the capital: but the *Mungls* attacking them before they could join, defeated them one after the other. This obliged him to raise soldiers from among the peasants and common people, for whose subsistence the inhabitants were taxed three-tenths of the rice they were possessed of; which order was executed with great rigour.

War re-
newed.

MEAN time provisions became extremely scarce in the city. *Pyen-king* Towards the end of the year the *Mungls* made a treaty with the *Song* emperor, who engaged to join his forces to theirs; on condition to have the province of *Ho-nan* delivered to him, as soon as the dynasty of the *Kin* should be destroyed. In the beginning of the year 1233, *Sápútay* preparing to besiege *Pyen-king* (or *Kay-fong-fü*) which was but in a bad posture of defence, the emperor resolved to take the field; and passing the *Whang-ho*, sent part of his army to besiege *Wey-chew* (now *Wey-whew*), south-west of *Kay-fong-fü*, but being attacked by the *Mungls*, it was cut to pieces. At the same time *Sápútay* sat down the second time before the capital city, where the empresses and princes remained. The emperor, on hearing these bad tidings, repassed the *Yellow River*, and retired to *Quy-te-fü*.

A. D.
1233.

TSULI, general of the troops which defended the western wall of *Pyen-king*, under pretence of saving the people, as-
Surrendered by a traitor.

^a GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 69, & seq.

N n 4

^a Ibid. p. 72, & seq.

sumed

A. D.
1233.

sumed the management of affairs himself; and having played the tyrant for a while, went in great pomp, and delivered up the city to the *Mungl* general, before he had formed the siege of it, with all the princes and princesses of the blood, the treasures and jewels. *Sûpâtay* put to death all those who were of the imperial race: but the inhabitants, amounting to 1,400,000 families, were saved by the *Khân's* order. He sent the empress-mother, empress-regent, the queens, and their attendants, to *Ho-lin* (or *Karakorum*), where *Oktay* kept his court.

WHILE *Tsu-li* was acting in this manner at *Pyen-king*, *Pâ-cha-uen*, another general, behaved with no less insolence at *Quey-te-fû*. He put to death several great men at pleasure, and even confined the emperor to his chamber: but coming to confer with his majesty soon after, he was slain by three faithful officers, who had offered their service for that purpose.

Ju ning-
fû besieged. AFTER this the emperor *Shew-fu*, leaving troops at *Quey-te-fû*, removed to *Ju-ning-fû* (N), with only 400 persons to accompany him; the inhabitants every-where lamenting his miserable state, and he deporting himself with great humility. The presence of the emperor brought crowds of people to the city; and the distance of the *Mungls* made him think of living at ease: but while he talked of building a palace, and taking a wife, the united armies of the *Chineses* and *Mungls* came in *October*, and invested *Ju-ning-fû*. The garrison, terrified at the works which were raised to inclose the city, would have surrendered it; but the emperor, seconded by his brave general *Hû-fye-hû*, encouraged them to hold out to the last. In *November*, for want of men, the women, dressed in the male habit, were employed to carry wood, stones, and other necessary materials, to the walls.

Kin em-
peror's bra-
very. THE chief fortifications of *Ju-ning-fû* consisted of a tower, surrounded with water, and a fort near the river *Jû*, which being taken, the enemy forced the south and west walls; but found within a second wall, defended with *chevaux de frise*, and a ditch, where the illustrious *Hû-fye-hû* fought three days and nights with success. On this occasion the *Kin* emperor said to the lords who were about him, *That the princes under whom empires ended, were commonly brutal, and treated by their conquerors with indignity: but that they should not see the fall of the Kin dynasty dishonoured in him.* Upon this

• GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 78, & seq.

(N) A city of *Honan*, in the southern parts of it.

he

he distributed all his costly effects among them, and put on an ordinary habit. Then inviting his best troops to follow him, sallied out of the eastern gate, and made extraordinary efforts, with a resolution either to die with his arms in his hand, or break through the enemy: but unable to compass either design, he was at length forced back into the city; where, for three months, the besieged had endured extreme famine, and were reduced to feed on human flesh, killing the old and feeble, as well as many prisoners, for that purpose.

A. D.

1234.

THIS being known to the confederate generals, they made a general assault in January 1234, on the western side, which they continued from morning till evening, with great loss of men, but without success. The besieged likewise had all their best officers and soldiers cut off in the action. Hereupon, that night, the emperor *Shew*, assembling the lords, resigned the throne to *Cheng-lin*, a prince of the blood. Next morning, while the ceremony of investing the new emperor was performing, the *Chinese* and *Mungl* troops mounted the south walls, defended only by 200 men; and the south gate being at the same time abandoned, the whole army broke in. However, the prince *Hü-sye-hü*, with 1000 soldiers, met them in a street, and fought with amazing intrepidity.

The city taken.

A. D.

1234.

MEAN time the emperor *Shew-sü*, seeing all irreparably lost, made haste, and lodged the seal of the empire in a house; then causing sheafs of straw to be set round it, ordered his people to set it on fire as soon as they found he was dead. After this order he hanged himself; and his commands were executed by his domesticks. *Hü-sye-hü*, who was still fighting like a lion, being informed of the emperor's tragick end, bid adieu to his officers, protesting that he would die likewise: accordingly he ran that instant to the river *Jü*, and drowned himself. The officers who were with the prince, and 500 of the most resolute soldiers, followed, telling him they knew how to die as well as he; and threw themselves also into the same river.

The emperor's death.

THE new emperor *Chang-lin*, at the head of a few mandarins, performed the *Chinese* ceremonies for the death of *Shew-sü*, and gave orders to bury his ashes by the river side. Mean time the emperor, having seized on the palace, the two generals divided between them all that could be found of the royal ornaments, and the emperor's ashes. The same day *Chang-lin* was slain in a tumult: and thus ended the dynasty of the

His successor slain.

A. D. 1234. *Kin*, after it had continued 117 years, or, according to *Gaubil*, 119 years (O), under nine emperors¹.

The *Kin*
emperors.

THIS author furnishes us with the names of five of these emperors, besides *Shang-lin*; viz. *Tay-ho*, *Wang-yen-king*, *Tong-tsi*, *Sun*, and *Chew-su*; with the years when the three last began and ended their reigns. If these immediately succeeded one the other, then the sixth king whom he mentions elsewhere, by the name of *Chang-tsang*, must be *Wang-yen-king*, or *Tong-tsi*, supposing *Chang-lin* to be the last. This difficulty would have been avoided, had that author either numbered the five kings he speaks of, or given us both the *Tatar* and *Chinese* names, of which latter kind *Chang-tsang* doubtless is. *Couplet* mentions three of the preceding emperors, *Hi-tsang*, the *Tatar* king, not named by the other; and *She-tsang*: to whom if you add *Aguta*, said by *Gaubil* to be the founder of the *Kin* monarchy, we shall have a complete line of nine emperors. But in all probability *Aguta* is the same with *Hi-tsang*, although *Couplet* does not expressly say he was the first king; the former being his proper name, the latter, that given him by the *Chinese*s. So that the 9th should be looked for between him and the anonymous king, who was slain, in 1163, by his own soldiers; or between *She-tsang* and *Tay-ho*.

The empire
founded.

AGUTA, or *Ogota*, according to *Gaubil*, revolted against the emperor of the *Lyau* in 1114; and having obtained several victories over him, to the north of *Lyau-tong*, at length cleared his way to the throne in 1115; which was the first of his reign. The princes of this house were adopted by the lord of the tribe of *Wan-yen*; and *Wan-yen* was the name of the imperial family of the *Kin*. The tribe of *Wan-yen* was one of the principal among the *Eastern Tartars*, called *Nu-che*, or *Nu-chin*, who encamped to the north of *Korea*, and along the oriental ocean. There were likewise other *Nu-che*, who dwelt to the north of *Lyau-tong*.

Its extent. THE empire formed by these people, under the name of *Kin*, was very extensive: for, besides those regions above-mentioned, which they inhabited originally, at the time when attacked by *Jenghiz Khan*, they possessed *Lyau-tong*, with the

¹ GAUBIL, ubi sup p. 88.

² Ibid. p. 91, note (3).

(O) For he places the commencement of the monarchy in 1115. This, and the other circumstances, our author proba-

bly took from the express history of the *Kin*, which, he says, is in great detail both in *Chinese* and the *Manchew* language.

parts to the north and north-east; as well as to the west, bordering on the great wall; as far as to the north-west of *Tay-tong-fu* in *Shan-si*, and north of the country of *Orthus*. In short, both *Tartaries* (the eastern and western) to the 49th or 50th degree of latitude (P), and 19th or 20th of longitude, west of *Pe-king*, which were then full of petty princes, paid tribute to the emperor of the *Kin*. In *China* they had the provinces of *Shan-tong*, *Pe-che-li*, *Shan-si*, and *Ho-nan*; some cities of *Kyang-nan* to the north of the *Kyang*; the territories of *Kong-chan-fu*, *Lyu-tau*, *Fong-tsyang*, *Si-gan-fu*, *Ping-lyang*, *Kin-yang*, and *Yen-gan* in *Shen-si*.

ACCORDING to the above-mentioned limits, the *Nyu-che*, or *Compared Kin*, had larger possessions in *China* than the *Kitan* or *Lyau*; with the who, although we hear of their ravaging the northern provinces, and once entering the southern, yet seem to have had no acquisitions in any of the provinces, excepting *Pe-che-li*. Besides, the emperors of *Hya* were possessed of the greater part of *Shen-si*, with the countries of *Tartary*, adjoining on the north and west. However, to make amends, their dominions in *Tartary* were much larger than those of the *Kin*; for they stretched 16 degrees farther westward, reaching to *Käshgar*, which is above 36 degrees west of *Pe-king*. And in this part they retained a considerable footing after their empire in the east had been destroyed: so that the empire of *Kitay* in general, as well as *Kära Kitay* in particular, was more extensive under the *Lyau* than the *Kin*. But that of the latter exceeded it for grandeur, opulence, and number of people, as having a much greater portion of *China* belonging to it. However that be, both nations improved in manners, as well as power and riches, by their conquests from the *Chinefes*.

THE *Kin-chau* (Q) (after their establishment, we presume, in the northern provinces of *China*) built towns and remains.

* GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 3. 87. 146. SOUCIET, obs. math. &c. p. 186,

(P) *Gaubil*, p. 87, says, that all the north and north-west of *Lyau tong*, as far as the rivers *Kerlon*, *Saghalian-ula* (or *Onon*), *Tula*, and *Orgbün*, paid the *Kin* tribute.

(Q) By the word *Chau*, or *Chaw*, is here meant the dynasty or dominion of the *Kin*. But the word in *Chinse* signifies nei-

ther dominion, race, nor succession; but that number of years which any family possessed the dominion. *Fourmont's Res. critiq. sur hist. anc. peupl.* tom. ii. p. 397. So that the *Kin-chau*, or *Chau* of the *Kin*, implies properly, the space of time during which the family reigned, or held the dominion.

palaces

A. D.
1234.

palaces in their native country, the ruins of which are still to be seen, as *Feneghi-hotun*, *Odoli-hotun*, and *Putay-ula*, before-mentioned¹.

IN like manner, at the beginning they had neither characters, books, nor history. But in 1119 they made characters (R), in imitation of those used by the *Kitan* or *Lyau*, whom they had subdued. Afterwards the *Kin* emperors erected tribunals for astronomy and history, after the example of the *Chineses*².

WHEN their dynasty came to be ruined by the *Mungls*, in confederacy with the *Chineses*, those who escaped the slaughter were obliged to fly into the western parts of their ancient country, now inhabited by the *Solen Tartars*, who say they were originally *Manchews*³.

Man-
chews,
their de-
scendants.

THE late emperor *Kang-hi* said, that his family was descended from the imperial family of the *Kin* (S). But if one may judge by several words of the *Kin* language, that of the *Manchews* now reigning in *China* is a different tongue; although it must be acknowledged, that the territory whence the *Manchews* came, is the country of the ancient *Nyu-che*, or *Kin*⁴.

¹ DU HALDE, vol. ii. p. 247.

² GAUBIL, ubi sup.

³ DU HALDE, ubi sup.

⁴ GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 88.

(R) But *Gaubil* says, he had not yet met with them.

Manchews sprung from that of the *Kin* monarch. *Sinic. tab.*

(S) *Couplet* asserts, that the present *Chinese* family of the

chron. p. 74.



CH A P. IV.

The History of the Si-fân or Tu-fân.

S E C T. I.

An account of the Si-fân, or Tu-fân ; and the country inhabited by them.

TH E country of the *Si-fân*, or *Tu-fân* (who are a people *quite unknown, at least in name, to the western historians, Asiatick as well as European*) is differently represented with regard to its situation and extent, by the accounts sent from *China* by the missionaries who surveyed that empire, in which these people are included. According to *Regis*, it borders on the provinces of *Shen-si*, *Se-chwen*, and *Yun-nan*, or *Jun-nan*, reaching from the 30th to the 25th degree of north latitude ; and westward to the river, called by the *Chinese*, *Ya-long Kyang*°. By another account it extends but a little way along the western borders of *Shen-si* ; or seems to be a narrow tract of mountains, lying between the north-west part of *Shen-si* and the country of *Koko-nor*, inclosing this latter on the north and east in form of a bow. But in the jesuits map of *Tibet*, the territories of the *Si-fân* are distinctly marked out, as bounded on the east by the province of *Se-chwen* ; on the north by the country of *Koko-nor* ; and on the west by the river *Tsacho Tstfirhâna* ; which rising southward of the lakes from whence the *Whang-ho*, or *Yellow River*, issues, runs through *Se-chwen*, where it takes the name of *Ya-long Kyang* ; and afterwards that of *Kin-cha Kyang*.

ACCORDING to this situation, which seems to be the right, the country of the *Si-fân*, or *Tu-fân*, lies between 29 degrees 54 minutes of latitude ; and between 12 degrees 30 minutes, and 18 degrees 20 minutes, of longitude west of *Peking*. Its shape is triangular ; the base, which lies to the north, being about 300 miles long ; and the other two sides,

° Du HALDE's *China*, vol. ii. p. 305.

Si-fan
people.

Great em-
pire form-
erly.

Black Si-
fan.

Yellow
Si-fan.

which make an angle to the south, about 245 miles each. This is all which at present remains to the *Tu-fan*, of a very large dominion they formerly possessed, comprising all *Tibet*, and even some neighbouring territories of *China*^b. From hence (as well as on account of the affinity between the languages of the *Si-fan* and *Tibet*) it may be presumed it is, that the *Chineſes*, as we are told, extend the name of *Si-fan* over all that country; and sometimes to all the nations lying to the west of their own empire^c. This great dominion, including the whole region between *China* and *Hindostan*, with all those wide plains and deserts, on the north and west of it inhabited by the *Eluth Tartars* (or *Mungls*) is, in all probability, that which formerly went by the name of *Tangut*, *Tanguth*, or *Tankut*; and the rather because at present the language and characters of *Tibet*, still used by the *Si-fan*, are called the characters and language of *Tangut*^d.

HOWEVER that be, the condition of the *Si-fan* is very different from what it was formerly: they have not now one town in their possession; and are pent-up between the rivers *Ka-long* on the west, *Whang-bo* on the north, and *Tang-tſe Kyang* (which rises in this country) on the east: whereas anciently their kingdom had fortified cities, very well peopled, and very powerful^e.

THE *Chineſes* distinguish the *Si-fan*, or *Tu-fan*, into two sorts of people. The *He Si-fan*, or *Black Si-fan*, and the *Whang Si-fan*, or *Yellow Si-fan*, from the colour of their tents, not their complexions, which are in general a little swarthy. The *Black Si-fan* have also some pitiful houses; and are governed by two chiefs, who depend on a third; but are very uncivilized. Those seen by *Regis* were dressed like the inhabitants of *Hami* (A). The women wear their hair parted into tresses, hanging down on their shoulders, full of little glass mirrors.

THE *Yellow Si-fan* are subject to certain families, whereof the eldest is made a Lama, and wears a yellow habit. These Lama are all of the same family, and govern in their respective districts. They have the power of deciding causes, and punishing criminals. They inhabit the same canton, but in separate bodies, without forming large families of the same

^b DU HALDE's *China*, vol. i. p. 22. ^c *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 385.
^d *Ibid.* p. 388. ^e *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 29.

(A) So the *Chineſes* pronounce the very eastern extremity ad-
Kkamil, or *Khamul*, a city and joining on the *Great Kobi*, or
province of *Little Bukharia*, at desert.

kindred, which appear like so many little camps. The greater part of them dwell in tents; but some have their houses built of earth, and a few with bricks. They want none of the necessaries of life; and have numerous flocks of sheep. Their horses, though small, are well shaped, mettlesome and strong.

THE Lamas, who govern these people, do not vex or oppress them, provided they render them certain honours, and punctually pay the dues of *Fo*, which are very trifling. These dues seem to be a kind of tythes, as being exacted on a religious account. The religion of *Fo* hath ever been that of the *Si-fan*, who always chose their Lamas to be ministers of state, and sometimes to command their armies. There is said to be some difference in the language of these two sorts of *Si-fan*: but as they understand each other well enough to trade together, they probably differ only as dialects of the same tongue. The book and characters used by their chiefs are those of *Tibet*. They have customs and ceremonies very different from the *Chinese*, though bordering on them: thus it is usual with them to present a large white handkerchief of cotton or taffety, when they go to wait on persons whom they mean to honour. They have likewise some customs like those among the *Kalka Tatars*, and others which resemble the usages of the *Tatars of Koko-nor*. Their government. Odd customs.

NEITHER of the two nations is more than half subject to the neighbouring *Chinese* mandarins; whose citations they so little regard as rarely to appear before them when summoned: nor dare those officers treat them with rigour, or offer to force an obedience; the frightful mountains which they inhabit, whose tops are covered with snow, even in *July*, securing them against all pursuits. Besides, as the rhubarb grows in abundance on their lands, they are courted by the *Chinese* for sake of that precious commodity ^f. Nearly independent.

S E C T. II.

History of the Si-fan, or Tu-fan, intermixed with that of the Hya.

THE *Si-fan*, or *Tu-fan*, according to the *Chinese* authors ^{Formerly} (B), had formerly a very extensive dominion, and princes of great renown, who made themselves formidable to their neigh-

^f DU HALDE'S China, vol. i. p. 22, & seq.

(B) Particularly the *Chinese* *Si* and *Se-chuen*, and the great geographers of the middle age, annals *Nyen-i-shi*. history of the provinces of *Shen-*

A.D. 640. hours, and even to the emperors of *China*. On the east side they not only possessed divers territories, which at present belong to the provinces of *Se-chwen* and *Shen-si*; but extended their conquests so far within them, as to subdue several cities of the second rank (C), whereof they formed four great governments. Westward they were masters of all the countries from the river *Ta-long* to the borders of *Káshmir*, in the great mogul's empire.

*Refused a
princess.*

In the 7th century, *Ki-tson* king of the *Tá-fan*, possessed this vast dominion, and had several kings who paid him tribute, and from him received their investiture, with patents, and seals of gold. This prince, in 630, coveting an alliance with *Tay-tsung*, that famous emperor of the *Tang* dynasty in *China*, sent him a pompous embassy; which having been received with great marks of distinction, he, by a second, demanded a princess of the imperial blood for his son *Long-tsung*. The council of state looking on this as a very arrogant proposal, rejected it, without so much as debating on it. Hereupon *Long-tsung*, on the death of his father, came at the head of 200,000 men to demand the princess; and having defeated certain princes tributary to *China*, who opposed his passage, penetrated to the borders of *Shen-si*, where the emperor then kept his court. From thence he sent one of his officers with an haughty letter to his majesty; demanding the princess to be forthwith yielded to him, with a certain quantity of gold, silver, and silks, by way of portion.

*Invades
China.*

THE emperor, more offended than before, amused the envoy with hopes, till his forces were assembled, and then dismissed him, without returning any answer to his master's letter. At the same time his army attacked that of the *Si-fan*, and routed it. However, as the loss *Long-tsung* received was not considerable, he rallied his troops; and the emperor finding that prince was in a condition to give him much uneasiness, in 640 (D), the princess, by advice of his council, was sent with a great deal of pomp to the *Si-fan* monarch. On this as soon as the ceremonies of marriage were over, he retired, and became very serviceable to the empire on several occasions afterwards: particularly, when the general *Alena* usurped a tributary kingdom of *China*, he joined the imperial army with all his forces, which he commanded in person, and had no small share of the victory by killing the rebel^s.

^s Du HALDE's *China*, &c. vol. i. p. 23.

(C) The *Chineses* distinguish their cities into ranks or orders, denoted by the final syllables *fü*, *chew*, and *byen*. (D) The dates, which in *Du Halde* are in the margin, we have thrown into the text.

KI-LO-SO, who succeeded *Long-tsung*, improved the peace A.D. 766. he was in with all his neighbours, by the treaties which he made with several nations of *Tatars*; particularly the *Whey- Affist the be* (E). This prince dying without issue, *Su-fi*, his next heir Chinese. male, who succeeded him, was called in with his *Tatarian* confederates, to succour the emperor *Wen-tsung* (F); at that time constrained to quit his court at *Chang-gan-fu* (at present named *Si-ngan-fu*) and abandon it to the rebel *Gan-la-fan*, a foreign prince, whom the emperor, against the advice of his Ministers, had advanced to the highest posts, and even intrusted with the command of his army. This traitor, finding himself master of great part of the north, assumed the title of emperor, and marched to attack *Chang-gan-fu*; which having entered, he plundered the imperial palace (G), and carried the *Lo-yang*; but by the assistance of *Su-fi* he was routed, and soon after killed in bed by his own son. A.D. 766.

THE *Tu-fan*, in reward of their service, besides the rich plunder of *Lo-yang*, and other rebellious cities, were presented with great quantities of silks, and the choicest things which *China* afforded. But whether through covetousness, or pride, as soon as they heard of the emperor's death (H), they advanced with a formidable force; and, arriving on the borders of the empire, before there was the least suspicion of their invasion, obliged the governors of *Ta-chin-quan*, *Lan-chew*, and all the country of *Ho-fi-t* (I) to surrender. The prime-minister, who at first could not believe this advice, sent *Ko-tsey*, the most experienced general then at court, with three thousand horse, to learn the truth. *Ko-tsey* (K) being informed at *Hyen-yang*, a city not far from the capital, that the enemy's army, consisting of 300,000 men (L), would be there that very day, dispatched a courier to the minister, to apprise him. Break the peace. A.D. 772. Burn the capital.

(E) Or *Whey-hu*; they inhabited in the neighbourhood of *Turfan* in *Little Bukharia*.

(F) Or *Hien-tsung*, who began his reign in 713, and died in 762. He divided his dominions into 15 provinces.

(G) This was about the year 766, in the 4th year of the reign of *Se-tsung*, successor of *Hien-tsung*. But this history is very inaccurate, as related in *DuHalde*, marking neither the dates, nor

reigns, when the facts happened.

(H) This was ten years after *Hien-tsung*'s death, in 772; and 8th of *Tay-tsung*, *Se-tsung*'s successor.

(I) That is, *to the west of the river*; meaning the *Wang-ho*, or *Yellow River*.

(K) Elsewhere *Ko-tsu-i*; in *Couplet*, *Ko-tswi*.

(L) Two hundred thousand, according to *Couplet*. *Tabl. sinic.* p. 61.

A.D. 772. him of the danger, and press for succours : but that officer of state did not stir a step the faster. Mean time the generals of the enemy, who were acquainted with the country, being arrived at *Hyen-yang*, detached a considerable body of troops to take possession of a bridge over the river. The emperor, from whom the ministry had, till then, concealed the danger which threatened him, frightened at the news, forsook his palace. The great men of his court, the officers, and people, all followed his example, and fled. Thus the *Tú-san* entered the city without resistance ; and having carried away immense riches, set it on fire ^b.

Forced by stratagem **KO-TSEY**, who had withdrawn, to join the troops, which, on the first alarm, left *Chang-gan*, seeing himself now at the head of 40,000 men, yet unable to cope with the enemy in the field ; to supply, by policy, what he wanted in strength, ordered a body of horse to encamp on the neighbouring hills, and there ranging themselves in one line, to make a dreadful noise with their drums, as well as light up great fires every night in different places. This artifice had the desired success : for the *Tú-san*, fearing to be surrounded by the united forces of the empire, conducted by a general of known bravery and skill, marched westwards, and blocked up the city of *Tong-tsyang*.

to retreat. **MA-LIN**, who commanded in that district, came to the relief of the place ; and forcing his way through a body of the enemy's troops, of whom he killed upwards of a thousand, threw himself into the town. As soon as he was entered he ordered all the gates to be set open, to let the *Tú-san* see that he did not fear them. This extraordinary conduct confirming them in their first suspicions, and their fatigued troops being unable to withstand fresh forces, they resolved to retire with the spoil which they had already gained. After their retreat, the *Chineses* repaired *Chang-gan*, whither the emperor returned some months after his shameful flight.

Invasion fresh. THESE troubles were no sooner over, than the *Chineses* were obliged to take the field against a new rebel named *Pú-kú*, who had confederated with the *Tú-san* and *Whey-be* *Tatars*, before-mentioned. But *Pú-kú* being very opportunely taken off by a sudden death, the *Chineses* had the address to disunite the two nations, by raising a contention about the chief command. *To-ko-lo*, general of the *Whey-be*, would needs command the whole army. This the *Tú-san*

^b DU HALDE'S China, &c. vol. i. p. 23, & seq. & 199.

opposed,

opposed, as being contrary to their orders, and dishonourable A.D. 779-
to their kingdom, which was much superior to the petty state
possessed by the *Whey-he*. The *Chinese* generals, who were
encamped in their view, secretly supported the pretensions of
Yo-ko-lo; and at length openly joined him. Upon this
the *Tu-fan* were attacked as they were marching away, and
lost 10,000 men in their retreat.

WHILE the *Tu-fan* king meditated how to retrieve his *Defeated*
losses, he was informed that the *Whey-he* were retired much *again*.
dissatisfied with the *Chinese*. Hereupon he sent his forces to
besiege *Ling-chew*, whose governor, having but a few troops,
carefully shunned an engagement. The course he took was,
at the head of 5,000 men, to attack the magazines of the
the besiegers: accordingly he not only burnt them, but also
carried off all the spoil they had taken, with part of their
baggage. This loss compelled the *Tu-fan* to return home in
haste, where they remained quiet for five years, and then
brought a formidable army into the field; which, dividing
into two bodies, fell almost at the same time on the districts
of *King-chew* and *Ping-chew*. These troops being numerous,
easily defeated several bodies of the imperial forces. But at
length, in 779, *Ko-tsey* routed them intirely by means of an A.D. 779.
ambuscade.

THIS defeat inclining the king of the *Tu-fan* to peace, he *Sue for*
sent an ambassador, attended with no fewer than 500 per- *peace*.
sons in his retinue, to the emperor; who, to mortify him,
detained him a long time at court without an audience. His
master, greatly incensed at such contempt, was preparing to
take revenge, when *Tay-tsung* (D) happened to die. His son
Te-tsung, who succeeded (in 781) taking a different measure,
feasted the ambassador and his retinue, gave them rich habits,
and loading them with presents, sent them back under the
conduct of *Wey-ling*, one of his officers; who had orders to
lay the blame of the small regard which had been paid his
ambassadors, to their bad conduct, and having too numerous
a retinue¹.

WET-LING, contrary to what he expected, was received *Break it,*
and dismissed with honour, as well as magnificence; which *and routed*.
surprised the emperor himself, and gave him an esteem for

¹ DU HALDE's China, &c. vol. i. p. 24.

(D) His death happened in the 69th sexagenary cycle of the
780; and *Ko-tsey*, the famous *Chinese*,
general, died in 784, the first of

A.D. 786. the *Tu-fan* court (E), which promised an inviolable regard to peace: But this king dying in 786, *Tsang-po*, who succeeded, ordered his army forthwith to enter *Shen-fi*. They entered that province without being discovered; and defeated all the imperial troops which they met with, until they arrived at *Kyan-ching*, called at present *Kyen-yang*. But the Chinese general, *Li-ching*, coming up with his troops, as the enemy were on the point of besieging the city, obtained so complete a victory, as compelled them to sue for peace; which was ratified by oath. For all this, some of their officers, who wanted to have the war continued, endeavoured to seize the emperor's envoy, and carry him to their camp. The general, however, disowned having had any hand in the affair; and without committing any further hostilities, returned home with his army.

Another
defeat.

A.D. 791. THIS first expedition not having the desired success, the king of the *Tu-fan* got ready for a second; and, in 791, sent an army sufficient to oppose both the *Chineses* and their new allies the *Whey-he Tartars*. In their way they took some considerable forts, and withal *Gan-fi*; but when they were advanced as far as *Pe-ting*, which lies to the south of *Ning-hya*, they were surprised and defeated by the *Whey-he*. For all this they continued their march towards the court, with incredible resolution: but the general *Wey-kau* falling on them unexpectedly, cut several bodies of them in pieces; in the place where afterwards, to hinder the incursions of the enemy, the fortresses of *Tong-ki*, *Ho-taw*, *Mu-pu*, and *Ma-ling*, were built in the district of *Ning-yang-fu*, belonging to *Shen-fi*.

Chief city
taken

A.D. 801. THIS precaution however proved useless. For, scarce were those towns finished, when in 801, the *Tu-fan* returned, and at length reduced *Lin-chew*, which they had before attempted to do several times in vain. But on the approach of *Wey-kau*, with his army, they abandoned the city, and marched towards *Wey-chew* in *Se-chwen*, which was one of the best places they had. *Wey-kau* pursued them; and finding they did not cease their flight, laid siege to that town. The king of the *Tu-fan*, startled at this news, sent *Lun-ming*, his prime-minister, with considerable succours: but being met by *Wen-kau*, he was routed, and taken prisoner. Upon this victory that general was received into *Wen-chew*, which he made a place of arms, and went to besiege the fortress of *Quen-*

(E) Yet neither the name, from the history, in what part nor situation of this court is mentioned. Nor does it appear of the *Tu-fan* stood.

min-ching; but was baffled there, through the bravery of the governor. A.D. 801.

WEY-CHEW was one of the royal cities; and the *Tû-fan* kings, since the time of *Ki-lo-fô*, resided there one part of the year: for this reason *I-tay*, who succeeded his brother, resolving by all possible means to recover it, raised an army of 150,000 men next year, and sent to besiege it. On the report of their march, the *Chinese* general threw himself into the city: but the expected succours not arriving, he was constrained, by continual assaults, to surrender, after a siege of 25 days. The *Tû-fan*, elated with their success, advanced towards *Ching-tu-fû*, the capital of *Se-chwen*. The emperor's general, unable to oppose their march, spread a report that he was gone to possess himself of the mountain-straits, through which they had passed; and caused his little army to make the necessary motions to induce them to believe it. This had the desired effect; for, through fear of having their retreat cut off, they retired to *Wey-chew*. Recovered again.

As soon as they got thither, *I-tay*, who was a mild prince, being satisfied with having recovered the place, sent to acquaint the imperial generals on the frontiers, that he was willing to live in peace; and, as a proof of his sincerity, enjoined his officers to act solely on the defensive. The *Chinese*, on their side, acted with great generosity on several occasions. Among the rest, *Si-ta-mew*, a *Tû-fan*, governor of *Wey-chew*, having offered to deliver up that place to the *Chinese* general, when almost all the other officers were for accepting the proposal, *Ni-â-fan* opposed it, and declared: *That a great empire ought to set a greater value on sincere dealing than on the possession of a city; and that their breach of the peace would authorize all the perfidies which the Tû-fan had committed, or should commit for the future.* Hereupon the offer was rejected.

I-TAY took the opportunity of the peace to make new laws, and advanced none to employments but men of proved merit. If he heard of any person remarkable for his knowledge and application to study, he preferred him to those who were equally experienced in the management of affairs. Thus he sent for *Shung-pi-pi*, one among the literari of great reputation (F), from the farthest part of the king-

(F) It appears from hence, that the *Tû-fan* had introduced the *Chinese* form of government; this all the other foreign nations have done, who made conquests in *China*, as the *Lyau*, the *Kin*, the *Moguls*, and *Manchews*, who now reign there.

A.D. 842. dom ; and after he had examined him, made him governor of the city and district of *Chin-chew*, at present called *Sining*^k.

Cause of its decay. *I-TAT* died without issue, and was succeeded by *Ta-ma*, his next of kin, who devoted himself wholly to pleasures. He lived in peace with his neighbours ; but became so execrable to his subjects, by his oppressions and cruelties, that they forsook their country in multitudes. In effect, he was the first cause of the kingdom falling to decay. The public distractions greatly increased after his death : for as he neither left issue, nor had nominated a successor, one of the ministers, gained by the widow queen, in 842, procured the son of *Pay-va*, her favourite, a child of only three years old, to be proclaimed king.

Lu-kong-je rebels. THE report of this election brought *Kye-tá-na*, the first minister of state, to the palace, to oppose it, in behalf of the royal family : but his fidelity cost him his life ; for he was killed in his return home. However, this conduct of the court lost them the hearts of all the people. *Lú-kong-je*, the great general, who was then with the army near the frontiers, refused to obey the orders sent him by the new government, and even conceived thoughts of ascending the throne himself. He was extremely ambitious, proud, and self-conceited, passionate, and often cruel ; but, on the other hand, was brave, skilful, and capable of the greatest undertakings. He first caused a report to be spread, that he was going to root out the usurpers of the crown ; and then marched against the new king's army, which he defeated. He likewise took and plundered *Wey-chew*. By this time his forces, by the accession of mal-contents, were increased to one hundred thousand strong. But before he attempted any thing farther, he tried to bring the provincial governors into his measures.

Is routed. *SHANG-PI-PI* being one of the principal, and his troops, by the care he took to augment them, the best in the whole kingdom, *Lú-kong-je* was willing to sound his inclinations first, and after writing him a deceitful letter, advanced towards the city. *Shang-pi-pi*, who saw through the general's design to deceive him, in his turn, wrote him an answer which flattered his hopes. At the same time setting forward with all his forces, he came upon the rebels so unexpectedly, that without any difficulty he defeated them, tho' much stronger than himself. *Lú-kong-je*, after this rebuff, withdrew, much

* DU HALDE'S China, &c. vol. i. p. 25, & seq.

enraged at heart. But in 846, having recruited his army, A.D. 846. imagined the way both to regain his authority, and win the affections of his nation, was to enter the territories of *China*, and give them up to be plundered. He met with some success indeed at the beginning; but was soon after routed by the *Chinese* generals, who also took from the *Tu-fan* the city of *Yen-chew*, and several strong fortresses.

THE rebel, who judged these losses might easily be retrieved, if once he was sole master of the kingdom, having augmented his army with *Tatars*, to whom he promised the plunder of the provinces of *China*, bent all his thoughts on reducing *Shang-pi-pi*. With this view he began his march; and arriving near *Chen-chew*, compelled that officer to abandon his camp, though well fortified. However, this latter, after he had passed the river, broke down the bridge, and followed the enemy step by step on the other side, without suffering himself to be drawn to an engagement by *Lü-kong-je*, who made great ravages in his march for that purpose. Mean time the natural brutishness of the rebel general, joined to the ill humour which the small success of his enterprizes had thrown him into, rendered him so insupportable to his soldiers, that they deserted in troops to *Shang-pi-pi*, while the *Tatars*, for the same reasons, returned home. Hereupon *Lü-kong-je*, despairing of compassing his designs, submitted to the emperor on certain conditions, and retired to *Ko-chew*, a *Chinese* city, where he spent the remainder of his days. This happened about the year 849.

DURING the time this ambitious general had under his command almost the whole forces of the state, the princes of the blood retired to different parts of the kingdom, where they had small patrimonies; and some took shelter in certain forts, which belonged to them, towards *Se-chwen*, chusing rather to submit to the emperor of *China*, than to an usurper. Others fortified themselves in the mountains; while some of the most considerable remained in the territories which they possessed, bordering on the government of *Shang-pi-pi*. Hence arose an infinite number of distractions in the state, which continued a great number of years, and proved the ruin of this monarchy at last.

THE *Tu-fan*, divided into several parties, went to war among themselves; and when they were weary of fighting, many officers and soldiers listed under *Pan-lo-chi* (G), prince

(G) The *Tu-fan* history, during of *Pan-lo-chi*, which contains the their embroiled state, from the transactions of above 150 years, retreat of *Lü-kong-je* to the time is here omitted by the Jesuit.

A.D. 951. of *Lá-ká*, a place in the borders of the district of *Chen-chew*, which the children of *Shang-pi-pi* had preserved for the royal family. As soon as the *Tú-fan* beheld a prince of the blood, they formed an army, and resolved to attack the king of *Hya*, who had ill requited their services.

Kingdom of Hya. **A.D. 951** This new king was a *Tatar*, originally of *To-pa* (I), who, by assistance of the *Tú-fan*, about the year 951, founded a new dominion near the *Whang-ho*, under *Li-ki-tsyen*, in spite of all these *Chineses* could do; the capital whereof was *Hya-chew*, at present *Ning-hya*, from whence the kingdom took its name of *Hya*¹, or *Si-Hya* (K), given to it by the *Chineses*. This kingdom sprung up to the west of *Ki-tay* (L), and by degrees became very potent under a prince who assumed the title of emperor. This dominion, which extended over part of *China* and *Tartary*, contained, the province of *Shen-fi*, all to the north of *Ping-lyáng-fú*, as far as *Kya-yu-quan* (M), with the country of *Ortus* and *Estina* (N), the country of *Koko-nor* (O), also that lying between *Kya-yu-quan* and

¹ DU HALDE's *China*, &c. vol. i. p. 26, & seq.

(I) Near *Si-ning-chew*, then called *Chen-chew*, or *Chin-chew*. *To-pa*, is a rich borough, still in possession of the *Tú-fan*.

(K) *Si-hya* signifies *Hya* of the west, or more properly, the guards of the west. Whence possibly those who founded this monarchy were the western guards of the great wall, which was intrusted to *Tatar* tribes; from one of which the king of *Hya* sprung. And *Alakus Khán* was a *Turkish* prince; who, we are told, had the guard of a gate, and gave admittance to *Jenghiz Khán* into *Kitay*. *Hya* is also pronounced *Kya*, or rather *Khya*, as in *Khya-yu-quan*, *Khya-chew*, and other names.

(L) The kingdom or empire of *Hya* was not a part of *Kitay*, or taken out of it; but seems to have bounded it on the west; or perhaps the *Chineses*, during the

empire of the *Lyan*, had some parts both of *Shan-fi* and *Shen-fi*, between those two dominions.

(M) Or *Hya-yu-quan*, a fortress at the western extremity of the great wall of *China* (to the west of the city *So-chew*), latit. 39° 48', long. 17° 21' 30" west of *Peking*.

(N) Both in *Tartary*, or what was then called *Kára-kitay*. *Ortus* is inclosed between the great wall and the *Whang ho*, which surrounds it on the west and north in the eastern part of the north border of *Shen-fi*. *Estina* seems to be the country to the west of *Ortus*; of which *Estina*, now in ruins, was then the capital, situated about two degrees to the north of *So-chew*.

(O) *Koko-nor* lies to the west of *Shen-fi*, about the city *Si-ning-chew*.

Sha-

C: 4. *Empire of the Si-fan or Tu-fan.*

Sha-chew (P) ; besides several other places to the north and west of *Kya-yu-quan*^m.

THE king of *Hya* had, in the year 1003 (Q), renewed the war with the empire, at that time governed by the *Song* race, entering suddenly into the western part of *Shen-si*, which bordered on the small dominion that the *Tu-fan* were still possessed of. *Pan-lo-chi* offered to join the *Chinese* commander with his forces to crush this growing power ; provided the emperor would honour him with a title, which might give him more authority among those of his own nation. The proposal being approved of, his imperial majesty sent him patents as governor-general of the *Tu-fan*. The king of *Hya*, who knew nothing of these private contracts, after committing some devastations, besieged the city of *Si-lyang*, and having taken it, put the governor to death. He intended to push his conquests farther, in a belief that *Pan-lo-chi* was advancing to join him with his troops. But that prince arriving at the head of 60,000 men, attacked him with so much valour, that he entirely defeated his numerous forces. However, he died soon after the victory, by a wound which he received in the battle.

SO-TSO-LO, his successor, in 1015, formed the design of recovering the antient monarchy possessed by his ancestors. His little dominion consisted of no more than seven or eight towns ; particularly *Tsing-ko-shing*, *Li-tsing-ching*, *Ho-chew*, *I-chuen*, *Tsing-tang*, *Hya-chen*, and *Kan-kü*, with some neighbouring territories ; but was in hopes that the rest of the *Tu-fan* would join him, as soon as they should see that he was powerful enough to defend them. He fixed his court at *Tsing-ko-ching*, where he established officers, the same, both as to number and titles, which the kings his predecessors had made use of. After this he levied new forces throughout his dominions, and entered the territories of the empire several times ; but was always defeated, and at length concluded a peace.

GAUBIL, hist. Gentch. p. 10.

(P) We may add, and beyond, as far as *Khamil*, or *Hami*, the most eastern city of *Little Bukharia*. *Sha-chew* is the *Sakien* of *M. Polo* and other writers, about 120 miles N. N. W. of *Kya-yu-quan*.

(Q) The king here referred to, cannot well be supposed *Li-tsi-ffen* ; for then he must, at that time, have reigned 52 years.

569

A. D. 1003.

its growing power.

A. D. 1003.

A. D.
1015.

*Divides
his states*

As the growing power of the king of *Hya*, who had assumed the title of emperor, gave *So-tfo-lo* some uneasiness; the Chinese monarch, to engage that prince more firmly in his interest, made him governor-general of *Pau-sbun*, which lay very conveniently for his purpose. But *So-tfo-lo* dying soon after, the division which ensued among his children hastened the entire ruin of the *Tu-fan* state. That prince had, by his first wife, two sons, *Hya-chen* and *Mo-chen-tsu*. He had afterwards the prince *Ton-sben* by a second venter, who prevailed on him to imprison his two other sons, and compel their mother to turn nun. But they having found means to escape, and deliver their mother out of the convent, the people, who had helped to deliver them, declared in their favour.

*among his
sons.*

SO-TSO-LO, who had by this time recovered from his infatuation, approved of this change, and gave *Tsing-ko-ching* to *Mo-chen-tsu* for his maintenance; for he had removed his court from thence to *Chen-chew* (or *Si-ning*). To *Hya-chen* he assigned *Kan-ku* for the place of his abode; and to *Ton-sben*, whom he judged most capable of keeping-up his family, he surrendered all his authority, with the government of *Pau-sbun*, and the rest of his dominions. *Ton-sben* resided at *Li-tsing-ching*, where he was beloved of his subjects, and feared by his neighbours; insomuch that all the *Tu-fan*, who dwelt to the north of the *Whang-ho*, were under his subjection.

*Tava sub-
mit*

THIS great power wherewith the younger brother was invested, gave the two elder, and their families, apprehensions of being one time or other oppressed by him. *Mu-ching*, son of *Hya-chen*, more uneasy than his father, surrendered *Kan-ku*, *Ho-chew*, and all the lauds which were in his possession, to the *Song* emperor; who granted to him, and his descendants, whatever they demanded, in order to support themselves with honour in his dominions.

KYAU-KI-TING, heir of *Mo-chen-tsu*, the eldest brother, was much beloved in his little state; but did not long survive his father. His son, *Hya-chen*, who succeeded him, incensed his subjects to such a degree, by his violences and cruelty, that they formed a design to depose him, and set up his uncle, *Sa-nan*, in his room: but the plot coming to be discovered, *Sa-nan*, and almost all his accomplices, were put to death.

*to the
peror.*

HOWEVER, *Tsien-li-ki*, one of the principal officers, having found means to escape, carried with him *Cho-fa*, one of the family; and seizing the city of *Ki-kü-ching*, had him proclaimed prince of that petty state. But *Hya-ching* hastening thither, with his forces, took the place; and put *Cho-fa* to death. *Tsien-lo-ki*, however, made a shift to get to *Ho-chew*; and

C. 4. *Empire of the Si-fan and Hya.*

578

A. D.
1099.

and having persuaded the governor, *Van-chau*, to conquer the country of *Tsing-tang*, he attacked the little city of *Mo-chwen*, which he took without any difficulty. Hereupon prince *Hya-ching*, finding himself hated by his people, and at the same time vigorously pressed by the *Chinese*, in 1099, surrendered all his territories to the emperor, on certain terms, which were granted him. The like did *Long-su*, a son of *Mu-ching*, whom one of the *Tu-fan* chiefs had put in possession of the city of *Hi-pa-wen*: for after several battles fought, with various success, against *Van-chau*, wherein he distinguished himself by surprising valour, he submitted likewise upon advantageous conditions.

IN the midst of the troubles, which arose in the 12th century, between the *Chinese* emperors of the *Song* dynasty, and the *Nyu-che*, or *Kin Tatars*, the family of *Ton-jben*, which continued longest in splendor, made an alliance with the kings of the *Hya*; and, under their protection, enjoyed their territories tolerably in peace; till at length they were involved in the common ruin, by the prevailing arms of *Jenghiz Khan*. The year 1227, according to the *Chinese* history, is the æra of the intire ruin of the *Tu-fan*; from which time they have remained in their ancient country, without either name or powerⁿ. *The Tu-fan ruined.*

THIS history, as transmitted by the missionaries, is very defective; especially in this latter part, in which they ought to be most particular. They not only omit the *Tu-fan* affairs for more than a whole century downwards, from the year 1099; but pass slightly over the destruction both of their decayed state, and the empire of *Hya*: which yet is the most curious and interesting part of all their history, as being connected with that of *Jenghiz Khan*. We shall therefore briefly supply the deficiency, especially with respect to the *Hya*, from the historians who have written the reign of that conqueror of *Asia*. *King of Hya*

THE *Khan* of the *Mungls* began in the year 1205 to make incursions on the territories of the king (or emperor) of *Hya*; and in 1209 formally attacked his dominions, with design to reduce them under his sway. He began hostilities by forcing several posts near the great wall of *China* to the west of *Ning-hya*, the capital city; after which he took the city of *Ling-cheu*, and intended to reduce *Ning-hya* itself: but its king *Li-gan-tsyen*, to avoid the storm, submitted to become his tributary, and gave him a princess to wife. Here- *Submits to Khan.*

A. D.
1209.

DU HALDE, ubi sup. p. 26, & seq.

upon

A. D. upon the *Moguls* made a peace with him; and, withdrawing their forces, returned into *Tartary* °.

Errors of
the

THE historians of the west of *Asia* differ from the *Chinese* in the date of this expedition, which they place in 1206, and in the proper names. They call the prince *Shi-dasqu*, his kingdom *Tangut*, and his metropolis *Kampion*. They relate also, that *Kampion* was taken by stratagem; but that on the king's paying tribute, and receiving a garrison into the fortrels, he was restored (R). They ascribe the cause of the war to his assisting the enemies of *Jenghtz Khân*, who from thence carried away immense riches °. The oriental authors seem to have mistaken *Tangut* and its capital, for *Hya* and its capital, which lay contiguous to the east. Or perhaps they mean the same places; although, as customary with most nations, they give them different names; and this the rather seems to be the case, as the same events happened in both.

Western
writers.

THE *Tu-fan* states are not mentioned by the *Chinese* historians of *Jenghtz Khân*, as being considered by them only as parts of the empire of *Hya*: nor is *Hya* mentioned by the western writers of the *Mogul* affairs, as they probably knew of no dominion between *Tangut* and *Kitay*; and might consider *Hya* only as the *Kitayan* name for the country of *Tangut*. Yet, supposing this to be the case, they have mistaken the capital of this country; if, as we are told, *Kampion* is not *Ning-hya* (then called *Hya-chew*) but *Kan-chew*; a city indeed near the great wall of *China*, but 250 miles more to the west. Neither was it the capital of *Tangut*, considered as a different state from *Hya*: for, it appears from the foregoing history, that the prince of the *Tu-fan*, who continued longest in splendor, resided at *Li-tsing-ching*, a town of *Shen-si*, somewhere more to the south.

The *Hya*
successors.
A. D.
1210.

THE kingdom of *Hya*, and empire of the *Kin*, had been at peace above 80 years, when *Li-gan-tsuen*, seeing himself pressed by the *Mungls*, demanded succours of the *Kin*; but the latter excused themselves, alleging that they could not possibly spare any. Hereupon the *Hya*, after making peace with the *Mungls*, in 1210, declared war against the emperor

° GAUBIL, ubi supr. p. 12, & seq.
hist. Genghis. p. 91. & seq.

° DE LA CROIX's

(R) *Abulghazi Khân* places and says the Khân was put to this expedition before the defeat death, and his capital, which of *Bayrak Khân* of the *Naymans*, he calls *Tangut*, demolished.

Tong-tsi (who then reigned in *Kitay*) ; and in *April*, the same year, attacked *Kya-chew*, a city of *Shen-si* : but they were defeated, and obliged to raise the siege. Four months after *Li-gan-tsuen* died, and was succeeded by *Li-tsun-hyu*, a relation of his, who was more successful in his war against the *Kin* ; for in *December* 1213 he took *King-chew*, a city in the same province. After this he offered to join his troops to those of the *Chinese* emperor against the *Kin* : but that proposal not being accepted of, he continued the war separately ; and in *December* 1215 took from them *Lin-tau-fû*, a considerable city, also in *Shen-si* ¹.

A. D.
1221.

A. D.
1213.

A. D.
1215.

WHILE *Jenghiz Khân* was on his expedition in the west of *Asia*, the emperor of *Hya* did several actions contrary to the his engagements as a tributary prince. Hereupon *Mûhûli*, who had been left as the Khan's lieutenant-general in *Kitay*, invaded his dominions ; and gained great reputation in the war which he maintained against that monarch and the emperor of the *Kin* (S). In 1221 that general passed the *Whang-ho*, and struck terror through the whole country of the *Hya*, whose king thought it his wisest course not to oppose his passage ; and by this means avoided being attacked for that time by *Michûli*, who turned his arms solely against the *Kin*. In the year 1224, *Shew*, succeeding in the empire of *Kitay*, made peace with the *Hya*, who had been at war for many years with his father *Sun* ².

Provoke
the
Mungls.

A. D.
1221.

LI-TE, king of *Hya*, among other causes of offence given to the *Mungls*, had afforded a retreat to *Sun-quen-si* and *Che-la-ho*, two of their greatest enemies. Of this *Jenghiz Khân*, on his return from his western expedition in 1226, complained loudly : but *Li-te* was so far from making him any satisfaction, that he even took them into his service. The *Mungl* emperor, enraged at this indignity, marched from *Ho-lin* (or *Karakoram*) ; and in *February*, the same year, took the city of *Yet-sina* (T), *Ning-hya* (the capital of the kingdom) *Khya*.

¹ GAUBEIL, ubi suprà. p. 29, & seq.

² Ibid. p. 43, & seq.

(S) This looks as if the *Hya* the taking of *Yet-sina*, and other places spoken of here. It was a considerable city of the kingdom of *Hya*, called *Exim*, by *Marco Polo*, whose *Sachur* (or *Sakir*) is *Sû-chew*, and his *Kam-pitiân* (or *Kampion*) *Kan-chew*.

(T) The *Tong-kyen-kang-mû*, under the year 1225, mentions *The Chinese* geography places *Yet-sina* (called also *Et-sina*) to the north-

A. D
1221.

Khya-yu-quan (U), and *Kan-chew* (X) : *Sû-chew* (Y), *Gan-chew*, and *Si-lyang* (Z), were also reduced. In *November* he subdued *Ling-chew*, to the south of *Ning-hya*, and encamped 20 or 30 leagues to the north. *Li-te*, king of *Hya*; was so afflicted to see his dominions become a prey to the *Mungli* troops, that he died for grief in *July* the same year.

And state
destroyed.

JENGHIZ KHAN having in the spring, 1227, left an army to besiege *Ning-hya* (A), detached a great body of forces, who seized on the country of *Koko-nor* (B), *Qua-chew*, and *Sha-chew* (C). He marched himself at the head of another body to take *Ho-chew* (D) and *Si-ning*. After this, having cut in pieces an army of 30,000 men, he went and besieged *Lin-tau-fû*, a city which belonged to the *Kin*. Mean time *Li-hyen*, king of *Hya*, being reduced to the last necessity in his capital city *Ning-hya*, surrendered at discretion in *June*; and set forward to humble himself before *Jenghiz Khan*, who was gone to pass the hot season on the mountain *Lû-pan*: but was slain as soon as he left the city, which was plundered by the soldiers.

Great ha-
wock.

THE history, exaggerating the havock made by the *Mungli*, affirms, that not above two persons in a hundred escaped the massacre, representing the plains of *Hya* as sowed with dead bodies; and the woods, mountains, caves, filled with miserable people, who fled thither to avoid the sword of the enemy. On the other hand, the same history does not fail to accuse the king of *Hya*, as having brought on the ruin of his state, by giving protection, as above-mentioned, to the two enemies of *Jenghiz Khan*, and refusing to deliver his son in hostage, according to his promise. Thus fell the king-

north-east of *Sû-chew*, and north of *Kan-chew*, 120 leagues from the latter. This distance is certainly too much, says our author *Gaubil*; and hence we are inclined to think *Kampion* should be *Ning-hya*, with which that distance very well agrees. He adds, that *Yetsina* is now in ruins.

(U) A fort at the very west end of the great wall of *China*.

(X) In *Shen-fi*, latit. $39^{\circ} 00' 40''$, long. $15^{\circ} 32'$ west of *Peking*.

(Y) In *Shen-fi*, latit. $39^{\circ} 45' 40''$, long. $17^{\circ} 21' 30''$ west.

(Z) In *Shen-fi* also, then a great city, now a fortress, called *Yong-chang-uey*.

(A) This capital is mentioned before as taken, perhaps by mistake.

(B) Often mentioned, and described hereafter.

(C) Both cities near each other, and situated to the north of the country of *Koko-nor*; or rather *Hûbû-nor*. The latit. of *Sha-chew* is $45^{\circ} 20'$, long. $20^{\circ} 40'$ west.

(D) Fourteen or fifteen leagues N. W. of *Lin-tau-fû*.

dom, or empire, of the *Hya*, after it had stood 276 (E) A. D. 1225.
years¹.

THIS is the account given of this great revolution, by the *Chinese* historians; but those of the west of *Asia* relate it with some considerable variation, though more in detail. According to these latter, as soon as *Jenghiz Khân* was recovered from his fatigues, after his return to *Karakorum*, he applied himself to settle the state. He first summoned to court the great officers in *Kitay*, to give him an account of their behaviour; of which his brother *Utakin* (F) having fully informed him, some were rewarded, and others punished. He did the like by the great lords of *Mogulistan* and *Kara-kitay*. He sent also for *Shidajkt* (G), sovereign of *Tangut*, who had offered to continue tributary. But this prince, fearing his former rebellion would not be pardoned, deferred going to court under various pretences; and sought to make a league with the *Chiheses* of *Manji*, and the oriental *Turks* his neighbours. The first complained of *Jenghiz Khân's* usurping the dominion of *Kitay*; and the latter of his ill treatment to Queen *Turkhan Khâtun*, who had always used them well when her subjects. *Shidajkt* having at length gotten together a considerable army, the *Mungl* emperor sent a body of troops towards *Tangut*; the news of whose sudden approach much startled the revolting king. Those troops stopped near *Ezina*, or *Azina*, a city lying south of *Karakorum*, and 12 days hard journey from *Kampisu* (H), where *Shidajkt* kept his court¹.

King of
Tangut.

Breaks his
engage-
ment,

THE emperor could not join his troops with the main body of his army before *June* 1225, at what time the hot season begins in *Tangut*. His forces consisted of 450,000 men, whereof he sent 100,000 to *Kitay*, where he feared a revolt in case fortune should favour *Shidajkt*. He divided this great army into ten bodies: the princes *Jagatay* (I) and

Hej. 622.
A. D.
1225.

¹ GAUBIL, ubi supr. p. 48, & seq.
hist. Gengh. p. 363, & seq.

¹ DE LA CROIX's

(E) *Gaubil*, in a note, p. 59, says, that kingdom lasted near 200 years; but as the year 951 is marked in the history of the *Si-fan* for the commencement thereof, it must have subsisted 76 years longer.

(F) Called *Wa-che* in the *Chinese* history.

(G) Called *Shidarkû* in *Abûl-gbâzi Khân's* history; the same

with *Li-hyen* in the *Chinese*.

(H) This is a farther proof that *Kampion* must be *Ning-hya*, rather than *Kan-chew*. *Abûl-gbâzi Khân* calls it the city of *Tangut*; meaning no doubt the capital.

(I) According to the *Chinese* history, *Jagatay* was left behind in *Great Bukharia*, to take care of the western conquests

Oktay

A.D. 622. *Oktay* commanded the two first ; the rest were under the conduct of *Karasbar*, *Ilenku*, *Bela*, *Hubbe*, *Suiday*, and other lords, who had signalized themselves in the past wars : but all these generals were subject to *Tuli*. Besides, he had a flying camp of broken officers, for the instruction of his grandsons *Kublay* and *Hulakú*.

Ezina
taken.

AFTER several weeks march from *Mogulestán*, the army crossed a desert 40 days journey over, in the province lying most eastward of the *Naymáns* ; and arriving on the frontiers of *Tangut*, called also *Kasbin*, soon took *Ezina*, which had been closely besieged by the first troops. *Jenghiz Khán* chose this place for his residence during his stay in *Tangut* ; and by presents won the people of the country to serve as spies. By them he was informed, that *Shidaskú* had sent 30,000 horse in several parties, to endeavour to surprise him. These, at first, defeated some parties of the *Mungls*, whom they met with on the frontiers ; but retired on advice that the emperor was marching with all his forces against their master.

Vast ar-

SHIDASKU had gotten together an army of 500,000 (K) men, the greater part of whom were furnished him by the Chinese of *Manji* (or the southern *China*). *Jenghiz Khán* confiding in the bravery of his disciplined troops, continued his march. *Jagatay* and *Karasbar Nevian* had 40,000 men under their command ; *Hubbe* and *Suida* 30,000 ; *Ilenkú* headed 20,000 *Karazmians*, who had served in several former expeditions. A like number of *Indians* were under *Bela*. *Badro'ddín*, who had served the Khán against *Soltán Mohammed*, because the latter had put his uncle to death, brought 30,000 men from the country of the *Geses*, and borders of *Kipjak*. A Khán, named *Danishmend*, a favourite of the emperor, had under his conduct 30,000 *Karazmians*, new raised troops. The Khán of the *Ighurs* led the auxiliary forces, which had, after his example, voluntarily submitted to *Jenghiz Khán*. The veteran bands were commanded by prince *Oktay*, and made a body of reserve, which attended the emperor's person : and in this body was the flying camp of reformed officers.

A bloody
battle.

WHEN *Shidaskú* was within two days march of *Jenghiz Khán*, he sent 100,000 horse to surprise his van-guard : but meeting with a stout resistance, they retired with loss to the main army of the enemy, who at last came in sight, making a

(K) Which was 50,000 more (as he is called in the translation) than *Jenghiz Khán* had. But had an army nearly equal to that *Abu'ghazi Khán* says, *Shidaskú* of the *Mungls*.

splendid

splendid shew, dressed in cloth of gold and silver, as well as the richest silks. The very common foldiers had habits much finer than the *Mungl* officers. For though they were very rich, the Khân had ordered both them and his foldiers not to dress gaudy. The king of *Tangút*'s army took up a great space of ground : but the *Mungls* were obliged to fight upon a frozen lake, which derived its waters by a canal from the river *Kâramûran*. A general battle soon began, and the *Mungls* quickly had the advantage. The troops of *Tangút*, with others on the same line in front, were intirely routed ; and all the enemy's army had been at the same time defeated, if the *Chineses*, commanded by *Mayan Khân*, (whom *Jenghîz Khân* had ordered to be seized in the *Chinese* war) and the *Turks*, led by the prince of *Jurjeh*, had not strongly withstood the fury of the *Mungls* : but these two generals charged the two wings of the emperor's army with so much bravery, that it revived the courage of their foldiers, who made a terrible slaughter, killing above 30,000 men.

THIS good success became fatal to the victorious troops, *The Tan-* who believing the *Mungls* vanquished, attacked them boldly guts over- without keeping their ranks : whereas the *Mungls*, who al- thrown. ways kept close and in order, suffered themselves with much difficulty to be broken. At last the resolute resistance which *Mayan Khân* and the prince of *Jurjeh* met with in the center, astonished them ; and the corps de reserve, which now came up, falling upon them all at once, made the *Turks* and *Chineses* give back, and take to flight. *Shidaskû* himself, after having shewed an extraordinary bravery, was obliged to fly, and leave the field of battle to the enemy ; who cut in pieces all the troops which resisted : and 'tis said that there were killed in all above 300,000 men. How many *Jenghîz Khân* lost the *Mungl* history does not mention : but it speaks of all those, who signalized themselves in this great action ; and among the rest of the young princes *Kublai* and *Hûlakû* (R), who gave proofs of an extraordinary courage.

AFTER this he marched against the *Turks* of *Jurjeh*, who *Their king* submitted. He likewise secured himself of the countries of slain. *Erghimul*, *Sinqui*, and *Egrikaya*, which were dependent on *Tangút*. *Jenghîz Khân* falling sick not long after, the last orders he gave before his death were, to secure *Shidaskû*, who was hourly expected at court, as soon as he arrived, and put

(R) The first was then about 11 years old ; the last 10 ; for they are said to have been one year younger, each in 1224, when *Jenghîz Khân* returned to *Kara-korum*. See *D. la Croix's* history of *Genghiscan*, p. 33.

A. D. 1225. him to death (S), notwithstanding the promise made to his envoy. To effect this more easily, he enjoined them to conceal his departure; so that *Shidaškú*, attended by his sons, and some of his lords, coming to court eight days after, found a great appearance of joy: but they were all seized, and immediately deprived of life †.

Disagreement of authors.

WITH regard to the disagreement which there is between the *Chinese* and other historians, of the *Mungl* affairs, concerning *Hya* or *Tangút*, we shall only observe: that the former name four kings of *Hya*, from the time that monarchy was attacked to its extinction; the latter only one, as reigning all that while. They speak indeed of two invasions by the conqueror; but *Abúlghazi Khán*, the *Tatar* or *Mungl* historian, makes the king to be slain in the first; and *Shidurkú* (by others *Shidaškú*), by whose death the dynasty ended, only as a governor of *Tangút*, who had revolted from *Jenghiz Khán*.

† GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 370, & seq.

(S) According to *Abúlgházi* him to death, and destroy the *Khán*, they had orders to put city of *Tangút*.

The END of the SEVENTH VOLUME.

